

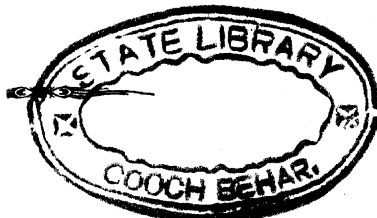


His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur.

A

HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR

[FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY A. D.]



TRANSLATED FROM ORIGINAL BENGALI

By

SARAT CHANDRA GHOSHAL, M.A., B.L.,

SARASVATI, KAVYATIRTHA, VIDYABHUSAN, BHARATI;
JUBILEE POST-GRADUATE SCHOLAR, BANKIMCHANDRA GOLD MEDALLIST & JYOTISHCHANDI
MEDALLIST (UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA), EWART PRIZEMAN—SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE,
SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH & PHILOSOPHY—HINDU COLLEGE, DELHI, AND
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH & SANSKRIT—EDWARD COLLEGE, PARNAL.
MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, CIVIL & SESSIONS JUDGE, COOCH BEHAR.

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD.



THE history of Cooch Behar, like that of Greece has its origin in mythology, but there is sufficient ground for contending that the earliest mythical narrations of Prāgiyotis or Kāmarupa are far more reliable as historical sources than those of classical Greece. For, while Grote in his History of Greece ⁽¹⁾ assumed the inefficacy of the religious legend or the purpose of history, the main theory of Euhemerus, an Asiatic traveller, "represented", ⁽²⁾ in the words of Grote, "both gods and heroes as having been mere earth-born men, and deified or heroified after death as a recompense for services of striking exploits." It is also Lyall's conclusion ⁽³⁾ in his study of the subject that the divine myths of India did not form themselves upon the personification of natural phenomena, or by accidental linguistic coincidences, so much as by deifying authentic men.—An expressive illustration of this process may be studied in the author's treatment ⁽⁴⁾ in the present work of the song of Maynāmati.

As Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed has observed in his introduction to this history of the State, research into the period of India's antiquity has been, as yet, insignificant. Progress in archaeological research, which is not only costly and laborious, but presupposes a scholar's knowledge of all other sources, has been particularly slow. Standing on one of the long ramparts of old Kāmatāpura, only fourteen miles from the present capital of the State, one may speculate on the fascination of the story which would be unfolded if this vast fortress had been excavated, and were as well-known as the Romano-British towns of Silchester or Dorchester. Instead one has to resort to comparatively modern chronicles to secure what are little more than glimpses into the medieval civilisation of the Koch Country. Even so, these sources are more adequate than are extant in many parts of Eastern India, and especially is this true of the documentary

(1) History of Greece, Chapter XVI.

(2) Mythology of the Aryan Nations.

(3) Asiatic studies, Chapter II.

(4) Latter part of Chapter II and of foot note 24 ibid.

evidence relating to the ancestry of the present ruling dynasty of the State. There can be few States on this side of India where such evidence has survived, as it has in Cooch Behar, to indicate that the reigning house is traceable to the seventh century A. D. This testimony, which is to be found principally in the *Târikhé Pheristâ* and *Târikhé Assam*, was furnished (5) to the Political Authorities during a recent revision of the accounts of States in the "Memoranda of the Indian States."

It was but natural that Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, G. C. I. E., C. B., should have inspired the labours of Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, for no Ruler had more profound regard for tradition in the fullest sense of the word, or could have done more to introduce and patronise the modern forms of learning in his State. As the Khan Choudhuri Sahib acknowledges, it was during the reign of His Highness Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K. C. S. I., that the actual task was approached, assisted by the generous co-operation of the late Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan. The author continues, in his introduction, to express his indebtedness to other scholars and friends whose courtesy and erudition facilitated his enquiries.

The present translation which has been undertaken, at His Highness' personal wish, by Mr. S. C. Ghosal, could not have been committed to more able hands. The form in which the original was cast, and the actual text, have been adhered to closely and literally. The few interpolations for which the Editor is responsible, have been denoted by the symbol "(Ed.)."

It is satisfactory to record that arrangements have already been approved by His Highness for the preparation in English of Part II of the history of the State, from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day. That these plans will be implemented as timely as the nature of the work will permit, is to be gratefully ascribed to the personal suggestion and encouragement of Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba of Cooch Behar

—*Haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

L. G. W.,

June, 1942.

Cooch Behar.

(5) Letter No. 2469, dated the 26th February 1937, from the State Council to the Secretary to the Resident for the Eastern States, which quoted excerpts in Bengali from the two authorities.

Translator's Note.

* This translation of the Bengali work "Koochbihärer Itihās" was undertaken by me as mentioned in the Editor's Foreword at the personal wish of His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Nārāyan Bhup Bahadur. The rulers of Cooch Behar were never indifferent to encourage composition of history of their country and we find earliest reference of such a history (though the original work is now lost) named Rājakhanda by Kaviratna during the time of Maharaja Pran Nārāyan (middle of the 17th century). Portions of a Sanskrit work named Visvasinhacharitam by Sreenath have also been discovered. This work was also written during the time of Maharaja Pran Nārāyan. A more detailed history entitled Rājopākhyāna by Joynath Ghose was written with the encouragement of Maharaja Harendra Nārāyan, the concluding portion of this work being finished during the time of Maharaja Shibendra Nārāyan. Even the Maharani encouraged the composition of history of Cooch Behar and we find that under orders of Maharani Kameswari Devi, consort of Maharaja Shibendra Nārāyan, Ripunjay Das wrote Mahārāj-Vansāvali. Maharani Brindeswari Devi, another Maharani of Maharaja Shibendra Nārāyan is herself the authoress of Behārodanta, a short history of her times.

Rājavansāvali of Durgadas was composed when Maharaja Nripendra Nārāyan was only one year old.

All these histories were composed from traditions and facts actually seen by the writers during their time. The first attempt to compile a history in English on a comparative method based on authenticated books and papers was made by late Harendranarayan Chaudhuri in his work "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement." This work was undertaken under the orders of Maharaja Nripendra Nārāyan. Informations on every important matter regarding Cooch Behar have been summarised in this valuable work along with the history of the State.

The historical portion of this work being however brief, need of a more detailed work was felt for a long time. The work of which the present is a translation was taken up to remove this want under inspiration of His Highness Maharaja Jitendra Nârâyan, after whose sad and untimely demise Her Highness Maharani Indira Devi as Regent of the State, during the minority of the present ruler was greatly interested in its publication and very graciously encouraged the present translation.

A Bengali work being however of limited circulation, the present English Edition was taken up to meet the demand of readers in different provinces and Native States in India for a knowledge of the history of Cooch Behar and its rulers traced as far back as the 7th century A.D.

The Bengali work ends with the installation of Maharaja Harendra Nârâyan. The present translator at the desire of His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Nârâyan Bhup Bahadur is engaged in the compilation of a second volume which will bring up the history up to date from the time of Maharaja Harendra Nârâyan. A full history of Cooch Behar from the earliest times down to the present day will be available on publication of this second volume.

Greatful acknowledgment is due to L. G. Wallis, Esq. I.C.S., Vice-President, State Council, Cooch Behar and Dewan Bahadur B. Subbaya Naidu Chief Minister, Cooch Behar for going through the manuscripts of the translation. Some portions of the translation have been omitted at their instance and some portions added by Mr. Wallis have been marked "Ed."

Cooch Behar,
June, 1942.

S. C. GHOSHAL.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

THE function of the historian is not merely to satisfy the curiosity of those who would be acquainted with movements or incidents long passed. Rather does it seek to supplement that body of human experience which should guide the present and future action of mankind, to establish deductively the connection between events which have been lost to the memory of a people, and modern problems. (Ed). In the Voltairian phrase, the present is born of the past, and the present gives birth to the future, and there is never change in that relationship. And according to Max Muller, the improvement of that people is impossible who are ignorant of their past history.

Research which has hitherto been conducted into the history of so anciently civilised a country as India, may be said to be insignificant, though in recent years much labour has been devoted to the task. A special difficulty is presented by the narrative histories⁽¹⁾ which were written before the introduction of the scientific historical method. This applies in marked degree to those "Kochbihar Rājvasāvalis", (or histories of the ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar), which have been composed in earlier times. No clear idea of their basic sources can be derived from them. It can only be inferred that they depended largely on hearsay evidence. Their accounts display patent discrepancies. Moreover, these Vansāvali manuscripts are concerned with the ruling family and not with the conditions of the country. Later, certain short histories on more modern lines were written and printed except in one or two cases at the instance of the Durbar, but they have since become obsolete and are not readily accessible.

In 1903, 'The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement' was published, and contained a short history of Cooch Behar. It was some years after the publication of this work, however, that Colonel His late Highness Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, G. C. I. E., C. B. expressed the desire that an authentic and detailed history of the State should be published. In this connection the writer of the present work submitted a short note

(1) "Those exasperating alchemists of fact and fiction". (Ed.)

INTRODUCTION.

containing *inter alia* a list of authorities. (2) Thereafter His Highness proceeded to England and alas, to his demise (1911). His late Highness Maharaja Rajrajendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, his eldest son, died (1913) but a short time after his installation. It therefore fell to His late Highness Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K. O. S. I., the second son of His Highness Sir Nripendra Narayan, to fulfil the wish of his father, and he entrusted (3) his younger brother the late Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the writer with the work, and he himself engaged in collecting material. (4) At a later stage responsibility for the compilation was specifically assigned to the author, (5) but to his profound regret no opportunity was afforded of placing all the newly-found evidence before His Highness, for in 1912 this Ruler who had so encouraged learning and education, departed untimely from this world, and his eldest son His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur (then a minor) succeeded to the *Gaddi* of Cooch Behar.

(2) Extract from a letter dated, Darjeeling, the 8th August, 1909, from the Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur to the author.—

"Thanks for your letter of the 1st August The materials you have given me are very interesting and I trust we will be able to make use of them in the second edition of our History."

Also letters on the subject, dated 5th August 1909 and 30th June 1911, from Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, B. L., C. I. E., Dewan to the author.

(3) Letter No. 1828, dated the 31st March 1920, from the State Council to the Member, State Council in charge of the Education Department of the State.

(4) Letter dated the 5th April 1923, to the author, from the Secretary (later Financial Secretary) to His Highness.

(5) Extract from an address delivered by the President, (the late) Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan, at the third annual meeting of the Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha in 1925 B. S. (1918).

"I am glad to announce that His Highness has sanctioned the publication of an authenticated History of the State. The task of collecting all materials..... has been left in the capable hands of our able Secretary Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed. I ask all members for their cordial help,...."

Extract from a letter No. 1865, dated the 4th March, 1930, from the Registrar, Regency Council, Cooch Behar, to the Revenue Officer of the State.—

"With reference to your letter No. 2082, dated the 16th February, 1930, I am directed to inform you that the Regency Council are pleased, as recommended by you, to accord their sanction to the grant of a sum of Rs. 3,500 (three thousand and five hundred) for the printing and publication of a comprehensive History of Cooch Behar State compiled by Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed."

The author's primary reason for undertaking so responsible a task was his natural zeal to execute the orders of his Ruler. He had also in mind the words of Bankimchandra,—‘We require a history of Bengal; otherwise there is no hope for Bengal. Who will write it? You will write it. I will write it. Everyone will write it. Whoever is a Bengali must write it.’

Some years previously (1910) the writer had prepared a bibliography of all old manuscripts preserved in the State Library in Cooch Behar. At the beginning of the 19th century the capital of Cooch Behar was a centre of literary culture and Maharaja Harendranarayan was the inspiration of this enlightenment. Under his orders, a large number of books were written and translated and he himself was an author,† but as the second half of the century advanced, the introduction of Western education accelerated and accentuated a tendency of disregard for Eastern ideas and culture. This deteriorative influence was specially marked in Cooch Behar; and it is to be regretted that many ancient relics preserved in the Palace were conveyed to English research workers to be preserved outside the State for ever. Fortunately, there remain in the State Library many manuscripts in Bengali, Assamese and some in Urdu and Persian.

In assembling his material for this history, the writer has searched old documents in the various offices of the State. Thus, in the Mahafazkhana of the Malcutchery there are more than two thousand records of settlement cases of the first Settlement. These cases concerned lands occupied by persons claiming to have acquired them by gift from former Rulers. The Waqqas (Amalnâmâs) and Sunnuds filed by the parties in these cases were, by practice, not returned. Many an item of significance has been revealed in these documents; for example, in the deed granted by Maharaja Prânnarayan on the 18th Falgun 185 Rajsaka (1645 A. D.) or in that granted by Maharaja Modnarayan on the 5th Magh 166 Rajsaka (1676 A. D.). (The latter deed was written on cloth and was sealed with the ‘Sinhachhap’).

One of the oldest documents preserved in the Mahafazkhana of the Cooch Behar State Council is an order (Ajñâ-patra of Maharaja Prânnarayan dated the 22nd Bhadra 137 Rajsaka (1646 A. D.). There are some letters written by the Dewaraja and the Dharmaraja, the oldest of which is dated 246 Rajsaka (1755 A. D.). These letters were written in Bengali from ‘Killâ Tâsisâmo’ (Tâsisudan) and Ponakh.

† ‘Upakâshâ,’ ‘Kriyâyogestha,’ ‘Sunderkânda Râmâyana’ of Maharaja Harendranarayan have been edited with Introduction and notes by S. C. Ghoshal and published by the Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha. (Ed.).

In some the address is superscribed in doggerel Sanskrit, e. g.—“*Svastik Behar Kāmatesvar udayagirirājājesvara mahāsampada māṅgala airinī āraṇa prakhyāta prithivīpati sree sree Beharer Maharaj Bisāmasamare pañcānaneṣu*”. (6)

The manuscripts of the songs to the deity Kali composed by Maharajas Harendranarayan and Shibendranarayan (7) are also in the Mahafazkhana.

The Assamese manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of the Assam Valley in Gauhati have been studied, (8) and such portions as bear on the history of Cooch Behar have been extracted. The assistance rendered to the writer in this behalf by the Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti is gratefully acknowledged. (9)

In the Anglo-Oriental Library (Khudabaksh Library) at Patna, previously unpublished accounts relevant to the history of Cooch Behar were discovered in old documents. The records preserved in the Record Office of the Government of India in Calcutta, the Imperial Library and the Library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and in the Punjab and the Jaipur State, have been studied.

By courtesy of the Governments of Assam and Bengal, certain rare documents have been received on loan. The Government of Bengal not only extended the favour of furnishing copies of old and important documents, but accorded facilities to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the author to search the records. (10) The Maharajkumar Sahib collected plaster-casts of coins in the British Museum and took copies of old papers in the India Office Library in London. Through the courtesy of the British Ambassador in Nepal copies of inscriptions preserved in that country were available.

(6) Captain Turner after his visit to Bhutan in 1873 has recorded that correspondence between the Bhutiyas and Bengal was carried on in the Bengali language—Embassy to Tibet, page 69.

(7) The songs of Maharaja Harendranarayan and Maharaja Shibendranarayan have been edited with notes and introduction by Mr. S. C. Ghoshal, M.A., B.L., and published by the Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.

(8) All these manuscripts are in the custody of the Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti.

(9) Letter No. 3615-G, dated the 24th July, 1914, from the Second Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Commissioner, Assam Valley Division.

Prospectus of the Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti, page 4, 1914.

(10) Letter D. O. No. 873 R. R., dated the 18th November, 1919, from Mr. D. Gladding, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan of Cooch Behar.

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Numerous coins of the present ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar and of other Rulers, have been examined, and previously accepted readings of some Narayani coins, have perforce been amended. The new historical questions thus arising, are discussed in Chapter XIX.

The author visited many places (besides historical sites within the State of Cooch Behar,)—Gauhati, Beltala, Hajo and Rāngāmāti in Assam, Mahāsthāngrah (in the district of Bogra), Ghodāghāt (in the district of Dinajpur) and the Duars (in the district of Jalpaiguri) in Bengal.

The ruins of the old fort of Kāmatāpur within the State of Cooch Behar, have been given the special attention they have aroused as far back as 1808 when Government deputed Dr. Buchanan Hamilton to inspect them. Selected portions from his memorandum were subsequently printed in the work "Eastern India." Brajachandra Mazumdar, the Headmaster of the local Middle Vernacular School, resided in this fort for ten years and in 1306 B. S. printed the manuscript 'Gosanimangal' the appendix to which contains his personal observations on the ruins. In 1900 Babu Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri recorded their condition at that time in his book "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement". In 1921, in response to a request from the Government Archaeological Department addressed to the State Authorities, the writer drafted a note on the ruins. This, unfortunately, was founded on superficial external evidence, but perhaps had this value that the writer has himself observed changes at various places in the Garh during fifty years.

The reader should be informed that difficulty was experienced in deciphering the inscription on the door of the Temple of Kamatesvari within the Garh. This inscription is placed at an inaccessible height, and the reading given in this work was prior to that taken by the Public Works Department of the State, and requires minor emendation.

In Chapters I—VI of this History of Cooch Behar, the ancient history of the country is reviewed. In the Chapters V and VI the prevailing conditions in the country have been described. After this, the history of Cooch Behar under the Rulers of the Haihaya dynasty begins, to end in Chapter XII. The subject-matter of the succeeding seven Chapters is supplementary to the contents of Chapters VII—XII,—

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CHAPTER XIII—Some branches of the Cooch Behar ruling family.—

This has reference to the branches of the ruling family which gained special recognition outside the State of Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER XIV—The Mahomedan connection.—

A chronological précis of the conquest or rather part-occupation of the country effected by contemporary Mahomedan rulers or governors.

CHAPTER XV—Narayani coins.—

A numismatic study of the coins issued by the 'Narayan' rulers of Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER XVI—The Nazir and Gosvami.—

The quarrel which began at the end of the 18th century between Chhatra Nazir Khagendranarayan Kumar and Rajguru Sarbananda Gosvami.

CHAPTER XVII—Bhutan Duars.—

Bhutan history and the history of the separation from the State of Cooch Behar of the territory known as the 'Duar' situated between the present State of Cooch Behar and Bhutan.

CHAPTER XVIII.—The Cooch Behar Treaty.—

The relations between the Ruler of Cooch Behar and the East India Company, and the terms of the treaty.

CHAPTER XIX.—Various chronological discussions.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND APPENDICES.

The works known as the *Rājvasāvali* and in particular those with special relevance to the history of Cooch Behar, have been described briefly in the Bibliography appended to this work. For the convenience of the reader a list of other works from which material has been derived, is given. References to Urdu and Persian works, which could not be inserted in their proper places in the text, because of printing difficulties, are included separately in the Appendices. The maps annexed, are roughly drawn and based on both old and contemporary sources of information. Illustrations of certain temples, inscribed figures, coins, and photographs of two cannon, have been introduced at suitable places in the text.

The genealogical table has been prepared mainly from the *Rājapāhyanā* and the colophon of "*Banaparva*" translated by Paramānanda Tarkālankāra (1797 A. D.) importing such additions and alterations proved necessary after discussion and consultation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., M. A., C. I. E., formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and Professor Padmanath Vidyabinode Tattvasarasvati, M. A., formerly of the Cotton College Gauhati. Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the Members of the Regency Council supported these emendations after full consideration.

Sir Edward Gait was of opinion that his work '*The History of Assam*' would constitute a mere guide to historians, and as he wrote to the author in February 1924, could not be free from errors. Sir Edward's remarks may be taken to apply equally to this present undertaking.

The author cannot adequately express his obligation to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan for his never-failing practical assistance. Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Professor Padmanath Vidyabinode have shown great and rare favours by their advice, the latter especially by carefully going through this work when the manuscript was ready. Much help has been contributed by men of letters in the State and by literary societies in several places beyond. To those specialists also who advised in deciphering doubtful passages, to Sjt. Akhil Chandra Bharatibhusan of Cooch Behar who kindly corrected the proofs, to all these coadjutors the writer expresses his sincere gratitude.

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—And also, to Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba of Cooch Behar, who as Regent of the State of Cooch Behar was pleased to read this work and to commend it. (1)

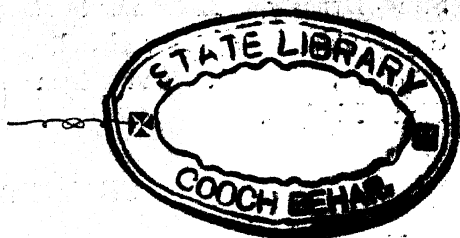
Cooch BEHAR :

The 24th Chaitra 1342 B. S.

AMANATULLA AHMED.

(1). Letter No. 262, dated the 8th June, 1935, from the Private Secretary to Her Highness the Maharani Regent, to the author.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. RAJAKHANDA.

This work was composed by Kaviratna in the middle of the 17th century A. D. under orders of Maharaja Prānnārāyan of Cooch Behar. This work is mentioned in 'Rājopākhyāna' of Munshi Joynath Ghose (about 1823 A. D.) and the article 'Kochbihārer Itihāsa' written by Anandachandra Ghose (1865 A. D.). But this work is not now found anywhere. It is written in Rājopākhyāna that Kaviratna was one of the ministers of Prānnārāyan and that he was killed by Chhatra Nazir Mahinarayan.

2. VISVASINHA-CHARITAM—(Written in Sanskrit).

This is a Kavya written in Sanskrit. Pages 14 to 22 of this work have been preserved by Srijuktā Girisananda Chakravarti of Khagrabari, a village near the town of Cooch Behar. No trace of the remaining portion of the work has been found. The fourth canto ends on page 17. In the portion found, one or two incidents in the reign of Maharaja Naranārāyan have been described. So this was written after the time of Visvasinha. There is a colophon in page 17 of this manuscript to the effect that it was composed by 'the young poet Sreenath the son of Bhudev (Brahmin) Ramesvar'. Sreenath was the son of Ramesvar and the grandson of Bhabānanda (the reader of Sukladvāja). Ramesvar was a contemporary of Maharaja Prānnārāyan. Sreenath wrote many works under orders of Maharaja Prānnārāyan. So it can be inferred that 'Visvasinha-charitam' was composed during the reign of Maharaja Prānnārāyan, (17th century A. D.).

It is written in page 21 of this work that there was a battle between Maharaja Naranârâyan and 'Hazratân Chhiliman-nâmâ Yavanendra' (Soleman Kararani). The Mahamadan historians have also mentioned this. Soleman bore the title 'Hazrat Âlâ.

3. RÂJOPAKHYÂNÂ.

This work is written in Bengali prose by Munshi Joynath Ghose. The writing of this work began under orders of Kalichandra Lahiri, the Dewan of Maharaja Harendranârâyan. The date of the beginning of the writing of this work has not been mentioned in the work. But it is considered from circumstances that composition of this work began between 1230 to 1240 B. S. and it was finished towards the end of the reign of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan (1252 B. S.). The Rungpur Sâhitya Parishat have secured a copy of this manuscript. In it there is a seal of Nilkamal Sanyal, a former Dewan of Cooch Behar. This is bound in leather and is like a modern book containing 298 pages. It is written in the manuscript that this work (up to Adhyâya 18 of Pratyaksa Khanda) was made over to Maharaja Harendranârâyan (1240 B. S.) for reading and he after reading the whole of the same granted 'Panchagrâma' (consisting of five villages) lands as revenue free (Lakheraj) to the writer as a reward. * This work was also given to Maharaja Shivendranarayan for perusal but it is not written in the work whether he read it or not. It was the desire of the king to give publicity to this work everywhere but it is not known whether this was really printed or not. It is not clearly mentioned in the Introduction what was the basis on which this work was written.

* There is mention in the Settlement papers of Cooch Behar dated 1872 A. D. that 817 Bighas of Lakheraj land were held as 'Bakshisi' by Dinanath Ghose and others, the heirs of Joynath Ghose.

There is mention in the introduction quoted above that Joynath Ghose knew the accounts collected during the enquiry of the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in 1788 A. D. Many old and important facts about which there was no difference of opinion between the king's party and the Nazir, have been printed in the report of the Commissioners. This report was finished in 1788 A. D. (1195 B. S.) and seven years after this Joynath Ghose joined his post. Still many facts as mentioned in the report, are not found in Rājopākhyāna.

It is mentioned in the Vansāvali of the Durrung Raja Gandharvanārāyan, that Maharaja Harendranārāyan sent a messenger and brought the manuscript of 'Durrung Vansāvali' from Raja Vijaynārāyan but there are many discrepancies between this Vansāvali and Rājopākhyāna.

In the case *State versus Bikramānanda Chakravarti* (Settlement Case No. 489 and 490 of 1871 A. D.) when an objection was raised against the genealogical table as written in Rājopākhyāna, the then Dewan Rai Calicadas Dutt Bahadur wrote: "Joynath Munshi's book is not always quite correct". The claimants in that case urged that there are genealogical tables in possession of the contemporary Maharani Bara Aye Devati, Kumar Munindranārāyan, Babu Ratidev Bakshi and pleader Babu Chandranath Tarafdar and these were different from what was mentioned by Joynath Ghose. The work named 'Rājavansāvali,' written by Durgadas Mazumdar, a relative of Ratidev Bakshi, has been found in possession of the sons of Ratidev Bakshi. The work named 'Beharodanta' composed by Maharani Brindesvari Bara Aye Devati has also been found. But these two Vansāvalis are in comparison with Rājopākhyāna full of mistakes. No trace of the two other genealogical tables as mentioned above has been found. The genealogical table given in the colophon of Banaparva by Paramānanda Tarkālankar (1204 B. S. = 1797

A. D.) is similar to that given in Rājopākhyāna. Mr. Moore, the Collector of Rungpore, in his report dated the 9th June 1781 A. D. gave a genealogical table of the royal family of Cooch Behar. No genealogical table written before this, has yet been discovered. But even this table is full of mistakes in comparison with that given in Rājopākhyāna.

Joynath Ghose has written that when the manuscript Rājopākhyāna was made over to Maharaja Harendranārāyan for perusal, he passed a remark "The moon of fame of the old kings who were my predecessors was almost devoured by the Rāhu (who causes eclipse) of time. By your work, the lost fame is again made permanent". Dewan Kalichandra Lahiri told Joynath Ghose "Even now many are unable to mention all who became kings and whom they succeeded and for what period they reigned and how many generations of kings have passed since the days of Shiva". From these circumstances and remarks, it is inferred that an authenticated genealogical table of the royal family of Cooch Behar was almost lost and Joynath Ghose composed Rājopākhyāna collecting his materials from various sources. He has mentioned in the introduction that he even depended on tradition.

Rev. Mr. R. Robinson, formerly the Superintendent of Education, Cooch Behar State, translated Rājopākhyāna into English. This was printed in the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, in 1874 A. D. The size is demy 8 vo and there are 244 pages in this work. In the title page of the translated work the name of the writer has been mentioned as 'Jadunath Ghose'. There are also many mistakes like this in the translation which cannot be overlooked. Some works have been written on the basis of this translation. The writers of some of these works have only increased the number of such mistakes in their attempt to express in their own language this incorrect translation.

Joynath Ghose, the writer of *Rājopākhyāna* was a Brahmin by caste and a resident of village Banajuri in the Sub-division of Manikganj in the district of Dacca. In 1202 B. S. he was appointed a tutor of Maharaja Harendranārāyan to teach him Bengali and Persian. The Maharaja appointed him as his own Munshi (writer) after he attained majority. Later on he became the Sheristadar of the Khalisa Mehal. The next Maharaja Shivendranārāyan appointed Joynath as Sheristadar of the Rajsabha. Towards the end of his service, he held the post of the Tehsildar. The period of service of Joynath in Cooch Behar was for more than 50 years. Even at the time of the installation of Maharaja Narendranārāyan, he was in service. He died in Benares in 1265 A. D.

4. SANGITSANKAR.

This manuscript was composed by Jagatdurlabh Biswas in Bengali verse under orders of Maharaja Harendranārāyan in the beginning of the 19th century A. D. but the date of composition is not mentioned in the work. An account of the reign of Maharaja Harendranārāyan is given in this work. This is finished briefly in 15 pages and in several places there are songs bearing in the colophon the name of Maharaja Harendranārāyan. The writer Jagatdurlabh Biswas was a resident of the district of Murshidabad. His father was Brajamohan. His residence was in village Kakrapur on the banks of the Ganges. This work being bound along with another work '*Harabhaktitaranga*' written by Durgadas in one Volume is preserved in the Mahafeskhana of the Malcutchery in Cooch Behar. There is no historical value attached to this work. The discrepancies with other *Vansāvalis* are also very great. The cover has pictures painted in colours. There are coloured portraits of Mahadeva, Haria Mandal, Hira and Jira Devi, the boys Biju and Sisu, Maharaja Naranārāyan, Dhairvendranārāyan, Harendranārāyan and

Shivendranârāyan. Names have been put down under the pictures to identify the portraits. Coloured portraits of Maharaja Harendranârāyan and Shivendranârāyan are preserved in the State Library, Cooch Behar. The Cooch Behar Sahitya-sabha has published the 'Syâmāsangita' of Maharaja Harendranârāyan with his portrait. † There is similarity of this portrait with the figure painted on the cover of the manuscript but no such similarity is apparent in the portraits of Maharaja Shivendranârāyan. The other pictures appear to be drawn from imagination.

5. HARABHAKTI-TARANGA.

Written in Bengali verse by Durgadas and containing 73 pages. At the end of the work an account of the installation of Maharaja Shibendranârāyan (1189 A. D.) is given. This manuscript also has no historical value.

The writing in this book in many places is similar to that of the manuscript entitled 'Râjavansâvali'—in places these are almost identical. If we take that Durgadas Mazumdar, the writer of 'Râjavansâvali' and this Durgadas were one and the same person, we must hold that this work was first composed and that it was subsequently corrected and came to be known as 'Râjavansâvali'.

6. MAJOR JENKINS' REPORT 1849.—

(Selections from the records of the Government of Bengal, No. 5).

Major Francis Jenkins was the Agent to the Governor General in the North Eastern Frontier Province. The report

† The work is edited by S. C. Ghoshal, M. A., B. L. The work is named 'Gītāvali'. It does not contain songs on Syâmā only but also on other deities and subjects. (Tr.).

which he wrote in 1849 regarding Sikkim, Morang and Cooch Behar was printed in Calcutta in 1851 under orders of the Government. The account regarding Cooch Behar begins in page 19 and ends in page 51. The account previous to Maharaja Devendranârâyan was very briefly written and that following 1772 A. D. was given in detail.

7. MAHÂRÂJA-VANSÂVALI.—

Written in Bengali prose under orders of Maharani Kamesvari Devi (Dangar Aye) the eldest queen of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan, by Ripunjay Das, a resident of village Gobrachhara in Cooch Behar and a Pundit holding the title of Vidyâratna. The date of composition is not given in this manuscript. It is inferred that it was written after the death of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan (1847 A. D.). Though the history of Cooch Behar is very briefly given in this work, we find the names of twenty-one sons of Maharaja Visvasinha in it, which we do not find in any other Vansâvali. There are many variations between this manuscript and Râjopâkhyâna. Joynath Ghose wrote the last few Chapters of Râjopâkhyâna under orders of Maharaja Shivendranârâyan this Vansâvali was written under the orders of the queen of Shibendranârâyan. But it is clearly seen that the two writers of this manuscript did not read Râjopâkhyâna or they composed this work in rivalry with the same.

There are some particulars in this work which are not found in other Vansâvalis, *e. g.* 'Composition of Malladevi Abhidhâna by Maharaja Malladeva', 'Discovery of Lolarka Kunda in Benares by Maharaja Laksmînârâyan'. 'Establishment of some images of Gods and Goddesses by Maharaja Prânnârâyan' etc.

8. BEHARODANTA.—

"By Maharani Sree Sree Brindesvari Devya. Residence—the royal seraglio in Cooch Behar. Printed in Sambhuchandra Press in Kakina. The 15th Bhadra 1266 B. S.". Size Demy

8 Vo. 55 pages. In 1350 B. S. the Cooch Behar Sahitya-sabha has reprinted this work.

The authoress Maharani Brindavari (Bani Aye Devati) was the queen of Maharaja Shibendranārāyan. She has given her account in the colophon of this work as follows :—

"Rajendranārāyan (is) a resident of Parvatjoar. He is richer than Kuvera.....I am his daughter. I do not know anything but misery. To whom shall I mention the same? What is the good of mentioning the same?.....The ruler of Behar married this unfortunate self along with Sree Sree Kamesvari". Pages 12-13.

Parvat Joar is situated on the northwest of the district of Goalpara (Dhubri). There are many mistakes in the genealogical table given in this work.

9. RĀJVAṆSĀVALI.—

Written in Bengali verse by Durgadas Mazumdar. Contains 176 pages. The work was completed in 1270 B. S. (1863 A. D.=354 Rajasaka). At this time Maharaja Nripendranārāyan was only one year old and he had just been installed on the Gaddi. There are many statements in this work which are against history. Still, after Rājopākhyāna it is fit to be considered by historians as a Rājvasāvali of Cooch Behar. Many incidents not noted in Rājopākhyāna are described in this work. Like Joynath Ghose, Durgadas has mentioned the date of installation of each king in Rajasaka in this work. This manuscript is preserved in the custody of Sarat Kumar Dev Bakhshi of Cooch Behar.

Durgadas has written that in 58 Rajasaka, Sukladharaja brought 14 Kayasthas from 'Purvadesa' * and established

* According to the inference of Srijuka Pandit Padmanath Vidyalaya, *Sahitya* is meant here by the word *Purvadesa*. In an ancient work, it is written: "Sarakshre Mahatratna purvadesa-samudbhava" ('Sarakshre' is the

them to Cooch Behar granting them lands. He was the descendant of one of them :—

"Fourteen persons were his subordinates. Thirteen of those died intestate. Only I am remaining. The land which was granted for maintenance, is nearly washed away by the river. Anxiety for maintenance fills the mind". Page 56.

"He is the son of Shiva. His name is Sankar. The son of Sankar bears the name Manohar. I, Durgadas, possessing but little knowledge, am the son of Manohar and the only one remaining out of the fourteen and the most wretched of the family". Page 65.

Durgadas died in 1298 B. S. at the age of 75. No descendant of him is surviving at present. So the family of the Kayasthas brought by Sukladhvaj is extinct.

10. LECTURE BY BABU ÂNANDA CHANDRA GHOSE.—

Babu Ânanda Chandra Ghose read a paper named 'Kochbiharer Itihas' in Kochbihar Hitaisini Sabhâ. He was a member of this Sabhâ. This article is wrongly called as 'the lecture of Ram Chandra Ghose'. Ananda Chandra was the natural son of Munshi Joynath Ghose, the writer of Râjopâkhyâna. He was the adopted son of Gopinath Ghose, the elder brother of Joynath Ghose. Ânanda Chandra worked as the Sheristadar in the office of the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and in 1889, the charge of the office of the Dewan was for some months placed with him.

best place of pilgrimage arising in Purvaçya'). Barabakra-mâhâtyam. The Barabakra is now known as Barâk. It flows in Sribhatta (Sybhat). Sakia-Bhaya conquered Sribhatta in 1558 A. D. (31 Rajshak). In a Waqqa granted by Maharaja RupaRâya in 201 Rajshak it is mentioned that 14 families of Kayas were brought from Kâmarupa and that Maharaja Narendrâya made high of land to them in Sribhatta. In ancient times Sribhatta was within Kâmarupa.

This article (along with others) was printed at State cost in 1787 Saka (1865 A. D.) in the Gupta Press, Calcutta. A Copy of this was with Rai Chaudhuri Satis Chandra Mustofi. This article occupies 29 pages of Demy 8 vo. In it, the boundaries of the kingdom, origin of the name of Cooch Behar, geographical condition of the country, account of crops grown on the soil, account of the capital and famous places and the dynasty of kings have been briefly and separately described. Probably it was Ânandachandra Ghose who for the first time showed the way to write history in this manner in Cooch Behar. In this article, the Vansâvali of Râjopâkhyâna was briefly given. The style of the writer is like that of his father and there is evidence of independent criticism in this article.

11. One authoritative paper on the early History of Kuch Behar, which unsigned and un-dated, was published as Appendix B in "Selections from unpublished records of Government of Bengal". Edited by Rev. J. Long (Calcutta, 1869).

This work has not been found.

12. COMPLETION OF SETTLEMENT REPORT.

Mr. W. A. O. Beckett wrote this report. Mr. Beckett came as the Assistant Commissioner of Cooch Behar in 1871 A. D. Afterwards he was placed in charge of Settlement work and wrote this report in English in 1874 A. D. This was written regarding the first Settlement of Cooch Behar and in it a short history of the State has been given. The historical portion of the report was compiled from Râjopâkhyâna and the report of Major Jenkins. This report is preserved among the State papers and in the State Library. The Vansâvali is finished in 3 pages of royal folio size.

13. ACCOUNT OF THE COOCH BEHAR.

This was written in English in 1876 A. D. by Captain T. H. Lewin. This work too has not been traced. In 1884 Bhagabati Charan Bandyopadhyaya wrote a work named 'Kochbiharer Itihas'. He took help from the above work. This work was also in existence when Srijukta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri wrote his history (Work No. 17, 1903 A. D., page 225), but in the Preface to it Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur mentioned it as out of print.

14. KOCHBIHARER ITIHAS.—

By Bhagavati Charan Bandyopadhyaya and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar in 1882 A. D. This work was printed for the public. In the Preface to the work, the author has mentioned that perusing the work 'Kochbiharer Bibaran'* written by him, the then Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur requested him to write a systematic history of Cooch Behar and accordingly he engaged himself in this work. As 'many people of this country' objected to certain portions of the work, these were omitted according to the wishes of Sreejukta Kumar Govindanârâyan Saheb' in a second edition consisting of 170 pages Demy 8 vo. which was printed in 1884 A. D.

15. KOCHBIHAR RAJYER SANKSIPTA BIBARAN.

This work was compiled in 1888 A. D. by Jadab Chandra Chakravarti, the Fousdari Ahlikar (Magistrate) of Cooch Behar. This was written on the occasion of the installation of Maharaja Nripondra Narayan and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar and distributed free. The work contains 70 pages Royal 16 vol.

* In 1879 A. D. 'Kochbiharer Bibaran' was printed to meet the necessity of students. It contained 26 pages Demy 12 vo. The State officers Srijukta Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharya in 1922 A. D. and Srijukta Ksetramohan Brahma in 1928 A. D. composed treatises for the same purpose and printed the same.

Two copies of this work are found in the State Library, Cooch Behar. In it, accounts of the geographical condition of the country, the rivers, people, climate, animals and arts and trade were given. The historical portion of this work was written mostly on the basis of Rājopākhyāna.

16. INTRODUCTION TO DĀMODARACHARITĀMṚITA

(UNPUBLISHED).—

Written by Govindadeva Gosvami. With the object of printing 'Dāmodara-charitāmrita' written by Ram Ray, the author prepared a press copy of this and made over the same on the 20th Sraban 1877 Saka (1895 A. D.) to Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, the Dewan of Cooch Behar. With that press copy, there was an Introduction covering 22 pages written by himself and in it a short history of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar and the Saka era of the beginning of reign of each king were given. This 'Dāmodarcharitāmrita' or its introduction was not printed. In 1915 A. D. this press-copy was in the Mahafz-khana of the Maltchery in Cooch Behar.

17. THE COOCH BEHAR STATE AND ITS LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT.

This work is generally known to the public as the Cooch Behar Settlement Report. It was composed in English in 1903 by Srijukta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri, B. L., the then Settlement Naib Ahilkar (Assistant Settlement Officer) and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar. It contains 705 pages Royal 8 vo. This work was compiled for requirements of the State and the work was also distributed to some unofficial gentlemen. The author received Rs. 2,000 from the State as honorarium. As many necessary illustrations and maps were appended, the work has become appropriate and attractive. The then Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, C. I. E., wrote a

Preface covering 16 pages to this work. There is no additional information in the Preface except a short summary of the work. Though the historical portion of the work is short, there are some mistakes in the accounts newly collected.

18. THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN OF COOCH BEHAR.

This work gives an account of the resettlement of Cooch Behar, the Capital of the State. This is written in English by Pramathanath Chatterjee, M. A., B. L., Naib Ahilkar. It was printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar at the cost of the State. Its size is Royal 8 vo. The historical portion covers only 10 pages. The names mentioned in the work of Munshi Joynath Ghosh as the former capitals of Cooch Behar have been attempted to be identified by the author, but many mistakes are found in the statements made in the narrative.

19. COPY OF THE DECREE OF THE CHAKLAJAT CASE.

At the end of the 18th century under Chhatra Nazir Khagendranarayan, Fakirchand and Harinarayani were Chaudhuris or collectors of rent in Boda, Deviprasad was the Collector for Patgram and Alimohammad was for Purbabhadg Chakla. With the intention of misappropriating the three Chaklas, they instituted a case in Rungpur against the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Nazir but were defeated. This is the decree of that case (1778 A. D.).

These three Chaklas came under the territory of the Mughal emperor 66 years before this case. It is mentioned in the copy of this decree that Mughal supremacy was established on these three Chaklas and Ijara of the same was given in the name of the Nazir to the king. It is written in the decree that these accounts were written on the basis of an old document preserved in the Canoongo's Duffar, at the time of the case (1778 A. D.). This portion of the history of Cooch Behar is in the dark. During

the enquiry by Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, a copy of a decree of this case was filed on behalf of the king, but as there was no signature and seal on the same, the Commissioners did not accept it.

An old copy of the decree of this case has been found (in 1920 A. D.) among the old records preserved in the State Council. There is no signature on it. The accounts given in this decree tally with those written in the report by Mr. Glazier in Rungpur and with those collected by Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet regarding the occupation of the three Chaklas by the Mughal emperor. There are many additional particulars given in this copy but there is no means to test their truth. The discrepancies found in some places might be due to mistakes in copying. The Jalusi and Bengali eras mentioned in the same, mostly tally with historical dates.

20. MERCER AND CHAUVET'S REPORT.

(Messieurs Lawrence Mercer and John
Lewis Chauvet's Report).

At the end of the 18th century there was a quarrel between Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Rajguru Surbânanda Goswami (on behalf of the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan) of Cooch Behar. Messieurs Mercer and Chauvet, Commissioners appointed by the East India Company, enquired into this (1788 A. D.). Besides the statements of the parties before the Commissioners, English translation of necessary documents, genealogical table and oral evidence, the report of the Commissioners and the finding of the Government are preserved among the old records of the Government. The authorities of the State of Cooch Behar brought copies of these and had these printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar in 1869 A. D. The work consists of 205 pages Royal quarto (contents 8 pages). The

name of this work is "Cooch Behar Select Records in 1788, Vol. II". This is commonly known as "Mercer and Chauvet's report". The first volume of this work has not been traced but the volume available though named as the second volume includes the full report of the abovementioned enquiry. The complaint against the Nazir written by the king (received on the 19th December, 1787 A. D.), the report of the Commissioner dated the 10th November 1788 and the Resolution of the Board dated the 13th May 1789 have been printed in this work.

During the time of enquiry the oral and documentary evidence produced by one party were not acknowledged as true by the opposite party. But still there were many independent statements recorded in this report. The incidents in the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan as seen by eye-witnesses have been printed in this report. There are some accounts in this report which are not found in any other Vansâvali. This report was mentioned in the resolution of Colonel Haughton. When the present history was compiled, help from this work was taken, but subsequently this work was not found when an attempt was made to verify the accounts. Another edition of this report was printed in the same year in the State Press, Cooch Behar. One copy of this is in the Maharaja's office and a second in the office of the State Council. It contains 190 pages of double foolscap quarto size. Accounts about the subject matter of the enquiry and the report of the Commissioners have been printed in this work. The complaint, resolution of the Board and Contents have not been printed in this edition. It is also not mentioned whether this is the first or the second volume.

21. COOCH BEHAR SELECT RECORDS.

Two other volumes in English named 'Cooch Behar Select Records' were printed and preserved in the Mahafazkhana of

the State Council. These were printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar, the first volume in 1882 A. D. and the second in 1884 A. D. The authorities of the Cooch Behar State brought from the Government Duffar copies of most of the letters in English or Bengali exchanged between the king, the Commissioner, the Political Agent and the Government from 1777 to 1864 A. D. and had these printed. The English copies are preserved bound in twenty volumes and the Bengali copies in three volumes. The former Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur selected the English letters and these have been printed and preserved in two volumes in the name of 'Cooch Behar Select Records' in double foolscap quarto size. In the first volume there are 359 pages and in the second 279 pages. Many historical facts in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the 19th century have been collected in these letters.

Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Nārāyan brought copies of some other old letters in English regarding Cooch Behar from the Government Duffar (1922 A. D.). Many incidents which took place after the establishment of relations between the king of Cooch Behar and the East India Company have been rendered in these copies. Accounts which are not mentioned in the 'Select Records' have also been found in these copies.

22. BAHĀRISTAN-I-GHAYBL.—

History of Bengal and Orissa in the first part of the 17th century A. D. It is written in Persian by Mirza Nathan Alauddin Ispahani Shetab Khan. * Malek All Ehteman Khan, the father of the writer was a General of

* 'Shetab Khan' is a title granted to the author by the Badsaha. In 'Purana Baramjee' and 'the Baramjee of Khunlung and Khunshi' we find the name of contemporary Mughal General as 'Mirya Nathan' or 'Nathal'.

the army under the Mughal emperor. Detailed descriptions of battles which took place in the kingdoms of Kāmata and Kamarupa during the rule of Subdar Eslam Khan, Kasem Khan and Ibrahim Khan (1608 to 1624 A. D.) are given in this work. The writer personally took part as a General in many of these battles. It appears that at that time he had close intimacy with Lakṣminārāyaṇa the king of Cooch Behar. There is no great discrepancy between the accounts given in this work and those mentioned in 'Bādsāhanāma' and 'Purani Asama Buranjee'.

The original 'Baharistan-i-Ghaibi' in the handwriting of the writer himself is now preserved in a Library in Paris. It contains 656 pages. There are 21 lines in each page. The Dacca University and Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., C. I. E., have brought rotographs of this work. The account has been given from the manuscript prepared from the rotograph brought by Sir Jadunath.

23. RUDRASINHER BURNAJEE.

Many Buranjees (histories) were compiled during the reign of the Âhom kings of Assam. Even in later times, some Buranjees on modern methods have been compiled and printed. The Government of Assam have printed some old Buranjees without any alteration. Sir Edward Gait in his work 'History of Assam' has highly praised the Assam Buranjees. There was a manuscript Buranjee in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam Government (1915 A. D.). This was "1634 Sakat (1712 A. D.) Sree Sree Rudrasinha Deva puthi vichâri Guahâtir ksetra parvat Hihâ karâ" ('written in ksetra Parvat of Gauhati by the efforts of Sree Sree Rudrasinha Deva in 1634 A. D.'). This manuscript is mentioned as 'Rudrasinher Buranjee'. Accounts of rulers

of Kāmātā previous to Visvasinha and some kings of Cooch Behar contemporary of the Âhom kings have been found in this work.

24. SAMUDRANÂRÂYANER VANSÂVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language under orders of Raja Samudranârâyan of Durrung, and written on Agar bark. The name of the writer is Baladeva. His title is 'Suryakbari Daivajna'. The date of composition of the work is about 1791 A. D. In the first part of the work from 1-6 pages, there are accounts of killing all Kshatriya kings in the world by Parasûrama and the previous history of the dynasty of Visvasinha. In this work there are accounts of events up to the reign of Laksmînarayan the king of Cooch Behar (page 100). The last portion of the manuscript deals with the visit to Assam of Balinârâyan, the brother of Pariksitnârâyan. In this manuscript in different places the Cooch Behar dynasty has been mentioned as 'Shivavansâvali' or 'Râjavansâvali'. Under most of the pages there are coloured pictures illustrating the subject described in the work. It is inferred that the portraits of Visvasinha, Hira Devi etc. are all drawn from imagination.

This manuscript was brought from Durrung to the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam. As this was received from Laksmînarâyan, the king of Durrung, Sir Edward Gait has called it 'Laksmînarayan's Vansâvali'. As no special name was given to this work, we have mentioned this work as Samudranârâyan's Vansâvali. This manuscript was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam and the Assam Government has printed this as Durrung Vansâvali in 1917 A. D.

25. RĀJAVANSAVALI. (Kharganārāyan's Vansāvali).

Written in verse in Assamese language by Ratikanta under orders of Kumar Kharganārāyan of Durrung in 1722 Saka (1800 A. D.). A copy of this manuscript was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam in the town of Gauhati (1915 A. D.). There are 82 pages double foolscap quarto size, in this work. The account of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan ends in page 66. No accounts of late kings are found in this work. In pages 1-6, there are accounts of the reign of Sambarāsura in Kāmarupa, Bāra Bhuiyas and the dynasty of Visvasinha. Sir Edward Gait has not mentioned this Vansāvali in any of his works.

26. KĀMARUPA-VANSAVALI.—

Written in Assamese prose on Agar bark. This manuscript was preserved by Srijukta Krisnakanta Sarma Adhikari in Takubari in the town of Gauhati in 1915 A. D. Accounts of the kings of Kāmarupa preceding Maharaja Visvasinha have briefly been mentioned in this work. The history of kings following Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan is not given in this work. The work is incomplete and was not systematically done. There are only pages 18—58 available in the manuscript. The same account has twice been given (though not in the same language) in pages 54 to 58. The time of composition of this work has nowhere been mentioned but from the writing and condition of leaves, the manuscript appears to be old. The name of the writer has nowhere been found in the work. This work tallies in many places with the work named 'Kāmarupar Buranjee' printed by the Assam Government in 1930 A. D.

27. SHIVAVANSAVALI OR BIJNIVANSAVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language by Virupaksa Nyāyabāgis under orders of Balitnārāyan, the king of Bijni

(within the district of Goalpara). Virupākṣa was a resident of village Hadi in Perganna Habraghat in Bijni. This Vansāvali was filed as evidence in the case *—Lalitnarayan Kunwar, Plaintiff *versus* Rani Abhayesvari Devi. The plaintiff had printed it. The whole Vansāvali consists of 6 pages containing two columns in each page double foolscap quarto size. The original manuscript is in Bijni. The time of its composition is not given in the manuscript (Raja Balitnārāyan was the Raja of Bijni from 1201 B. S. to 1236 B. S.). The parties of the abovementioned case filed also several other genealogical tables. A report written on the 25th Sraban 1245 B. S. was filed in that case. It is written therein that Maharaja Visvasinha was born in 'Visvasinha Mokam' in the north and his throne ('Rajtakta') was established there. †

28. GANDHARVANĀRĀYAN'S VANSĀVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language under orders of Gandharvanārāyan the son of Jagatnārāyan, king of Durrung. The name of the writer is Suryadev Sidhantabagis. He was a resident of Mangaldai. The writer was the Guru of Gandharvanārāyan. He mentioned himself as a descendant of Pitāmbar Sidhantabagis who was the Court Pandit of Maharaja Naranārāyan. The time of writing of this work has nowhere been mentioned. Gandharvanārāyan was living in 1840 A. D. So the manuscript was composed about that time. In the first part of the manuscript it is written :—

"The king of Durrung always honours (me) as belonging to the family of Mahanta. I composed Vansāvali which

* Title Suit No. 100 of 1894 A. D. in the Court of the First Sub-Judge, 24 Pargannas.

† Ruins of 'Killa Visvasinha' or 'Killa Bisensinha' are still in existence at the extremity of the kingdom of Bhutan and about 42 miles to the north-west of Sidli within Goalpara.

was sent by Vijaynārāyan to Behar. Raja Harendranārāyan of Behar sent a messenger and took away this Vansāvali. I wrote another Vansāvali later on for being given to a Saheb by Raja Vijaynārāyan. You know all these facts, I shall write the Vansāvali according to my knowledge."

From the extract quoted above, it is known that this manuscript was composed after two others were written and transferred. There is a mention that a Vansāvali was brought by Maharaja Harendranārāyan of Cooch Behar. Maharaja Harendranārāyan was living at this time and his officer Joynath Ghosh went to Hajo and Kamakhya. Joynath Ghosh wrote Rājopākhyāna, but many of the accounts given in this work are not mentioned in Rājopākhyāna.

This manuscript was brought from the descendants of the Durrung king and was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam (1915 A. D.). Sir Edward Gait has named this work as connected with Prasiddhanārāyan who followed Gandharvanārāyan. For reasons mentioned above we have called it Gandharvanārāyan's Vansāvali.

When writing his 'History of Assam' Sir Edward Gait had the Vansāvalis of Gandharvanārāyan and Sumudranārāyan (Prasiddhanārāyan and Laksmīnārāyan) translated into English. He got much information regarding the Cooch Behar royal family from these works. This is understood from the following :—

"I caused a translation to be prepared of the Bangshabali, or family history, of the Darrang Rajas, which contains a great deal of information regarding the Koch dynasty." (page iii).

There is no doubt that the Durrung Vansâvalis are older and more reliable than the Vansâvalis written in Cooch Behar ; and in the former, more information has been furnished. But all the statements made therein are not historically accurate and some of them were really exaggerated."

29. BIJNIRAJA-VANSA.—

Written by Tariniprasad Sen. Printed in 1876 A. D. in the Hitasadhani Press in Goalpara.

This Book has not been found.

30. AN ACCOUNT OF ASSAM.

The English manuscript of this work was prepared in 1792-94 by Dr. John Peter Wade. Dr. Wade was at that time a surgeon of a regiment of the East India Company in Assam. He sent this manuscript to Lieutenant Colonel Kirk Patrick and this was preserved in the India Office Library in England. Recently (1927 A. D.) Srijukta Benudhar Sarma, a resident of Sibsagar, has edited this. It contains 310 pages demy 8 vo. In this printed book there is a Geographical description of Assam (34 pages) written by the editor and a long index.

The history of the reign of the dynasty of Visvasinha is given in this work in pages 184-246. But information regarding the Cooch Behar royal dynasty in the same is meagre. Accounts up to the reign of Maharaja Lakshminârâyan are given in this work. This work is older than the Durrung Vansâvalis and there are no appreciable discrepancies in the accounts given in those works and in this work.

31. THE KOCH KINGS OF KĀMARUPA.

In 1893 A. D. Mr. (afterwards Sir) E. A. Gait published an article in this name in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXII, Part I, No. 4) and this was printed in book form in 1895 A. D. in the Shillong Secretariat Press and published. This work contains 53 pages royal 8 vol. size. In it, an account of the kings of Kāmarupa preceding Maharaja Visvasinha has briefly been given. This book was compiled from works on Tantra, Purana, local manuscripts of Vansāvalis, Assam Buranjees and works of Mahomedan historians. Accounts of Maharaja Bisvasinha and his descendants (kings of Cooch Behar, Bijni and Durrung) have also been briefly mentioned in this work. No account regarding Cooch Behar of the period later than the time of Maharaja Naranârāyan has been given in this work. The whole account of this work has subsequently been included in the fourth Chapter of the History of Assam and this Chapter contains 22 pages Demy 8 vol. size (1906 A. D.). The author while writing this portion of the 'History of Assam' specially depended on the manuscript of the Durrung Vansāvali.

ENGLISH BOOKS AND JOURNALS, ETC.

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NAMES OF BOOKS, JOURNALS, ETC.

NAMES OF AUTHORS, EDITORS, ETC.

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| 1. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I (Translated) ... | H. Blochman. |
| 2. Do Do Do II, III. Do ... | Colonel H. S. Jarrett, |
| 3. Aitchison's Treaties ... | Aitchison, |
| 4. Akbarnama (Translated) ... | H. Beveridge. |
| 5. Ancient India (Ptolemy's). ... | McCrindle. |
| 6. Ancient Geography of India ... | General A. Cunningham. |
| 7. Bengal District Records Vol. I.
(Rungpore) ... | W. K. Firminger. |
| 8. Bhutan and Story of the Doar War. | Surgeon Rennei. |
| 9. Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet
of Coins, Eastern Bengal and
Assam ... | H. E. Stapleton. |
| 10. Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet
of Coins, Assam (Supplementary). | A. W. Botham and R. Friel. |
| 11. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian
Museum, Vol. II. ... | H. N. Wright. |
| 12. Contribution to History and Geogra-
phy of Bengal ... | H. Blochman. |
| 13. District Gazetteers of Darrang,
Kamarup, Goalpara, Mymensing,
Rangpore, Dinajpore, Jalpaiguri
and Purnia, etc. The ... | Govt. of Bengal. |
| 14. District of Rungpore (In Bengal
District Records), The ... | F. G. Glazier. |
| 15. Early History of India ... | V. A. Smith. |
| 16. Early Jesuit Travellers in Central
Asia, 1608—1721 ... | C. Wessels. |
| 17. Eastern India ... | Buchanan Hamilton. |
| 18. Embassy to Tibet. ... | Captain S. Turner. |
| 19. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III. ... | Sir J. N. Sircar. |
| 20. History of Bengal in Jahangir's
time, A new ... | Sir Jadunath Sircar. |
| 21. History of Bengal (Bangabasi Edition) | C. Stewart. |

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22. History of Bengal ... E. Marsden.
23. History of Moghal East Frontier Policy, A. ... Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharjee.
24. History of Nepal ... D. Wright.
25. History of India, Elliot's, Vol. III.
(Tarikh-i-Mafazzali by Mafazzal Khan and Muntakhab-i-Lubab by Muhammad Hossin Khafi Khan) ... Sir H. Elliot.
26. History of Upper Assam etc. ... Colonel Shakspeare.
27. History of the rise of Muhammadan power in India (Tarikh-i-Ferista) J. Briggs.
28. Indica of Megasthenes ... McCrindle.
29. Initial Coinage of Bengal ... E. Thomas.
30. J. A. S. B. 1849, 1855, 1856, 1910 The Society.
31. Lands of the Thunderbolt ... Earl of Ronaldshay.
32. Letters and Proceedings having the force of Law in the Cooch Behar State. ... The State.
33. Life of Guru Teg Bahadur, The ... R. Macanliffe.
34. Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I. ... Rev. G. R. Gleig.
35. Narrative of Bengal (from original Persian, in 1788), A,-Translated. F. Gladwin.
36. Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of T. Manning to Lhasa ... O. R. Markham.
37. Numismata Orientalia ... W. Marsden.
38. Prospectus of the Kāmarupa Anusandhan Samiti, in 1914. ... The Samiti.
39. Ralph Fitch ... J. Horton Ryley.
40. Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam ... Sir E. A. Gait.
41. Sikh Religion, The ... R. Macanliffe.
42. Social History of Kāmarupa, The ... Nagendranath Vasu.

43. Statistical Account of Rungpore,
Bogra, Cooch Behar and Jalpai-
guri. ... Sir W. W. Hunter.
44. Travels in Hindustan, Translated in
English (Bangabasi Edition) ... F. Bernier.
45. Works of the Kāmarupa Anusandhana
Samiti, 1920, The ... The Samiti,
46. Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,
On, Translated ... T. Watters.
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BENGALI WORKS AND JOURNALS ETC.

1. Uttarabanga Sâhityasammilaner Kâryavivaran. ... Rungpur Sâhitya Parisat.
2. Kâchhârer Itivritta. ... Upendra Chandra Guha.
3. Kâmarupa-sâsanâvali. ... Padmanath Vidyavinode.
4. Kochbihar Sâhityasabhâr Kâryavivaran. ... Kochbihar Sâhitya Sabhâ.
5. Gosânimangal. ... Brajachandra Mazumdar.
6. Gauder Itihâsa. ... Rajanikanta Chakravarti.
7. Gauda-râja-mâlâ. ... Ramâprasad Chanda.
8. Prâchina Kâmaruper Râjamâlâ. ... Padmanath Vidyavinode.
9. Jalpesvar Mandirer Itivritta. ... Jalpesvar Mandir Committee.
10. Maimansinher Itihâsha. ... Kedarnath Mazumdar.
11. Mânichânder Gîta. ... Bangiya Sâhitya Parishat.
12. Murshidâbâder Itihâs. ... Nikhilnath Ray.
13. Murshidâbâd Kâhini. ... Nikhilnath Ray.
14. Râjtarangini (Kalhan). ... Nibaranchandra Vidyaratna.
15. Râjamâlâ (History of Tripura). ... Kailash Chandra Sinha.
16. Rias-us-sâlâtîn. ... Rampran Gupta.
17. Bagurâr Itihâsa. ... Prabhas Chandra Sen.
18. Banger Sâmâjik Itihâs. ... Durgachandra Sanayal.
19. Banglâr Itihâs, Parts I and II. ... Rakhalidas Bandopadhyaya.
20. Bânglâr Itihâsa (Astâdasa Satâbdir). .. Kaliprasanna Bandopadhyaya.
21. Visvakosa. ... Nagendranath Vasu.
22. Sambhuvansa-charita (of Kakina). ... Banwarichandra Chaudhuri.
23. Srihatter Itivritta. ... Achyuta Charan Chaudhuri.
24. Journals—
 Alochanâ, Aitihâsik Chitra,
 Kamalâ, Navya-bhârata, Pra-
 bâsi, Bhâratbarsha, Bhârati,
 Rangpur Sâhitya Parishat Pa-
 trikâ, Bangiya Sâhitya Paris-
 hat Patrikâ, Basumati, Sâhitya,
 etc.
25. Serpurer Itihâsa. ... Hargopal Das Kundu.

ASSAMESE WORKS, JOURNALS ETC.

1. Asāmbanti Patrikā ... Publisher.
2. Asām Buranjee (4th Edition). ... Rai Gunābhirām Barua.
3. Asām-Buranjee. ... Harkanta Barua.
4. Asāmar sanksipta Buranjee (2nd Edition). ... Padmanath Barua.
5. Kāmarupar Buranjee. ... Suryakumar Bhuiya.
6. Gurulilā-Dāmodaradevacharita ... Ram Ray.
7. Purani Asama Buranjee ... Hemchandra Gosvami.
8. Mahāpurusa Sankar O Mādhavdevar Jibancharitra ... Daityari Thakur.
9. Sankaracharita ... Ramcharan Thakur.
10. Sree Sree Vanamali Deva Charitra ... Ramkanta Dvija.
11. Sree Sree Dāmodara Deva Charitra ... Nilkantha Das.
12. Sree Sree Sankara Deva ... Bhusan Dvija.
13. Sat sampradayer Katha ... Bhattadeva Kaviratna.

MANUSCRIPTS.

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|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ādikāṇḍa Rāmāyana ... | ... Mādhavadeva. |
| 2. Ādīparva Mahābhārata ... | ... Sreenāth Brahman. |
| 3. Āsramika Parva Mahābharata ... | ... Kirtichandra Dvija. |
| 4. Upakathā (now printed)* ... | ... Maharaja Harendranārāyan. |
| 5. Kirātparva Mahābhārata ... | ... Kavisekhar. |
| 6. Gosānimangal ... | ... Radhakanta Adhikari. |
| 7. Dronparva Mahābhārata ... | ... Sreenath Brahman. |
| 8. Do Do ... | ... Dvija Kaviraj. |
| 9. Bhāgvat (Dasam Skandha) ... | ... Pitambar Siddhantabagis. |
| 10. Bhāgvatśāra. ... | ... Raja Ramchandra. |
| 11. Bhīma Parva (Mahābhārata) ... | ... Ram Sarasvati. |
| 12. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna ... | ... Pitambar Siddhantabagis. |
| 13. Vanaparva (Mahābhārata) ... | ... Paramānanda Tarkālankār. |
| 14. Sāttvata Tantra. ... | ... Ramchandra Dvija. |
| 15. Buranji from Khunlong and Khunlai,
translated from Āhom language
(Printed with the Āhom text as
'Āhom Buranji' in 1930). ... | The Assam Government. |
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* Two different works bearing the common name of 'Upakatha' and written by Maharaja Harendranārāyan have been edited by S. C. Ghoshal, M. A., B. L., and published by Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabha.

HINDI, URDU AND PERSIAN WORKS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Ain-i-Akbari (original). ... Sheik Abul Fasl Allami.
2. Akbarnâmâ (original) Account of the first 47 years of the reign of Akbar Saha). ... Do.
3. Akbarnâmâ (Collections in Hindi and Urdu. Account of 51 years of the reign of Akbar). ... Munsî Deviprasad.
4. Alamgirnâmâ (original) (Account of the first ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb Saha) ... Mirza Mohammad Kazem.
5. Târikh-i-Asâm or Fâtehâ-i-libriyâ (original). ... Hisabuddin Mohammad Talis.
6. Târikh-i-Feristâ (original) (Different editions printed in Calcutta, Bombay and Cawnpore). ... Mohammad Kazem Feristâ.
7. Târikh-i-Feristâ (Urdu) (Printed in 1896 in a Lucknow Press). ... Newalkishore Press.
8. Tâbkât-i-Nâseri (original). ... Minhâj Serajuddin Omarul Gajjali.
9. Tozak-i-Jahangiri (Urdu) (Biography of Jehangir Saha) (Original by Jehangir Badsâha).
10. Fatuhât-i-Alamgiri (original) ... Isvardas Nâgar.
11. Badsahanama (original) ... Abdul Hamid Lahori.
12. Maser-i-Alamgiri (original) (Account of events later than Alamgirnâma). ... Mohammad Sâki Mostayed Khan.
13. Shâh-jâhân-nâmâ (Urdu and Hindi) (collections on the basis of the original written by Mohammad Bin Sâleh). ... Munshi Deviprasad.

SANSKRIT WORKS,
(With Bengali translation)

1. Agni Purâna.
 2. Aitareya Brahmana.
 3. Rigveda-Samhitâ.
 4. Kâlikâ-Purâna.
 5. Kurma Purâna.
 6. Garuda Purâna.
 7. Brahma Purâna.
 8. Brahmanda Purâna.
 9. Matsya Purâna.
 10. Manu Sanhitâ.
 11. Mahâbhârata.
 12. Mârkandeya Purâna.
 13. Yogini Tantra.
 14. Raghuvamsa.
 15. Râmâyana.
 16. Varâha Purâna.
 17. Vâyu Purâna.
 18. Visnu Purâna.
 19. Vrihat Samhitâ.
 20. Satapatha Brahmana.
 21. Harshacharita.
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A HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF ANCIENT KÂMARUPA.

THAT vast region to the north-east of India, subtending from the base of the mighty Himalayas and washed by the pure waters of the Trisrotâ (Tista) and Brahmaputra, is recognised as the abode of an ancient Indian civilisation. During the past thousand years or more, it came to be known as Prâggyotis, Laubitya, Kâmarupa and Kâmatâ, and its geographical boundaries fluctuated. Betimes the country was divided in parts bearing different names; at other times the parts amalgamated and the whole assumed the name of one of the parts.

The designation "Prâggyotis" is current in works like the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârata, Hari-vamsa, Brahma-purâna, Prâggyotis.

Brahmânda-purâna, Vâyu-purâna, Matsya-purâna, Srimadbhâgavat, Raghuvamsa and Brihat-samhitâ. The form "Upajyotis" is mentioned in the Brihat-samhitâ and "Uttarajyotis" in the Mahâbhârata. "Prâggyotis" recurs in the Harsha-charita (7th century) and in the inscription of Nârâyan-pâla (9th century); and again in the inscription of Vanamâla (9th century) which also referred to the town of Hârappeswar on the banks of the Lauhitya. In the inscription of Balabarmâ (10th century), the names "Prâggyotispur," "Daksinakula," "Dijinnâ" and "Hârappeswar city", appear. In the rock-inscription of Harjar Varmâ at Tejpur (510 Gupta era = 829 A. D.), we read of Hârappeswar city. Then in the inscriptions of Indrapâla and Ratnapâla which date from the

beginning of the eleventh century;—"Prâggyotis", "Uttarakula", and "Durjjayâ" are specified in the former, and in the latter Ratnapâla is self-styled "the delight of Kâmarupa" and "the Ruler of Prâggyotis", and there are references to "Uttarakula", "Durjjayâpur" and "Kalangâ". In the beginning of the twelfth century, when Dharmapâla and Vaidyadeva were rulers, an inscription from the former's reign speaks of "the ruler of Prâggyotis", and says that "Dharmapâla was the king in the city of Kâmarupa". From a copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva's time, we find that he conferred a grant of land in "Kâmarupa-mandala" within "Prâggyotis bhukti". In the Râjatarangini (12th century), "Prâggyotisa" and "Strîrâjya" are mentioned.

The name "Lauhitya" is common to the Raghuvamsa
 Lauhitya. the Brihat-samhitâ, the Mahâbhârata and the Mârkandeya Purâna. In the Brahma Purâna we find "Brahmakunda" and "Kâmâkhyâ".

There are widespread references to "Kâmarupa" in the Visnu Purâna, Kurma Purâna, Brahma Purâna, Kâlikâ Purâna, and other Purânas, and in the Raghuvamsa; and again on the,
 Kâmarupa. Asoka pillar of Allahabad, in connection with the conquests of Samudragupta (4th century). The oldest of all inscriptions of the rulers of Kâmarupa, the copper-plate inscription of Bhâskarvarmâ (7th century), which issued from Karna-suvarna, bears the name "Kâmarupa".

In "Si-u-ki" the record of the travels of Yuan Chwang and in the Harsha-charita, the form is "Kâmarupa", and Yuan Chwang states that aborigines dwell to the east of the country. (Suleman, an Arabian trader of the 9th century, refers to the land of "Rumi".) "Kâmarupa" is engraved in the temple inscription of Vijayasena (11th century), the inscription of Laksman Sena (12th century) and abounds in the works Vikramânka-deva-charita and

Râm-charita. The traveller Al Beruni (11th century) gave the countries on the north-east of India as Nepal, Kâmrû and Bhoteswar. Later, (13th century), Kâmarûpa is used in the work "Tabkât-i-Nâsiri and on the Kânâi-barsî rock-edict of north Gauhati (early 13th century). Hemchandra Suri who lived during the same period affirms in his work *Abhidhâna-chintâmani* that Kâmarûpa is another name of Prâgjyotisa. On the coins of Sikendar Sah, the Sultan of Bengal (14th century), there is the variation "Kâmrû *alias* Châulistân," and on those of Husain Sah (15th century) the two forms "Kâmrû" and "Kâmatâ."

In 1586, Ralph Fitch, an English merchant, knew the "Cooch" country. "Koch" is the spelling in the *Târikhi-i-feristâ* (compiled in the latter part of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century)

Koch.

the *Akbarnâmâ* and the *Tozak-i-Jehângiri*. Stephen Cacella, a Portuguese traveller of the same period latinized the name of the country to "Cocho" and recorded its capital as "Biar." In the works *Âin-i-Âkbari* and *Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi* we find reference to the "Koch" country within which there are two kingdoms "Kâmatâ" and "Kâmarûpa," and in the

Kâmatâ and Kâmarûpa.

Yoginitantra and in the colophon of the translation of *Mârkandeya Purâna* by Pitâambar Siddhântabâgis, to the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Raghudebnarayan (1583 A. D.) styled himself "the lord of Kâmarûpa" in an inscription at the door of the temple of Hayagriva Mâdhava in Hajô. Prânnarayan and Modnarayan, Rulers of Cooch Behar in the 17th century, declared themselves the rulers of Kâmatâ. "Comotay" is the appellation on Blaeu's Map 1650 A. D.

The form changes to "Ratnapith" in the colophon of *Âdiparva* of the *Mahâbhârata* translated in the 17th century. In the

Bâdsâhanâmâ and Sâhâjâhân-nâmâ, which
Koch-bihar and Koch Hâjo.

date from the middle of the 17th century, the western portion of the country has been called Koch-bihar

in place of Kāmāta and the eastern portion Koch-Hājo in place of Kāmarupa. The same distinction has been maintained in the Tārīkh-i-Āsām and the Alamgir-nāmā. In the map of Vanden Brouck drawn in this century there is the variation, "Ragiawerra-Cos Bhaar." An unknown Dutch sailor (who accompanied Nawab Mirjumla) refers the country "Kosbia."⁽¹⁾ In the colophon of Kirātparva and Adiparva translated during this century we find "Kāmtā Bihar."

Kāmā Bihār.

Māser-i-Ālamgiri and the Fatuhât-i-Ālamgiri of the 18th century, "Kochbihar" is used. In the Biswa-kosa it has been suggested that prior to the reign of the Ruler Laksmīnarayan of Cooch Behar, the country was "Bihar," but it had become designated as "Kochbihar" to distinguish it from "Bihar" which was under the Mughals.—This view is not tenable.

In the Kalikāpurāna we read that Brahmā first created the stars within a region which, to betoken its equality with the abode of Indra, became famous as Prāgyjyotisa,⁽²⁾ and there is a tradition that in olden times astronomy was studied here. Another interpretation has it that formerly an area near Dinajpur was known as 'Jyotisdesa' and because of its situation towards the east, it was called Prāgyjyotisa.

The origin of the name of Prāgyjyotisa.

In Pandunāth, according to the Paurānik legend, the Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha were killed and Brahmā worshipped Kālī for the destruction of Kesi. This place came to be more widely known as Kāmākhyā from the legend of a part of the body of Sati having fallen here. † Kāmarupā is another name

The origin of the name of Kāmarupa.

(1) "After a long march, we entered into Kosbia, a country lying between the kingdoms of Bengala and 'Azo', of which the general easily became master."—*Bengal Past and Present Vol. XXIX, p. 14.*

(2) Kālīkā-Purāna Adhyāya 38, verse 119.

† Kālīkā-purāna; Adhyāya 62 Verses 74, 77 and 103. Also Yogini Tantra, First Half. Pataja 15 Verses 48, 49.

of Bhagabati. (3) Another belief inclined to derivation from the tribe 'Khamba' of Assam; yet another, that because Madan or Kâma, after being destroyed by the fire from Shiva's eye, regained his body (Rupa) there, the place-name became Kâmapupa. (4)

There are different views about the origin of 'Koch-Bihar'; one that it means the abode or play-ground of the Koch people; another that it is the place where Mahâdeva dallied with a daughter of a Koch. Similarly with "Koch"; one derivation is that Ksatriyas took shelter in the lap (koch) of Bhagabati, being frightened by Parasurâma; another that the root is derived from the shrunken condition (sankoch) of the Ksatriyas. In the Viswa-kosa 'sankoch' is considered synonymous with 'koch'; alternatively the word Koch has been adapted from the 'kos' portion of the name of the river "Sankos". It is also claimed that the root is from "kubâcha" (signifying those who do not speak a pure dialect) and mentioned in the Jâtikaumudi and Yoginitantra. In the Yoginitantra, the land is "Kos", and in Pliny's Indica "Cosyri" are inhabitants of the land below the Himalayas. The "Koch" race is referred to in the Brahmavaivarta Purâna (Brahma Khanda, Adhyâya 10) and in the Melbidhi of Debivara Misra (15th century). "Kochak" is the variation in the Kulakârikâ of Dhruvânanda Misra. Most of the Mahomedan chroniclers, however, are aware of the Koch race. (5)

* (3) Kalikâ-Purâna, Adhyâya 64, verse 73.

(4) Ibid Adhyâya 51, verse 55—76.

(5) There is no mention of any race other than Koch and Mech as dwellers of the country, in the Khorshed Jahânâmâ (19th century), Riâz-us-Salâtin (18th century) Âlamgirnamâ and Târikh-Âi-sâm (17th century). In the Tabkât-i-nâsiri (13th century) we find the name of an additional race named Kheru.

In the Rājopākhyāna, it has been written that the country was named Bihar because Jalpeswar (Siva) wandered or played there, the meaning of the word being "wandering" or "play." Again, the

The origin of the name of Bihar.

monasteries of Buddhist ascetics were generically known as Bihar. According to some writers a Buddhist monastery was founded in the place called Bihar in the modern district of Patna; and later, by inference, a vast surrounding area came to be known as Bihar. There is no doubt that Buddhist doctrines were widely spread, and the places of worship of Mahākāl at the extremity of the town of Cooch Behar and in the Bhutan hills, the Yogi-ghopâ and Mangalchandi in Goalpârâ, Mangalchandi in the District of Kâmrup, Yogijân in Naogaon, the temples known as Chandikâ-bihâr and Singri in Durrung and those in Khamti in Laksmipur,—are all relics of the Buddhist age. It is interesting to find an area or town of Kalinga in the temple inscription of Bijaysendeva in Debapara within the district of Rajsaïi, in the old work Mangalchandi written by Manik Dutt and in the copper-plate inscription of Ratnapâla. According to some historians, Kalinga was a centre of Bauddha-tântrik practice and was situated at the foot of the Himalayas. ⁽⁶⁾ In the song of Maynâmati, still prevalent in this part of the country, the name 'Kalinga bazar' occurs.

In the Rājavansâvali which was written under the orders of Kharganaryan, the Raja of Durrung, it is set down that the capital of Raja Ârimatta was in the town of Bihar. In the Kâmarupa Vansâvali, a Bhuiya of Bihar who was conquered by Bisvasinha, is mentioned. The country of Mithila is known

Bihar in different places.

(6) Sâhitya-parisat-patrikā 1317 B. S., Part 17, Issue 4, page 255.—It is said that 'Ekâmraksetra' the place of play of Siva, as described in the Purânas, was in the country of Kalinga. In the Yoginitantra it is written that the mother of Bisvasinha who was loved by Siva was cursed by a Brahmin in her previous birth in Ekâmraksetra (now known as Bhubaneswara Dham) and as a result became a Mlechchha in her subsequent life.

as North Bihar from the Buddhist age. Different places in Bengal and Assam, 'Chandikâ-Bihar' in Durrung districts, 'Halud Bihar' in the district of Rajsahi, 'Subarna Bihar' in the district of Nadia etc., the villages 'Bihâr' and 'Vâsu-bihâr' near Mahâsthângarh in the district of Bogra, are so called, in General Cunningham's view, because they were sites of Buddhist monasteries, and indeed it may be inferred that 'Bihar' does imply the former existence of a Buddhist monastery.

In the sixteenth century Sukham Fa, the Ahom ruler, addressed Naranârâyan the Ruler of Kâmatâ as "lord of Bihar".

In an inscription of the 17th century found in a temple in Nepal this country is also referred to as Bihar. In the work 'The lives of Sankaradeva, Mâdhabadeva and Dâmodaradeva' written in the same century, there is allusion to "the kingdom of Behar" and "the city of Behar". In a sanad granted by a Ruler of Cooch Behar in the 18th century, 'Bihar' only, occurs. In the map of Major Rennel drawn in the same century, the capital of the kingdom has been styled Bihar. At that time the Ruler of Bhutan addresses the Ruler of Cooch Behar as 'lord of Behar'. In the treaty between the East India Company and the Ruler of Cooch Behar in 1773, however, the kingdom is 'Kochbihar' and the capital 'Behar Fort'; and subsequently in the narrative of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton written in the beginning of the last century we find only the name 'Bihar'. The history of the dynasty of the Rulers of Cooch Behar, the Râjopâkhyâna, compiled in the middle of the 19th century, uses 'Bihar' and not 'Kochbihar'. Sir Willam Hunter

The modern name of Cooch
Behar.

opined that 'Nijbihar' was the form recognized by the Durbar of Cooch Behar.⁽⁷⁾

Be this as it may, to avoid diversity, the State of Cooch Behar has since directed, by an order

(7) A more accurate view would be perhaps that Nijbihar was employed to differentiate the kingdom of Cooch Behar from the territory occupied by the Moguls in the middle of the 17th century which was called "Sarkar Kochbihar".

published in 1896, that 'Cooch Behar' shall be the spelling to be used. (8)

The description of ancient Kāmarupa is not the same in all the Tantras. In the "Kālikāpurāna" it is recorded that Narayan transferred the territory bounded on the east by Lalitakāntār and on the west by the river Karatoya, to Naraka. Before

The topography of ancient Kāmarupa.

this the Kirātas had dwelt in this region, but with the advent of Naraka they migrated to the country of Dikkarabāsini (on the banks of the Dikrai river) near the sea. (9) There was 'sea' to the south of Kāmarupa. (10) In the Kalikāpurāna the area of the country is 30 yojans in length and 100 yojans in breadth. It is triangular in configuration and abounds in black hills, though there is no express reference either to a northern or southern boundary. There are four territories, Ratnapitha, Kāmapitha, Svarnapitha and Saumāpitha.

According to geologists, in very ancient times the area now bounded on the south by the river Padma, on the east by the river Meghna and on the west by the river Hoogly, consisted of islands in a vast sea. It is noteworthy that the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) has not referred by name to any

(8) "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur having signified his approval of the use of the spelling 'Cooch Behar', all other spelling of the word should be dropped."—*Cooch Behar Gazette*, Part I, 1896, Page 28. (Translator).

(9) Kalikāpurāna, Adhyāya 38, verses 94—126.

"At the extremity of which, there are Kirātas on the east and Yavanas on the west—*Viṣṇupurāna*, Ansa II, Chapter III, verse 8.

In Nepal many races of Kirāta reside. It is inferred that the nomadic tribe Scyrites mentioned in Pliny's *Indica* is the race of Kirātas. In Ptolemy's geography Kirradia has been mentioned as the residence of Kirātas. Some commentators have expressed the opinion that this was ancient Kāmarupa.

(10) "A person bathing in Chandikā, ascending the hill Dhabaleswar, seeing the southern sea, touching Goloka.....The sea named Laubhitya on the south of Barnāsā."—*Kalikāpurāna*, Adhyāya 78.

Probably the river Laubhitya was also called the sea of Laubhitya.

country east of the Gangā (Bhāgirathi or Hoogly) either in his work or map.⁽¹¹⁾ The situation of the "Banga" which occurs in the Purānas, has not been located. The Mahābhārata also refers to the kingdom of Banga and the rulers of Banga, Chandrasena and Samudrasena.⁽¹²⁾ The Mlecchha rulers living near the shores of the sea in Lauhitya are reputed to have offered jewels of various kinds as presents, and rendered tribute to Bhimasena. Before Yuan Chwang visited India, the tract to the east of the Bhāgirathi was known as Samatata. In his travels, he noted descriptions of the following places in north-eastern India:—(1) Paundrabardhana (Malda, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Pabna, (2) Kāmarupa, (3) Samatata (the plain near the sea), (4) Karnasubarna (Murshidabad) and (5) Tāmralipta (Tamluk).⁽¹³⁾ Formerly the estuary of the Lauhitya river is said to have been so extensive as to be called the Lauhitya sea, and even now portions of the river are referred to by local people as Hāor (sea). It does not appear to be impossible therefore that the estuary of Lauhitya in some past age was near the southern boundary of Kāmarupa.

(11) In the work of Claudius Ptolemæus the map of India was roughly drawn. His description of Bengal and Kāmarupa is indefinite, but commentators like Saint Martin, Yule etc, have attempted to identify the places mentioned by Ptolemy, e.g.—Tamluk (Tamalites), Bardhamān (the capital of Gangaridai), Rungpur (Karradia). Rāngāmāti (Rhadamarkotta) the northern part of lower Assam (Aninakhai), Subarnagrāma (Sonanagoura), Tripura (Triglypton), Himālaya (Emoli), Bhutan hills (Damassa), the Hugli river (Kambyson), Burigangā (Antiboli), Dihing Brahmaputra (Doanas), the Nāgā tribes (Nangalogai) etc. Some has inferred that there was a place called Gange near Jessore and Khulna but this view has been dissented from by others.

(12) The real name of this country is Banga. As there are small 'Āls' (weirs) in it, the name has become Bengala. [Sair-ul-Mutāksarin (Urdu) page 15].

Banga was the son of Bali. "His sons were Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma. The countries named after them became known in the world."—Mahābhārata—Adiparva, Adhyāya 104, verse 53.

(13) "Kosalāndhra-pundra-tāmralipta-samatata-purim cha devarakṣito rakṣita".—Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4. 24. 64.

In the Purāṇas the sacred character of the country has been emphasized. The Pāṇdavas at the time of their renunciation advanced to the shores of the Lauhitya sea. Arjuna flung his Gāndīva bow into the waters of the Lauhitya. In the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, we do not observe any reference to the Brahmaputra; only in the Garuda Purāṇa is this form used. In the Brihatsamhitā Harivamsa, Matsyapurāṇa, Vāyupurāṇa and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa the river is termed "Lohita", and in the Kurmapurāṇa "Lohini". Even in the 6th century the present-day Brahmaputra was known as the Lauhitya. In the copper-plates of Vanamāla and Balabarmā (9th century) mount Kailāsa has been stated to be the source of the Lauhitya.⁽¹⁴⁾ The copper-plate inscriptions of Ratnapāla and Indrapāla (11th century) designate the river as the "Lauhitya". In the copper-plate inscription of Indrapāla, Lauhitya is the son of Brahmā. It is said that Parasurāma while seeking expiation from the sin of killing his mother, discovered Brahma-kunda and conducted its water in a channel (Brahmaputra) to India. The Buddhists, on the other hand, say that the Brahmaputra was made to descend to the plains by Manjughosa, and according to another view, that the Buddhist sage Padmasambhava created the junction of the Sāmpu river with the Brahmaputra.

From the Purāṇik age, Karatoya is regarded as a sacred river of Kāmarupa. It is said that it sprang from the water falling from Siva's hand when Himalaya was giving him his daughter. Other traditions are that Manu (worshipped Siva on the banks of the river Manu in Sylhet, that the river Barabakra was

The rivers of Kāmarupa.

(14) In the Purāṇas, the source of the river Lauhitya is thus described :—

The source of Lauhitya is in the Himalayas (Matsya Purāṇa, Adhyāya 114. Varāha Purāṇa, Adhyāya 85; Vāyu Purāṇa, Adhyāya 45). The river Lauhitya has sprung from the Lohita Sarovara (lake) near the peaks of the Himalayas (Matsya Purāṇa, Adhyāya 121). The river Lauhitya has originated from the Lohita Sarovara (lake) in the south of Kailāsa (Vāyupurāṇa, Adhyāya 47).

In the Ahom language, the Brahmaputra is called Nam-dao-phi, and its tributary the Lohit, Nam-ti-lao.

capable of cleansing all sin. Some scholars consider that the Karatoya must be different from the Sadānirā referred to in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Trisrotā or Tista, another big river, is stated in the Kālikāpūrāṇa to have risen from the heart of Bhagavati. In the same Purāṇa the following rivers are noticed:—

Subarnamānas (Mānas), Jatodā (Jhaddā or Gadādhār), Sitaprabhā or Svetabarnā (Dhabalā or Dharlā), Nabatoyā (Toyarosā or Torsā), Ksirapāksyā (Dudhkumar), Nilā (Nilkumar) and Bhairabi.

Certain kingdoms are said to have existed in or near Kāmarupa:—the ancient Nāga kingdom (Naga hills).

Some kingdoms mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Hairambha (Kāchhār), Sonitapur (Tejpur) Matsyadesa (south of Rungpur), Vidarbha or Kaundilya (near Sadia) and Manipur.

Naraka established a colony of Aryans in Kāmarupa after expelling the Kirāta race. His son Bhagadatta attended the

(15) In ancient works like the Purāṇas, there are indefinite and differing versions regarding the situation of these countries, e. g.—

PRĀGJYOTISA.—In the eastern country—(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Adhyāya 57; Vāyu Purāṇa, Adhyāya 45; Matsya Purāṇa, Adhyāya 114; Brahma Purāṇa, Adhyāya 27). Situated in constellations 6, 7 and 8 in the eastern country (Bṛihatsamhitā 14. 7—8). Between Trigarta and the territory of the ruler of Sindhu (Aswamedha Parva, Adhyāya 74 and 77). On the north of Hastināpur (Sabhā Parva, Adhyāyas 25 and 26). Narak resided in Prāggyotisa near Varāha mountain on the shores of the western sea, (Kāśikandhyā Kāṇḍa, Sarga 42). The kingdom of Bhagadatta was in southern valley of the Himalayas (Vāyu Purāṇa, Adhyāya 41; Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Adhyāya 43). Bhagadatta resided on the shores of the eastern sea (Udyoga Parva, Adhyāya 4).

LAHURITVA.—In the eastern country (Sabhāparva, Adhyāya 30).—In constellations 6, 7 and 8 of the eastern country (Vṛihat Samhitā XIV. 7—8). Near Trigarta and Kāsmira (Sabhāparva, Adhyāya 27).

HAIRAMBA.—Near the country of Matsya and Trigarta (Ādiparva, Adhyāyas 155 and 156). According to other views, near Badaun or Bundelkhand or in the Punjab.

SONITAPURA.—There is a tradition that the city of Rāna was in Devakot (Devikot) in the district of Dimaipur and that the fight between Śrēekṛishṇa and Bāna took place in Karadaha on the banks of the river Punarbhavā. The ruins of Balligram situated eight miles to the north-east of Thana Ksetial in the district of Bogra is indicated as the capital of king Balli.

MATSYA.—In the central country—(Bhishmaparva, Adhyāya 6; Matsya Purāṇa, Adhyāya 114). Under constellations 3, 4 and 5 (Bṛihatsamhitā 14. 2—3). In the

Râjsuya sacrifice performed by Yudhisthira and he joined in the great war of Kuruksetra with armies of China and Kirâta soldiers.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the Purânas Srikrishna, Bhima, Karna and Arjuna came to Prâggyotisa or Kâmarupa in persuit of conquest and for other purposes. The Asuras, Daityas, Dânavas and Kinnaras, though spoken of either as demi-gods living in heaven, or as different from ordinary human beings, were really members of a society with advanced knowledge and improved customs. It is inferred from these sources that these castes dwelt at the base of the Himalayas and within the India of those days, the home of Mura the enemy of Visnu or Mura Daitya (or the race of Daityas) being also in Prâggyotisapura.

In the Yoginitantra and Kalikâpurâna the whole of Kâmarupa is acclaimed as a holy place of pilgrimage. The Brahmakunda and Kâmâkhyâpitha are celebrated to all the Hindus of India. The sanctity of places like Vasisthâsrama Aswâklânta, Umânanda, deities like Pândunath, Bhubaneswari,

central country, near the Vindhya ranges (Mârkandeya Purâna Adhyâyas 57 and 58). In the south (Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 31; Kiskindhyâ-kânda, Sarga 41). In Brahmarsi-desa (Manusambhitâ, 2. 19). Near the Ganges (Vâyupurâna, Adhyâya 47; Brahmânda Purâna Adhyâya 51). Other views vary from near Mayurbhanj or Surat, to the Jaipur State or the south of Mathura. There is a place named Virât in the south of Rungpur. There is a tradition that a place known there as 'Ghodâghât' derived its name from the stables of king Virât situated there.

VIDARBHA.—In the south (Mârkandeya Purâna, Adhyâya 57; Vâyu Purâna, Adhyâya 45; Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 114; Harivamsa, Visnuparva, Adhyâya 59; Kiskindhyâkânda, Sarga 41). In the south-eastern country (Garuda Purâna, Purva-khanda, Adhyâya 55). Under constellations 9, 10 and 11. Vrihatsambhitâ 14. 8) Near Saurâstra (Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 31).

Bhismaka was the ruler of Kundina kingdom in Vidarbha (Visnupurâna, v. 26. 1.)

It is traditional among the 'Chulikâtâ Mismi' race of Assam that they shave their heads to preserve the remembrance of Srikrishna's shaving the head of Rukmi.

There is a place named Kundin and a river named Kundil near Sadia.

MANIPUR.—Situated at the base of the Mahendra hills in the Eastern Ghat (Âdiparva, Adhyâya 215).

(16) Mahâbharata, Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 34; Udyogaparva, Adhyâya 19.

Kedâresvara, Hayagrîva, ⁽¹⁷⁾ Kâmatesvari, Siddhesvari, Banesvar and Jalpesvar, ⁽¹⁸⁾ and rivers like the Brahmaputra (Lauhita), Trisrotâ, Karatoyâ, Barabakra and Jatodâ, is accepted by all the Hindus. ⁽¹⁹⁾ There is a tradition that Laksmindra the son of Chând Sadâgar regained his life in Dhubri through the kindness of a washerwoman, Netâ. ⁽²⁰⁾

(17) In the Râmâyana the demons Panchajana and Hayagrîva lived near Prâgyotisapura. Nârâyana killed them and brought back a discus (Chakra) and a conch (Pâñchajanya) *c. g.*—

“Tatra Panchajanam hatvâ Hayagrîvancha dânavam. Âjahâra tataschakram sankhancha purushottamah.”

Kiskindhyâkânda, Sarga 42, verse 28. Hayagrîva was the General of Naraka (Harivamsa, Visnuparva, Adhyâya 63). Srikrisna killed him.

“Tam jaghâna Hayagrîvam samatikramya Kesavah.” (Kâlikâ Purâna Adhyâya 40.)

According to another view, Hayagrîva is the incarnation of Nârâyana.

“Manikûtâchale Visnur-Hayagrîva-svarupadhrik.” (Yoginitantra, Uttarakhanda IX. 123). Nârâyana killed the Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha taking the appearance of Hayagrîva. (Sântiparva Adhyâya 347.)

The people of Bhutan worship the deity Hayagrîva. They believe that the image has been brought from Bhutan—(Assam Buranji, by Rai Gunâbhiram Barua, page 37).

“The temple of Hazo is an object of veneration of Buddhists as well as to Hindus. It is said to have been originally built by Ubo Rishi,”—(Kamrup District Gazetteer, page 93).

(18) It is said that Kâmatesvari was in an amulet worn by Bhagadatta on his arm

There is a tradition that Banesvar Siva was established by king Bâna and, Jalpesvar Siva by king Jalpesvar.

(19) The efficacy of bathing in Jotodayâ (Gadadhar) is thus described in Kâlikâ Purâna :—

“A person bathing in it on the Sukla Astami day in the month of Chaitra, goes to the abode of Siva after enjoying his full span of life and becoming the best of men.” (Adhyâya 77).

The present temple of Jalpesvar Siva is situated on the banks of a small stream named Jhordâ. (The Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, page 152). It seems that in ancient times this stream was a big river and known as Jatodayâ (Jatodâ).

(20) The residence of Chând Sadâgar is supposed to be in many places *e. g.*, in the town of Champak in Tripura, in the town of Champai in Burdwan, in Mahâsthân Bogra, in Kântanagar in Dinajpur, on the banks of the Ranjit river in Darjeeling, on the Nâkata hill in Kâmarupa, etc.

Some historical renderings from the Purānas.

In the 28th Chapter of the Varāha-purāna Betrāsut, the son of King Sindhu-dvipa is recorded as the ruler of Prāgyjotisa and as defeating Indra. According to the Mahābhārata, Indra killed Britrāsura with a thunderbolt prepared from the bone of the sage Dadhichi.⁽²⁰⁾ In the Rig-veda, there is marked absence of reference to Prāgyjotisa but a description of the killing of the son of the necromancer Brisaya is included. According to Śāyanācharya, Brisaya is an alias of Tvastā, and his son Britra was killed by Indra with the help of the bone of Dadhichi.⁽²²⁾ If we hold that Betra, the son of Sindhudvipa, as mentioned in the Varāhapurāna, is identical with the son of Brisaya referred to in the Vedas, we can conclude that Aryans had come to the country when the Rigveda was compiled. In the Brāhmanas of the Vedas the Aryans settled in the eastern country by crossing the river Sadānirā between Kosala and Mithilā. This is recounted also in the Satapatha Brāhmana.⁽²³⁾ The Aryans came to Kāmarupa through Mithilā. According to the views of Bankimchandra Chatterjee also, Kāmarupa is an ancient settlement of Aryans.—The general inference is that when strife broke out between the Aryans and non-Aryans in southern India, some Aryans proceeded towards the east and settled in Kāmarupa or Prāgyjotisa.

(21) Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, Adhāya 342; Banaparva Adhyāyas 100 and 101; Udyogaparva, Adhyāyas 9 and 10.

(22) Rigveda :—Mandal 6, Sukta 61, Rik 3,
Mandal 2, Sukta 11, Rik 9 and 10,
Mandal 1, Sukta 84, Rik 13,
Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Adhyāyas IX and X.

(23) The river Sadānirā of the Vedas flows Uttara Parbat (Satapatha Brāhmana, Kānda 1, Prapāthaka 3, Brāhmana 3; 14-17). According to the Śāyanācharya, Karatoyā and Sadānirā are identical. Amarsinha and Hemchandra also assume that Sadānirā is another name of Karatoyā.

Before Naraka, the enemy of Srikrishna, the names of four kings of the Dānava dynasty viz.—Mahīraṅga, Hitakāsura, Sambarāsura and Ratanāsura, are recorded in connection with Kāmarupa. After the Dānava dynasty, Ghataka of the Kirāta dynasty became the ruler of Prāgjyotisapura. Beltalā was the capital of king Mahīraṅga, Rāṅgāmāti of king Sambara, and Ghataka had his capital in the Sarnia hills. (24) The Kālikāpurāṇa contains a detailed narrative of the death of Ghataka, the king of the Kirātas at the hands of Naraka, the conquest of Prāgjyotisa, the banishment of the Kirātas, and the settlement in Kāmarupa of persons of higher caste like the Brāhmanas.

Naraka, Bāna and Bhīsmaka ruled different regions at about the same time. When Naraka was killed in battle by Srikrishna, his son Bhagadatta became the king of Prāgjyotisa. Meghavāhan, the king of Kashmir married Amritaprabhā, a princess of the dynasty of Naraka. He received the Vārūṇa umbrella as a dower in this marriage. (25) When Bhagadatta, the son of Naraka, died in the Kuruksetra war fighting for the Kurus, his son Vajradatta succeeded as king of Prāgjyotisa. (26)

(24) The Vamsāvali of Samudranārāyan.—Sarnia hill is situated at the extremity of the town of Gauhati.

(25) Rājatarangini, Taranga II, verses 150—155. Bhāskaravarmā a later king of Kāmarupa presented 'Ābhoga' an umbrella of Varuna to Harshadeva.—Harsha-charita Uchchhvāsa VII.

Srikrishna killed Naraka and took his Vārūṇa umbrella (Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparva, Adhyāya 64).

(26) Mahābhārata (Asvamedhaparva Adhyāyas 75, 76). In the Nidhampur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmā and in the copper-plate inscription of Indrapāla, Vajradatta has been mentioned as the son of Bhagadatta; but in the copper-plates of Vanamāla, Balabarma and Ratnapāla, Vajradatta has been deemed brother and not son of Bhagadatta. From the Kālikāpurāṇa (Adhyāya 40) it appears that there were four sons of Naraka viz.—Bhagadatta, Mahāśirsa, Madavan and Sumāli.

In the Mahābhārata are the names of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, the kings of Prāgyjotisapura. It is deduced that a portion of China was under the rule of Bhagadatta. It would also seem that before the Aryans settled in southern and eastern Bengal, other Aryans were living in the neighbouring kingdom of Kāmarupa.

The work "The Koch Kings of Kāmarupa" states that the dynasty of Narka ended when the nineteenth king following Narka, Suparu, was killed by his minister. In the "Āsamar Sanksipta Burunji" king Subāhu the predecessor of Suparu was considered contemporary to Vikramāditya. Even if Suparu were a king of the dynasty of Naraka, he could not be the nineteenth king after Naraka, though he must have reigned a long time afterwards. Bhagadatta, the son of Naraka was killed in the war between the Kurus and the Pāndavas. There is great diversity of opinion as to the date of this war. (27) Another story handed down is that king

(27) "Āsan maghāsu munayah sāsati prithvim Judhisthire nripatau. Saddik-panchadvijutah sakakālastasya rajnascha. Ekaikasminnrikse satam satani te charanti varsānām". (Vrihat-samhitā 13, 3-4.) i. e. when king Judhisthira ruled the world, the Saptarsis were in the Maghā constellation. The time of Judhisthira is determined by adding 2526 to the year of Saka era. The Saptarsis stay in each constellation for a hundred years.

The beginning of the Kaliyuga, and in this connection the time of the reign of Parīkṣita have been mentioned in Purānas (Matsya Purāna Adhyāya 273, Vāyu Purāna Adhyāya 99, and Visnupurāna 4, 24 Adhyāya.)

The copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmā, reads that Pusyavarmā appeared three thousand years after Vajradatta. It has been reckoned that Pusyavarmā was a king of the fourth century. With this data the time of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta can be fixed in the 2700 B. C. The calculation of the Brihatsamhitā also would support this. In the almanacs now in vogue, which follow the view of the Purānas, the beginning of the Kaliyuga has been given as 3101 B. C.

HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR

Vikramāditya came to Kāmarupa under the orders of his Guru, and after offering 'Hatya' at the door of Kāmākhyā, became master of the demons Tāla and Vetāla. It is difficult to ascertain who this Vikramāditya was, even supposing the tradition to be true.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

THE history of the Sudra dynasty, from the beginning of the Christian era, is seen "through a glass darkly" (Ed.). It is sufficiently established that Debeswar who belonged to the Sudra caste and was a devotee of the goddess Kāmākhyā,

The Sudra dynasty.

ruled in Kāmarupa in the first or second century A. D. There are several sources to show that a king named Prithu, of the dynasty of Debeswar, ruled in western Kāmarupa, and that 'Bhitar garh' or 'Prithu Raja's garh' to the south-west of Jalpaiguri was his capital.⁽¹⁾ King

Nāgasankar.

Nāgasankar ruled in eastern Kāmarupa in 378 A. D., his capital being in

Pratapgarh near Tezpur. His dynasty is presumed to have existed for four hundred years, to the end of the 8th century.⁽²⁾

It is accepted that a king of the Koch country, Sāngaladeva became very powerful during the fourth or fifth century A. D. With four thousand soldiers mounted on elephants, a hundred thousand cavalry and four hundred thousand infantry, he repulsed the Hunas, extending his

Sāngaladeva.

(1) Dr. Buchanan Hamilton was of the opinion that this fort must have been built when knowledge of the art of warfare was meagre. He did not consider it to be very old. He discerned a resemblance between this fort and that at Kāmatāpur which was conquered at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. He supposed Prithu to be a relative of Dharmapāla, king of Kāmarupa. This Prithu was defeated by Bhīma who might be supposed to be a ruler of the same name belonging to the Kaibarta caste at the end of the 11th century.

(2) It is suggested that this dynasty was of subordinate rulers. During the period (the middle of the 7th century) Yuan Chwang came to Kāmarupa, but he has not referred to any kingdom near Kāmarupa. He has mentioned that aborigines reside on the east of Kāmarupa and on the south-west of China. Nor in the description of the conquests of King Lalitāditya of Kashmir, has any country other than Nepal, Morang and Bhot, been specified. For these reasons, it may be inferred that Kāmarupa was ruled to the end of the eighth century by subordinate Chiefs under the suzerainty of the dynasty of Bhagadatta.

kingdom from Bengal to Malava. He established his capital at the city of Laksnauti (Laksanâbati or Gour). In the *Tarikh-i-ferista* there is a reference to king 'Sankala'.

The 'Khorshed Jahannama' records that twenty-three centuries ago, a Koch king Mangaldipa defeated a Brahmin named Gandar or Kedar in the Siwalik hills and established the city of Gauda. (3) His kingdom was subsequently conquered by the Turanis (Mongols) and he was killed.

The following table shows the names of famous kings of Prâggyotisa or Kâmarupa from the fourth to the twelfth century A. D. (with approximate dates)—

DATE,	KINGS.	QUEENS.
<i>The dynasty of Naraka.</i>		
Fourth century	Pusyavarmâ	
"	Samudravarmâ	Dattadevi.
"	Balavarmâ	Ratnavati.
Fifth century	Kalyânvarmâ	Gandharvavati.
"	Ganapativarmâ	Jajnavati.
"	Mahendravarmâ	Subratâ.
"	Nârâyanvarmâ	Devavati.
Sixth century	Bhûtiarmâ	Bijnânnavati.
"	Chandramukha- varmâ.	Bhogavati.
"	Sthitavarmâ.	Nayanadevi.
"	Susthitavarmâ	Syâmâdevi.
Seventh century	Bhâskaravarmâ	
"	Sâlastambha	
"	Bigrâhastambha	
"	Vijaya	

(3) In ancient times there were several places named Gauda, in addition to Gauda the ruins of which are now in Malda. One was in Sylhet, another in the district of Gonda in Oudh to the north of Allahabad, a third in Majwa and a fourth also in Central India. In an aphorism of Pânini (VI. 1. 100) we find reference to a 'Gauda in the eastern country.'

DATE.	KINGS.	QUEENS.
	<i>The dynasty of Naraka.</i>	
Eighth century	Pālaka	
"	Kumāra	
"	Bajradeva	
"	Sriharis	
Ninth century	Prālambha	Srijivadā.
"	Harjara *	Tārā, Mangalasri or Srimattarā.
"	Vanamāla	
"	Jaymāla	
"	Birbāhu	Ambā.
Tenth century	Balavarmā	
"	Tyāgasinha	
"	Brahmapāla	Kuladevi.
Eleventh century	Ratnapāla *	
"	Purandarapāla	Durlabhā.
"	Indrapāla	
"	Gopāla	Nayanā.
"	Harshapāla	
Twelfth century	Dharmapāla *	
"	Tingadeva } Tingyadeva }	
"	Baidyadeva *	
"	Ballavadeva *	

* Inscriptions relating to the kings marked with asterisks, have been discovered. The copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmā is not an original grant. It was intended to replace a lost copper-plate grant of his great-great-grandfather Bhātivarmā. (One of its component plates has not been found). In the copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, the kings from Śālastambha to Tyāgasinha have been termed 'rulers of the Mlechchhas' and have been distinguished from the dynasty of Naraka. Ratnapāla mentions that the dynasty of Naraka or the Bhauma dynasty recommenced from his father Brahmapāla. From this, some historians have concluded that king Śālastambha and others were Mlechchhas,—but those kings in their own inscriptions have deemed themselves descendants of Naraka and as belonging to the dynasty of Bhagadatta. The last three kings in the table do not rank in the dynasty of Naraka.

In the "Kāmarupa-Sāsanāvali" compiled by Padmanath Vidyāvinode Tattvasaraswati (pages 45 and 46 and the Introduction pages 20 and 21) it has been asserted that Bigrahastambha is another name of Vijaya and Viravāhu synonymous with Jayamāla.

In the fourth century, the influence of Samudragupta, the second emperor of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha permeated the kingdom of Kāmarupa. (4) At the beginning of the 6th century Yosodharma Visnuvardhan consolidated a powerful position by defeating Mihirakula the ruler of the Hunas, and extended his kingdom to the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra river).

It has been accepted that during the same century, Sasānka Narendragupta, king of Karnasuvarna pressed his sphere of influence as far as the country bordered by the Lauhitya. (5) It is also on record that when the work 'Sankara-digvijaya' was composed (6th century, but according to some in the 8th century), king Gopichandra of Chittagong and his father Vimalachandra ruled over Kāmarupa.

Kumar Bhāskaravarmā, king of the Bhagadatta dynasty, is famous in the history of Kāmarupa. According to Rakhaldas Banerjee, Susthitavarmā, the father of Bhāskaravarmā, was overcome in a battle on the banks of the Lauhitya by Mahāsenagupta, the son of Dāmodaragupta, a king of the Gupta dynasty; but this view does not appear to be tenable. (6)

(4) Pillar inscription of Samudragupta in Allahabad.

(5) Gauda-rāja-mālā—pages 7-8.

(6) Bāṅgālār Itihās, Vol. I, page 7. But according to C. V. Vaidya (History of Medieval Hindu India Vol. I, page 37) this Susthitavarmā was king of Kanauj and belonged to the Maukhari dynasty. He fought with Mahāsenagupta. In the Harsha-charita and the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant, the name of Bhāskaravarmā's

During the time of Bhâskaravarmâ, western Kâmarupa, the whole of Assam and a portion of the present district of Mymensingh were within the kingdom of Kâmarupa. Most probably he conquered the kingdom of Karnasuvarna.⁽⁷⁾ In one of his copper-plate inscriptions, eleven of his predecessors have been retailed. Pusyavarmâ is written first. The same inscription has it that Pusyavarmâ was born in the dynasty of Bhagadatta after the dynasty had ruled for three thousand years. Yuan Chwang the Chinese traveller is accredited with the statement that Bhâskaravarmâ's was the thousandth generation from Nârâyana. Chwang came to Kâmarupa at the request of Bhâskaravarmâ in 643 A. D.⁽⁸⁾

During the reign of Bhâskaravarmâ the Tibetans attacked Bengal and Magadha. This was after the death of Harshavardhana (647 A. D.). Tibetan works say that Bengal was under Tibetan domination for a time. The Tibetans came to Magadha through Mithila, and Bhâskaravarmâ allied with them in the invasion.⁽⁹⁾ He was the friend of Emperor Silâditya Harshavardhana, and the friendship is referred to in the Harshacharita by Bânabhatta, the courtier of Harshavardhana. At the invitation of emperor Silâditya, Bhâskaravarmâ accompanied by a large army went to participate in the Mahâmoksa council convened by Silâditya.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the copper-plate of Ratnapâla, "Sâlastambha the lord of the Mlechchhas" is described as the king of Kâmarupa immediately after Bhâskaravarmâ. After Tyâgasinha the twenty-first ruler of this dynasty, the Bhagadatta dynasty was restored and Brahmapâla ruled Prâgjyotis. In the copper-plate inscriptions

father has been recorded as Susthiravarmâ (Susthitavarmâ) and his title as 'Mrigânka.'

(7) The copper-plate grant of Bhâskaravarmâ discovered in Nidhanpur was issued from Karnasuvarna.

(8) On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, page 186. There is no doubt that 'the thousandth generation' is a mistake either of the writer or the translator.

(9) Gauder Itihâs, Vol. I, pages 57, 127. The Early History of India, page 353.

(10) "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India", Vol. I, page 349.

of Vanamâla and Balavarmâ who belonged to the dynasty of Sâlastambha it is claimed that Sâlastambha was of the dynasty of Bhagadatta.⁽¹¹⁾

At the beginning of the eighth century, the kingdom of Prâgjyotisa and Stri-râjya were attacked by Muk tâpida Lalitâditya, the king of Kashmir, in the course of his conquests.⁽¹²⁾ In the Râjatarangini

Muk tâpida Lalitâditya.

there is an allusion to 'Stri-râjya'. Lalitâditya conquered Gauda and then withdrew, with the king of Gauda as a captive, to his own country. Very probably, at this time, Sriharsa alias Haris, king of Kâmarupa, conquered Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and Kosala. Jayadeva the king of Nepal married Râjyamati, the daughter of Sriharsa (8th century).⁽¹³⁾

Sriharsa or Harisa.

Only a portion of Kâmarupa was controlled by Gopâladeva, the first king of the Pâla dynasty. Dharmapâladeva, the second of the line, built a fort some 70 miles to the north of Bardhankot to protect this territory, and to repel attacks from the inhabitants of Kâmarupa proper. The fort is presumed to be "Dharmapâler Garh" in the Rungpur district, situated a few miles to the south-east of Domar, a station on the Eastern Bengal Railway. A tradition

Gopâla and Dharmapâladeva.

(11) The Raja of Rani in the present district of Kâmarupa avowed himself a descendant of the Bhagadatta family. At the end of the 18th century, the 'Moâmâria' sect in Assam revolted and elevated one Bharat Sing to be ruler of Assam. This Bharat Sing in his coins styled himself as 'born from the race of Bhagadatta'—'Batari' journal 2. 5. 31.

(12) "He entered Prâgjyotispur void of inhabitants and saw smoke issuing from the burning fields of black Aguru. In the sandy deserts there were mirages reflecting his elephants as monstrous crocodiles. Then Stri-râjya was conquered by Lalitâditya." Râjatarangini, Taranga 4, Verses 272-274.

(13) The old name of Orissa is Udra or Odra and this Kosala is 'South Kosala' to the north-west of Kalinga.

In an inscription in the temple of Pasupatinâth in Nepal, Râjyamati has been credited with being 'born of the kingly race of Bhagadatta.'—Gauda-râjamâla, pages 17-18.

survives that during the time of Mahipâla II, the fort was in the hands of a subordinate chief named Dharmapâla.

The dominion of the Pâlas was established in Prâggyotisapura by Devapâla (815—850 A.D.), the third king after Dharmapâla. Some historians are disposed to the view that at that time Jaymâla and

Birvâhu, of the dynasty of Bhagadatta, were kings of Kâmarupa. Devapâla was a mighty warrior and with the help of his brother Jaypâla extended his sway from Orissa to Prâggyotisa. During his reign, the Kâamboja tribe dwelling in the valleys of the Himâlayas attacked the kingdom of Gauda. The present Koch and Mech tribes are alleged to be the descendants of this Kâamboja tribe. During the tenth century (before the reign of Vighrahapâladeva II), a king of Kâamboja race who worshipped Siva, conquered Gauda.⁽¹⁴⁾ During the reign of Vighrahapâla III (1040—1070 A. D.), the royal prestige wilted in Bengal and Varendra. It may be that during this time the kingdom of

Kâmarupa was attacked by the Châlukya Prince Vikramâditya of Kalyâna of Dakshinâpatha. When Vighrahapâla died, there was a struggle between his three sons Mahipâla II, Sûrapâla II (1070—1075 A. D.) and Râmpâla, and availing of this discord Dibboka, of Kaivarta caste, conquered Gauda.

The name of Mahâmândalika Iswara Ghosh, a subordinate chief, has been bequeathed to us in a copper-plate inscription preserved in the office of a Brahmin zemindar of Maldoar in the district of Dinajpur. He lived in the 10th or the 11th century and conquered Kâmarupa. Dhurta Ghosh, the great-grandfather of Iswara Ghosh, was the ruler of the Radh country. His

(14) Gauda-râja-mâlâ, page 37. The inscription on a temple of Siva in Bânagarh in the Dinajpur district.

son was Bāla Ghosh, and Dhavala Ghosh was the son of Bāla. Dhavala in his turn was the father (and Sadbhavā the mother) of Isvara Ghosh. Isvara Ghosh, it is recorded, bathed in the river Jatodā and presented a village Digghāsodikā in Gālpitippyak in Pippolla, to Nibboka Sarmā. Nibboka Sarmā transferred this land to his Guru in a copper-plate grant, the closing words of which read, "*iti Samvat 35 Mārga dine 1*". (15)

The kingdom of Koch was a fief of the Pāla kings of Kāmarupa from the 8th to the 11th century.

The Koch kingdom.

There is evidence that a Buddhist monk named Jitāri established a kingdom in middle Kāmarupa.

Jitāri.

Jitāri was the son of king Sanātana of Varendra, (16) and established the monastery of Vikramasilā in Sultanganj near Bhagalpur. Jitāri was greatly revered by Mahīpāladeva I (978-1026 A. D.) who conferred upon him the title of Pandit and a Khillat. Places in Rungpur and a very large tank in Dinajpur known as "Mahīpāler Dighi", bear witness to the fame of Maharaja Mahīpāla.

(15) In the Visvakosa the river Bara Gadādhār has been described as the Jatodā or Jatodbhavā (Part III, pages 512, 516). The Jatodā is a very old river of Kāmarupa. The reputed efficacy of bathing in it has survived, for even today there is an annual mela on the banks of the Kaljani, a tributary of the Chhoto Gadādhār. The local people call it 'Immersion in Gadādhār'. In the history written by Babu Harendranarain Chaudhuri, the modern name of the Jatodā has been given as Jaldhākā (page 210). In the manuscripts of the Rājopākhyāna by Munshi Jaynath Ghosh, the name Jatodā has been attached to the Mansal (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyāya 15), the lower portion of the present Jaldhākā. It may be conjectured that the small stream Jharda or Jharodā near the temple of Jalpesvar flows in the bed of the ancient Jatodayā or Jatodā. To accept this as true, we must hold that the Jatodayā or Jatodā was known as Jaldhākā and Mansal at different times. It is substantiated by tradition and the immersion in the Jatodā prescribed by the Purāṇas, that the ancient Jatodā was in the country of Kāmarupa.

(16) According to another view, Jitāri was a Ksatriya of the Drāvida country.—Kāmarupa Buranjī, page 4.

Râmpâla (1077—1120 A. D.), the 14th king of the Pâla dynasty was able to reconquer Kâmarupa after quelling the revolt of the Kaivartas. It may be, however, that this reconquest transpired when Dharma-pâla or Tingadeva, who succeeded him, was king of Kâmarupa. Kumârapâla (1120—1125 A. D.) the son of Râmpâla made Vaidyadeva the son of his minister, king of Prâggyotis or a portion of it. When the power of the lâlû kings of Gauda waned after the death of Kumârapâla, Vaidyadeva may have become independent in Kâmarupa. The copper-plate inscription of Kumar Ballavadeva found in Assam tells of an army from Bengal which attacked Kâmarupa during the time of Râyârideva Trailokya Sinha, the grand-father of Ballavadeva. It is possible that this attack from Bengal was the invasion by Vijayasena-deva. Udayakarna was the son of Râyârideva and his son Vallavadeva flourished in Saka 1107.⁽¹⁷⁾

Vijayasena, the first king of the Sena dynasty (1079—1119 A. D.) endeavoured to expand his influence over Kâmarupa and defeated the king of Kâmarupa in battle. We read in the inscription in the temple at Devapârâ, found near Godâgâri in the district of Râjsahi,—“(Vijayasena) defeated the king of Gauda and drove out the king of Kâmarupa” During the time of Madanapâladeva, the seventeenth king of the Pâla dynasty, the kingdom

(17) There is a difference of opinion on this point. No seal has been discovered on the copper-plate inscription of Vallavadeva and the name of his kingdom could not be discovered from this inscription.

of Gauda passed to the famous Vallâlasena (1119—1169 A. D.), the son of Vijayasena, and it can be presumed that at this time at least western Kâmarupa was included in the kingdom of Gauda. Vallâlasena settled a hundred families of Varendra Brahmins in the country of Varendra and despatched other Brahmins to Bhot, Abhanga, Moranga, Magadha and Utkala. Kâmarupa is not mentioned specifically in this connection. The eipthet "Gâin" was derived, we are told, from gifts of villages to Brahmins during Vallâlasena's reign. One of them "Deoligrâma", belonging to Brahmins of the Vâtsya Gotra, was located to the east of the river Karatoyâ. From this, it can be assumed that at least part of the country to the east of the Karatoyâ, acknowledged the rule of Vallâlasena.

Mahomedan conquests began in Gauda in the reign of Laksmanasena (1169—1198 A. D.), the son of Vallâlasena, and we read in a copper-plate inscription found in Madhainagar in the district of Pabna of his "subduing Kâmarupa by prowess". The sons of Laksmanasena, Kesavsena and Visvarupasena, ascended the throne of their father but they were not permitted to rule their kingdom peacefully. At the end of the twelfth century, the Hindu kingdom became extinct in Gauda and the Mahomedans had established their rule.

After conquering Naodia (Nadia), the well-known Ekhtiaruddin Mahammad Bin Bakhtiar Khalji advanced (1205 A. D.) through Kâmarupa to conquer Tibet. The then capital of Kâmarupa was on the bank of a hilly stream on the way to Tibet. It is uncertain whether there was any independent king in western Kâmarupa at the time of Mahammad Bakhtiar, but the local Koch and Mech races possessed a definite political organisation.

From time to time, inferior chiefs who bore the title "Pala" ruled in Kāmarupa, but they became so numerous that it is difficult to reconstruct their history in any detail. In western Kāmarupa the tales and songs of king Gopichand have come down to us. His name is also connected with ruins in places in north and

Pala chiefs.

Manikchand and Maynāmati.

east Bengal. We hear in the song of Maynāmati that Manikchand, the king of Bengal married Maynāmati, the daughter of king Tilakchand of "Ferusā Nagar". After Manikchand, his son Gopichand became king. According to another source, king Dharmapāla was the brother or brother-in-law of Maynāmati, and seized the kingdom of Manikchand when the latter died. Maynāmati defeated Dharmapāla in a battle on the banks of the river Tista and made her son Govindachandra king. In the song dedicated to her, the name of her son is given as Gopichand. It is not easy to determine whether Gopichand and Govindachandra are one and the same person. Gopichand married two daughters of king Harischandra, Adunā and Padunā. The ruins of "Harischandra's Pāt" exist in the jurisdiction of Dimla thana in the district of Rungpur.

Gopichand hailed originally from east Bengal, and having acquired some authority in north Bengal, came to west

Gopichandra and Bhavachandra.

Kāmaupa with his Guru and mother. The song of Maynāmati is still heard in north Bengal,—

"Two earthen pots and a bamboo pole and ropes will be given. The Lord of Bengal will thus bring water and eat rice".

In the biblical phrase king Gopichand begot Bhabachandra who begot Habachandra. The names of king Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra recur in many chronicles. There

is in Bâgduar in the south of Rungpur, a temple of Bâgdevi at which Bhabachandra worshipped. The "Pâler Garh" near this temple is now known as Danes Nagar. There is also a tradition that king Lorâ, a relative of Bhabachandra, lived in Lorâr Pât four miles to the south-west of Pirganj. Again in the Tirumalai rock inscription of southern India (1025 A. D.) the name of king Govindachandra of Bengal is preserved. Some authorities regard this Govindachandra as identical with Gopichand. A copper-plate inscription of king Srîchandra has been discovered in Râmpâla in the Dacca district. The father of Srîchandra was Trailokyachandra and his grand-father was Subarnachandra. (18) These were probably kings of east Bengal in the 11th century.

In the work "Gorkhvijaya" of east Bengal, Maynâmati has been described as the mother of the king of "Meherkula," and references to the "Gârvas" kingdom, to "Vijayanagar" and 'Kadalidesa', abound. The location of the Gârvas kingdom has not yet been ascertained. Raghudevanarayan, the king of Kâmarupa, had a fort in Vijayapur or Vijayanagar in the 16th century. There is evidence of a 'Vijayanagar' near Godâgâri in the district of Rajsahi, and that King Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty resided there. Meherkula and Pâtikârâ are in the district of Tipperah. Bhabachandra may have lived there near 'Chauddagrâma'. Strong similarity is observed between the above work and the song of Gopichand which is still sung in north Bengal. In Chittagong also, there was a capital of a king of that name. A city of king Bhâbâchandra, the son of Gopichandra, existed in village Chutiâpârâ on the north of Gauhati. The names Mechpârâ, Pâtikanagar, Srikalâr Bandar, Kadali Sahar, Kalinga Bandar, Ferusâ Nagar, Dârâipur

(18) "Subarnachandra was Maharaja. Dhârîchandra was his father. Manik-chandra was his son. Hear his history." (83) Govindachandra Gita, page 62.

and Karatoya are in the song of Maynâmati. Mechpârâ in the district of Goalpârâ, Srikalâr Bandar or Hât and Pâtikânagar or Pâtikâpârâ to the north of Kakina in Rungpur, Kadali Sahar or Kalâgâchhi to the north of Rungpur town, and the Karatoya river are still known by their ancient names. A persistent tradition contends that Maynâmati and Gopichand lived in 'Dharmapâler Garh' in the south-west of Dimla thana and in Pâtikâpârâ nearby. Gopichand and his mother Maynâmati are also associated with many places in the wide tract of territory between the railway stations of Domar and Parbatipur on the Eastern Bengal Railway. After the passing of Gopichand, his abandoned capital was occupied by kings of another dynasty. 'Maynâmatir Kot' is in village Atiabari two miles to the west of 'Dharmapâler Garh'. A fief of Atiabari was under Visvasinha the ruler of Kâmatâ.

"Charan Garh" and "Râmur Garh" in Dimla were used or constructed during the time of the Siva Gotra kings. It is said that Bhutiyas constructed the fort, the ruins of which are near Tenganmari, and that a king of Kâmatâpura erected "Manthanâkot" on the banks of Ghâghat. Gopichand is mentioned in the songs of Siva sung by Yogis of Kâmarupa.

The story of one Gopichandra who was a Brahmin is current in Bajputana, the Punjab, Oudh and Central India and his picture is a common article of sale there. A Gopichand manuscript has been discovered in Orissa. In the song of Mânîkchand, Gopichand has been described as 'Bania Ksatriya'. Some say that Gopichand was a Vrâtya Ksatriya (Râjvansi). Men of this sect are now the worshippers (Deodâ or Deodhai) of Maynâ Buri. In the Maharastra Gopichand is stated to have been the son of Trailokyachand and his capital to have been in Kanchannagar in Gauda Bânglâ.

All portions of the song of Maynâmati are not old though the main part is probably so. The theme of this song is the story of king Mânichand, his queen Maynâmati and his son Gopichand. The song satirizes the newly-appointed officers of Manikchand,—

“A Bângâl with long beard came from the south.
He realised revenue from the country”.

The significance of the appointment of the “Bângâl” is clearly indicated in this song,—⁽¹⁹⁾

“The king gave the post of Dewan to this Bângâl,
formerly where the revenue amounted to 1½ buri;
this man realised 15 Gandâs.”

And according to the village poet, for this reason alone the life of the king was shortened and many evils beset his kingdom. ‘Maynâ Buri’ or ‘Buri’ is worshipped by the Hindus in Cooch Behar and Rungpur. It is everywhere believed that evil eye of Buri (“Burir Jhonk”) falls on infants.⁽²⁰⁾ There are thâns (seats) of Buri in various places. In the Mantra used in worshipping Maynâ Buri we find,—

“*Thân madhye bando mâ Gauda sola ânâ*” (“obeisance to the mother in the thâns in the whole of Gauda”).

From this, it may be reasoned that the mantra was composed during the hey-day of Gauda’s greatness.

(19) We find different readings in some manuscripts. Formerly the people of Kâmarupa called the Mahomedans ‘Bangâl’. Afterwards any person who came from the south or west was called Bangâl. In Assam Europeans are called “Bagâ (white) Bangâl”. Even now in the east of Sylhet, Jaintia and Kâchhâr, Mahomedans are termed ‘Bangâls’.

(20) By ‘Burâ Buri’, Siva and Durgâ are also meant—(Râjopâkhyâna, Devakhandâ, Adhyâya 3). Burâ means ‘father’ and Buri ‘mother’.

Adverting to king Habachandra, some sources regard him as a king of the Pâla dynasty. Many ruins, from Hâora on the banks of the Karatoyâ to the south of Ghorâghât, are reported to betoken him and his minister Gabachandra.

King Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra.

King Habachandra at first lived in Gopinathpur and then in Bâgdûar (in the district of Rungpur). The 'Dhâp' in the town of Rungpur preserves the memory of his Dhâpa kingdom. There is a tradition that the tank known as 'Binnâr Dighi' near Domar was excavated by a chief named king Binnâ who was under the ægis of Habachandra. The length of this tank is not less than 700 yards.

King Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra are legendary almost everywhere in Bengal. Whenever people speak about foolishness in a high personage, they cite the instance of king Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra. The following is a story concerning their foolishness.—

"Once, two merchants were digging on the bank of a tank near the palace in order to construct a fireplace for cooking. Gabachandra the minister prosecuted them on the ground that they were opening a 'sindh' to steal the tank. The king decided that their object was to steal the tank and cause the people of the city to die of thirst; so orders were given to impale the accused. The merchants, however, thought out a means of saving their lives and when they were brought to the iron stakes fixed in the ground, both began to express their preference for the higher stake. When the king asked them the reason for this, they said that they were astrologers and the stakes had been fixed at a very auspicious moment and he who would give his life on the higher stake must be born a king in the next life and he who chose the lower as the king's minister. They each professed their eagerness to be impaled on the higher stake. Therefore, king Habachandra and his minister decided to impale themselves in the expectation that in their next lives they would still be king and minister respectively. The merchants were released."

When the Kachhâris ruled east Assam in the 13th century, some of their settlements advanced to the west. It was some time after Yuan Chwang's visit to Kâmarupa that the Kachhâris conquered Kâmarupa. After about 120 years they were, however, forced to leave Kâmarupa as they were attacked by powerful enemies who in the "Bhuiyâr Puthi" are stated to have been the Âhoms and Bârabhuiyâs. Though they were numerous the Kachhâris never entirely subdued the kingdom of Kâmatâ.

The venerable Jitâri, to whom we have already referred, flourished during the middle or the end of the tenth century. He is supposed to have established his capital on the Kuvera hills near Gauhati, but another source says that he ruled near Jalpesvar (in the Jalpaiguri district). The tradition runs that Ârimatta, a powerful king descended from a branch of the family of Jitâri, ruled in the valley of the Brahmaputra. A Ksatriya king named Dharmapâla is also said to be a predecessor of Ârimatta. (21)

In the Jitâri dynasty there was a king named Ramchandra. Another king called Jalpesvar won some fame in western Kâmarupa during the time of Jitâri and established the famous Jalpesvar Siva of Jalpaiguri. King Jalpesvar was a Hindu and probably fought with the Buddhist Pâla kings. He is the subject of the song of Goraksanâtha. His capital probably now lies in the bed of the river Tistâ. Some say that it was 'Prithu Râjâr Garh' several miles south-west of the temple of

(21) It is said that Ârimatta constructed 'Valdier Garh' and 'Pratâp Garh' in Assam. (Kharganârâyaner Vamsâvali, page 102).

Jalpesvar, (22) The writer of the 'Jalpesvar Manidrer Itibritta' regarded king Jalpesvar as the last king of the Barman dynasty and records that about 800 A. D. he consecrated a *linga* of Siva in his own name near the Trisrotâ river. According to this writer the Barman dynasty ruled Kâmarupa from 200 B. C. to 800 A. D.

Four kings—Mimânga, Gajânga, Sribânka and Mrigânga—form a link in the history of Assam. It is said that they ruled in Lauhityapura for 200 years, and from another source it is gathered that Mrigânga was the grandson of Ârimatta. The exact dates of their reigns have not yet been traced. (23)

Later, the Chhutiya race established a kingdom in east Kâmarupa. The first king of this dynasty was Sonâgiripâla or Gaurinarayan, the son of Virapâla. He defeated king Bhadrasena who ruled in the valley of the Brahmaputra, and establishing a kingdom near Sadiâ (1224 A. D.), assumed the name of Ratnadhvajapâla. Ratnadhvajapâla married the daughter of king Nyâyapâla of east Kâmarupa and a princess of Kâmatâ. He reigned up to 1303 A. D. and was friendly with the then ruler of Gaudâ. During the time of Nitipâla the last king of this dynasty, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Chhutiya kingdom was conquered by the Âhoms. About the same time as the Chhutiya were

(22) Another view is that Prithu was another name of Jalpesvara. Kâmrupar Buranjee, page 99.

(23) The title of the father of Bhâskaravarmâ was Mrigânga. The kings of Kâmatâpura were known as 'Kâmatesvara' or 'Kântesvara' in popular dialect. Wilâmbar, the last king of the Khen dynasty, was known as Kântesvar. Mimânga etc. may have been names or titles.

establishing their power, Chukâ Fâ, the first king of the Âhom dynasty, had crossed the Pât Kai hills from the east to Assam (1229 A. D.).

The Âhom dynasty.

His descendants exercised authority in eastern Kâmarupa up to the end of the last century. Muhammad

Âli Mech.

Bakhtiar met and made friendship with

Âli Mech a chieftain, when he advanced to attack Tibet through Kâmatâpur in 1205 A. D. After 1293 there was a sustained war between Sukhâng Fâ the then king of Âhoms and the ruler of Kâmatâ. Subsequently they concluded a treaty according to which Rajani, a daughter of the king of Kâmatâ, was given in marriage to the king of Âhoms. When Sukhâng Fâ died in 1332 A. D. his son Sukrâm Fâ succeeded. He made his step-brother Châo Pulâi (the son of queen Rajani and grandson of the ruler of Kâmatâ) the king of Saring. Tâfi Khen Bara Gohâi and Châo Pulâi plotted against Sukrâm Fâ, and leaving Assam, sought the protection of the king of Kâmatâ who proceeded to Saring to assist them. The issues were settled in another treaty.

In some old manuscripts accounts are given of the rule of Kâmarupa through small chiefs. From very ancient times it was the recognised policy of the kings to delegate authority to the 'Bâra Bhuiyâ' (Bâra-Bhuiyâs. 'Twelve Bhaumiks'). It was a custom in some States of Rajputana. Under the Pâla and Sena kings, the Bhuiyâs actually ruled the country. Different opinions are expressed regarding the derivation and meaning of the word 'Bhuiyâ'.⁽²⁴⁾ The work

(24) "When the people found that there was anarchy, Bhuiyâ kings were established in Grâmas,"—Sankara-charita, 2528.

Many facts regarding Bhuiyâ kings can be gathered from folk tales still current. Ruins and garhs bear unmistakable testimony to them. Formerly the folk songs

'Asāmar Sanksipta Buranji' records that one Manohar, a minister of a king later than Ârimatta but of the dynasty of Jitâri, employed his relatives in State service and that they subsequently became known as 'Bhuiyās'. In another source it is vouched that the Bâra Bhuiyās were the twelve sons of Sântanu, the grandson of Manohar. Later on, led by the king of the Âhoms, the twelve Bhuiyās defeated the king of the Ohhutiyaś and the ruler of the Koch people.

There is yet another tradition concerning the Bârabhuiyās. There was a battle between king Durlabhnarayan of Kāmatāpura and Dharmanarayan, the king of Gauda.⁽²⁵⁾ When a treaty was concluded between them, the king of Gauda, at the instance of Durlabhnarayan, sent seven families of Brahmins and seven families of Kāyasthas to him. The descendants of these Brahmins and Kāyasthas, it is claimed, still live in Kāmarupa. The names of the Brahmins were Krisna Pandit, Raghupati, Rāmbar, Lohâr, Bayan, Dharam and Mathurâ. The Kāyasthas were Hari, Srihari, Sripati, Sridhar, Chidânanda, Sadânanda and Chandibara.⁽²⁶⁾ They settled in Pemâguri in the Bansi Pergana in Kāmarupa, (or according to another view in village Baradoyâ in the district of Naogaon). Chandibar Kāyastha was the most competent and educated of them. He was called Debidas as he was a great devotee of the goddess (Durgâ). In later times,

Yogir Gîta, Bisaharir Gîta, Satyapirer Gîta, Ekdil and Gaji's Gîta and Manâi Jâtra were considered fictitious, but now it is being proved that they have historic foundations. Indeed it was never ordinarily the custom to compose songs or stories without basing them on mytho-historical events or the lives of particular persons.

(25) In the beginning of the 13th century, Hindu rule over Gauda was extinct. In the 'Sankara Charita' there is mention of a fight between the king of Gauda and the ruler of Kāmatâ. (The situation of this Gauda will be discussed hereafter).

(26) In the work 'Rudrasinhaer Buranji', the names of the Brahmins brought by the ruler of Kāmatâ from Gauda are recited as,— Bhabâninâth, Gobinda Misra, Janârdana Chakravarti, Ramâpati, Kavibhârati, Gaurikânta and Kesava Misra.

they fought with the Bhutias. The celebrated Sri Sankaradeva was of the family of Chandibar, and according to the 'Sankaracharita' belonged to the fifth generation from Devidas. Sri Sankaradeva was born in 1371 Saka (1449 A. D.). It will not therefore be unreasonable to hold that Devidas and Durlabhnarayan belonged to a period preceding the 14th century. Some of the Bhuiyâs bore the title of Khân and are reported to have served the king of Gauda.⁽²⁷⁾

(27) "The Bhuiyâ served the king of Gauda unceasingly. Afterwards he became a king named Bisva-sinha." Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 91.

CHAPTER III.

KÂMATÂPURA.

During the 15th century Kâmatâpura (Gosânimâri) the capital and principal city of the kingdom of Kâmarupa was situated on the west bank of the Dharla. Wealthy and populous, it was defended by a massive fortress, only the ruins of which are now seen. The site is fourteen miles to the south-west of the present capital of Cooch Behar and five miles to the west of Dinhata, a railway station on the Cooch Behar State Railway. The modern designation is Gosânimâri (Gosâni mârâi or place of the goddess). Dr. Buchanan Hamilton visited the fort in 1808 A. D., and formed the view that probably about five miles of its circumference were protected by the river Dharla. In the 15th century, there was no other fortification in north-east India which could compare with Kâmatâpura either in size or technicality of construction. Forts built in the Suba of Bengal both before and after Kâmatâpura, were not its equal. Its perimeter was nineteen miles long and it was surrounded on all sides by high earthen ramparts.

The gates, the traces of which are gradually disappearing were the "Sil Duâr", "Bâgh Duâr", "Joy Duâr", "Sannyâsi Duâr", "Hoko Duâr" and Nimâi Duâr".⁽¹⁾

The condition of the fort.

The roads through the gates were paved with well-burnt bricks. Outside the main defences there were minor fortifications strategically placed. At the time of

(1) In 'Gosânimangal', the names of the gates are thus recorded.—On the east, Dharma Duâr; on the north, Aksoy Duâr; on the west Joy Duâr and on the south, Sil Duâr and Bâgh Duâr.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's visit the small stream Singimâri flowed from north to south through the fort. Subsequently, in the great flood of 1820 A. D., the Mansai river left its channel, joined the Singimari and met the Dharlâ to the immediate south of the fort. Today, this portion of the Mansai is known as the Singimari. To the west of the Singimari, the rampart and the dyke or moat are in comparatively preserved condition. The present height of the rampart is 30 feet near the Sil Duar and Bâgh Duar, 35 feet to the south of the Joy Duar (near the Jal Ubâr) and to its east, and 40 feet to the east of Joy Duar near the Singimâri.⁽²⁾ The width of the foundation of the rampart is not uniform but nowhere is it less than 200 feet. The width of the dyke is 250 feet at nearly all points, but on the north of the Bâgh Duar it is 500 feet and to the south 600 feet. The depth is gradually decreasing and in many places *aman* rice is being cultivated in the bed.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton observed that there were two consecutive dykes outside, and one within the ramparts. These are still traceable on the west of the fort. The first outside dyke is clearly visible, the second is gradually disappearing. The place between the Sannyâsi and Joy Duars ⁽³⁾ from which water was collected to fill the dykes is still known as 'Jal Ubâr'. A rampart four miles long extends to the north-west from this point. Its height is 18 feet to the west of 'Jal Ubâr' and 20 feet in Taluk

(2). *Vide* letter No. 826 D., from the office of the Survey of India, to Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, dated Shillong, the 2nd June 1930.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton has noted that in 1808 A. D. the height of the rampart was from 20 to 30 feet, the width of its base 130 feet and the width of the dyke 250 feet. It does not appear that these dimensions were measured by tape.

(3). The local people call a natural spring of water "Jal Ubâr".

Chhoto Gadiakhora. A part of a rampart running eastwards from the fort still exists and the State railway passes through it. Its height in Taluk Karisal is from 20 to 25 feet. On the north, on the east bank of the present Singimari river, the height of the rampart is 10 feet in Taluk Jigâbari, and 20 to 30 feet in Taluk Chhota Naldhondra near the Buri Dharla. The small piece of rampart which is still extant at the rear of the temple of Kâmateswari (Gosâni Devi) is 30 feet high. It is 32 feet in height in Taluk Fulbari and 30 feet in Taluk Âlokhâri. Still further east, the height is not more than 5 to 7 feet. There are still signs of a dyke in this area but it is steadily becoming level land.

As the course of the river Singimâri constantly fluctuated within the fort, some parts of the town were obliterated long ago, and then later, much of it was submerged for ever in the swift waters of the new Singimâri. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton noticed a ruined bridge made of brick over a small channel to the east of Bâgh Duâr (in the village of Atiâbâri) and formerly, in all probability, an artificial dyke. The bridge was fashioned in the ancient method. The broad road from the Bâghduâr to the Râjpât crossed this channel; and today is 110 feet in breadth to the east and 100 feet to the west of the channel. There are no signs of the bridge at present and its site is now known to the people as Mâllibhângâ. Within the fort is a high mound called the Râjpât, its foundations on all sides being paved with bricks. Its height is 60 feet and its length and breadth are both 360 feet. (4) In addition to the mint, 'Bhulkâ-bhulki' ("Bo-peep"), 'Dewan's Kot' and Petla (a tank for

(4). In the description by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, the height of Râjpât is estimated as 30 feet, but this measurement also appears to have been guesswork.

In ancient times, arches were not constructed in this country. The function of the arch was performed by corbelling.





Nâgini (Kâmatâpur) To face Page 41

Niladhvaja is said to have been the cowherd of a Brahmin who found the tokens of kingship on the boy's body and released him from that work. There is also a tradition that the pasture land of Niladhvaja is now traceable in the district of Bogra. ⁽⁶⁾ There are differing interpretations as to the manner of his acquiring a kingdom. One is that Niladhvaja conquered the kingdom of the Pâla king who was the heir to Havachandra; another that on the advice of his Brahmin master he defeated the last king of the Pâla dynasty near Gauhati and became king removing his capital from Gauhati to Kâmatâpur and settling many Maithila Brahmins there named his kingdom as 'the kingdom of Brahmin'. ⁽⁷⁾

After Niladhvaja, Chakradhvaja succeeded as king of Kâmatâpura in the middle of the 15th century, but accounts of him are obscured. One tradition tells that Chakradhvaja, Kâmatesvari, the presiding deity of his kingdom, was established by him.—The Temple of Kâmatesvari is within the fortress of Kâmatâpur (Gosanimâri). In addition

The Eastern India Vol. III, pages 408, 409.

This opinion of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton cannot be sustained, for it has been settled beyond doubt by the copper-plate inscription of Nidhanpur issued by Kumar Bhâskaravarmâ (dated at least as early as 4th century A. D.) that Brahmans resided in Kâmarupa long before this time. In the Âhom language there are two words "Khun" or "Khen" the meaning of which is the same, *viz.*,—king, great, good, etc. In the work 'Âhom Buranji' we find the expressions 'Khun Kâmatâ' and 'Khun Kâmatesvarâ', (page 47, 48, 50). Possibly these words Khun and Khen were subsequently used to denote a particular tribe (Khen).

(6). There is a tradition that Niladhvaja was born in Devanagar, Pergana Boda (District Jalpaiguri) which was formerly within the kingdom of Kâmatâpura. A tank named "Hossain Dighi" near Devanagar lies in village "Jihvâkâtâ Khinnigâo" in the east of the Purnea district. Even now, there are signs of a broad road from the north-east corner of this tank to Bhitargarh in Jalpaiguri.

(7) The Koch kings of Kâmarupa, page 15. Some say that Niladhvaja established Kâmatâpur.

to the daily prayers, special worship of Kâmatesvari is offered during the whole month of Baisakh every year. Extensive lands, endowed by Maharaja Prânnarayan of Cooch Behar for the worship of Kâmatesvari, are now managed by the Debutter Department of the State.

When Bhagadatta, the king of Prâggyotisa, was killed in the Kuruksetra war, it is said that his 'Kavacha' was lying on the field of battle. King

Kâmatesvari Gosâni.

Chakradhvaja being advised in a dream, brought it and placed it in his capital Kâmatâpur. The Gosânimangal record is that this 'Kavacha' was buried under a simul tree on the bank of "Sphatika-kurâ", and King Kânteswara found it with the help of a Chandâla named Madhu Jâli, who, as a reward, was made a Maithil Brahmin and given the title 'Fultolâ Deori'. According to another view the indestructible Chaudikâ Kavacha was in the possession of the descendants of Bhagadatta at the close of the Kuruksetra war. (8)

The site of the temple of Kâmateswari built by Chakradhvaja is doubtful. Dr. Hamilton hazarded that the original temple, and the Mancha attached to it, were on the 'Râjpât'. A place on level ground 200 feet to the east of the Râjpât, which Dr. Hamilton assumed to be the site of the armoury of the king, was adjudged a hundred years later by Babu Harendranarayan Chaudhuri in his history, as the ruins of the temple of Kâmatesvari, but no reasons were assigned for this view. The present temple of Kâmatesvari is situated to the south-east of the Garh on land seven to eight feet higher than the surrounding country, and to the east of a walled quadrangle (225 feet by 135 feet). There is a building

(8) Âlochanâ (a journal) 1322 B.S., page 42.

for Homa in front. (9) In the earth-quake of 1897 A. D. the walls were broken at various points and during repairs the height was lessened.

The Hindu kings often ruled in the name of a deity, and it is not impossible for the kingdom of Kāmatesvari to have been named Kamatā or Kāmatā and the place of the temple to have been known as Rājpat. (10). The twelfth Patala of the Yoginitantra tells that the sage Vasistha became enraged by an action of Narakāsura the worshipper of Kāmākhyā and to fulfil his curse, the goddess Kāmākhyā was compelled to leave Nilāchāla. In Chapter 81 of the Kālikā Purāna it is said that at some time Kāmākhyā Pitha lost its glory. The names of many Gods and Goddesses, but not that of Kāmākhyā are extant in copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of Kāmārupa or Prāgjyotisa (7th to 12th century). (11) According to the Rājopākhyāna Narakāsura was born as Kāntesvara by the curse of Vasistha (Devakhanda, Adhyāya 3).

That the image of Gosāni Devi or Kāmatesvari was destroyed is learnt from a tradition of which Dr. Hamilton was aware. Hosain Sah sacked the temple of Kāmatesvari in 1493 A. D. and

(9) Within the main temple on the north of the Sinhāsan of Kāmatesvari, the image of Surya and on a separate Chowki, the images of Mahādeva, Gopal, Nārāyan and Prajāpati Brahmā are placed. Inside the walls and the courtyard there is a temple in the north-east corner where Mahādeva and Bhairabi are established; in another temple to the east there are Mahādeva and Laksmīnārāyan. Tārakesvara Siva is on the south-west and Dol-bhitā on the north-west.

(10) "The kingdom of Kāmākhyā Devi is known as Kāmārupa. The incomparable four castes live in large numbers there."—Gurulilā.

"Gosānidevi was placed in the first throne constructed by Visvasinha who was ordered in a dream to do so."—Gandharba-nārāyanar Vansāvali, page 44.

The kings of Mewar in Rajputana are known as "Ekalingakā Dewan".

Another name of Kāmākhyā is Kāmadā (Kālikā Purānā, Adhyāya 62). 'Kāmadāpur' may have been vulgarised as 'Kāmatāpur'.

(11) The deities of Kāmesvara and Mahāgaury in Kāmākūta on the banks of Lauhitā are cited in the copper-plate inscription of Vanamāla, the king of Kāmārupa (9th century), but it does not appear that this Kāmākūta is Nilāchala or Mahāgaury, Kāmākhyā.

conquered the kingdom. Some time after this, Visvasinha retook Kāmākhyā Pith, establishing Gosāni Devi (acquired by miracle) in Kāmatāpur. His eldest son Narasinha left the country with this image but Maharaj Naranaryan secured its return. In 1553 A. D. Kālāpāhār invaded Kāmarupa and destroyed many temples and images of Gods and Goddesses. In 1661 A. D. Nawab Mirjumla was responsible for further iconoclasm. In a letter written in 1556 Saka (1634 A. D.) by the officials of the king of Ahom to Nawab Ahlayār Khan it is said that "Kāmatesvar's Pāt" is to the east of the Karatoyā river. The present temple of Kāmatesvari was constructed by Maharaj Prānnārayan in 1665 A. D., but the tradition contains nothing regarding the establishment of an image, only of a Kavacha. The Bara Deuri of the temple says, "The image of Bhagavati is inscribed on the silver casket within which the Kavacha is kept. No one is allowed to see what is inside the casket. Even the priest worshipping it does not see this". About 150 years after the construction of the temple, Dr. Hamilton recorded the evidence regarding the Kavacha, including that reproduced in the manuscript 'Gosāni-mangal' composed about the same time to the effect that when the Mahomedans destroyed the temple, Kāmatesvari was thrown into the tank Kājalikurā. A fisherman named Bhupā threw his net in that tank and was unable to draw it up again. On that very night Maharaja Prānnarayana was advised in a dream to restore Kāmatesvari and arrange for the proper worship of the deity. Under orders of the king, a Brahmin went to the banks of the tank and lifting out Kāmateswari in the form of a Kavacha, placed it on an elephant. At the spot where the elephant stopped of its own accord Kāmateswari was taken down and a temple subsequently constructed. (12)

(12) It does not appear that Maharaja Naranarayana built the whole of the temple of Kāmākhyā; the portions constructed in brick, are his work. In the room containing movable images attached to this temple, the history of his constructing (not repairing) the temple is inscribed. In the temple of Hayagrivamādhava of Hajo,

After Chakradhvaj, Nīlāmbara became the king of Kāmatā, and reputedly extended his territories to the Matsya country. He constructed many roads, signs of which are still visible, from his capital Kāmatāpur to the borders of his kingdom. A road to the north-west was constructed to the temple of Jalpesvara in Jalpaiguri. Even now at intervals of two miles there are traces of tanks by its side. The eastern stretch of this road is known as the 'Dinhata—Mekliganj Road'. There was a road on the north passing via Kumārīr Kot and Muralābās to the foot-hills. The southern portion is now the "Cooch Behar—Kakina Road". The Ghoraghat road extended to the south through the district of Rungpur, and may have extended farther to the south through Bhāsubihar and Serpur in the district of Bogra. There are vestiges of forts on this road which was connected with "Bhīmer Jāngāl" in Bogra. A road to the north of Rungpur is still known as "Nīlāmvari Sarak" (the road of Nīlāmvar), another named 'Darpār Mālli' took off from the Jalpesvar road near Bāgh Duār and passing Hatibandha, Ghorāmārā, Jaldhākā and Darwani in Rungpur, led to the Ganges. This road was constructed under the supervision of

there is an inscription that Raghudevanarayan, the nephew of Naranarayan constructed it. It is difficult to say whether the entire temple was built by Raghudevanarayan. This temple had been previously repaired by his uncle Naranarayan. Within Kāmatāpur, many broken stone-slabs of temples lie scattered. It is not reasonable to imagine that kings preceding Maharaja Prānnarayan were indifferent to Kāmatesvari.

In the Vamsāvali of Samudranarayan the king of Durrung, it is mentioned in connection with the capital of Visvasinha.—

"In the south-east there is Debgunj. The Goddess named Kāmatesvari is there".—Page 21.

There is a picture of Kāmatesvari on this page and under it 'Kāmatesvari' is written to explain the picture.

In the Gandharvanarayaner Vamsāvali it is written.—

"Establishing the city, the king resided there. On the south he established the city of the goddess (Devir Nagar)."—Page 45.

a soldier named Darpa Laskar, to facilitate bathing in the holy river. Formerly, hundreds of pilgrims used the road for this purpose. Another old road, "Darpâr Mâlli", exists from Bura Bâura (the bunder of old Baura) to the banks of the present river Tistâ. (13)

King Nilâmvara is accredited with constructing or repairing the temples of Siva in Banerwar (within the State of Cooch Behar) and Kotesvara (in Panga in the district of Rungpur).

Forts and temples.

He protected them with forts in Chhay Ghar (Thana Sadullapur), Manthanâ Kot (on the banks of the Ghâghat), Sât Pârâ (to the north of Ghoraghât), Hatibandha (in Pirganj Thana), Fatehpur (in the Sâriakândi Thana of the district of Bogra), on the south of Ulipur, in Ghoraghat, and other places. The ruins in Kântâduâr in Pirganj are supposed to be the palace of Nilâmvara. "Bârapaiker Garh" is also supposed to have been within his territory.

The rulers of Kâmatâ acquired control over a wide area bounded on the north by the Bhutan hills, on the south by the district of Bogra, to the east by the Bara Nadi of Kâmarupa and the west by the Karatoyâ. During the reign of Ahmed Sah ruler of Guada, (1431-32 A. D.) the power of the Pathân king weakened, to the corresponding advantage of the rulers of Kâmatâ. The works of contemporary European travellers refer the kingdom of "Kâmatâ". (14)

(13) Burâ Baura was at the trijunction of the present State of Cooch Behar, Rungpur and Jalpaiguri. These ancient relics are called by the people "Kântesvari Kirti". Kântesvara is not a name, but a title. Kâmatesvara has been vulgarised as Kântesvara, whence Kântesvara. Reference will be made later to the Narayana kings of Cooch Behar belonging to the gotra of Siva, who took the title of Kâmatesvara.

(14) "During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rungpore was in the hands of the Rajas of Kâmatâ, to which country, passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comtah' or Comoty, on the maps of De Barros and Blaev (pl. IV). The town of Kamta, or Kamtapore, lay on the eastern (? western) bank of the Dharla river, which flows south-west of the town of Kuch Behar."

'The Contribution to the History and Geography of Bengal, p. 32.'

Among the Mahomedan Sultans of Gauda after Mahomed Bakhtiar, who attacked the north-eastern country, Sekander Sah conquered Kâmarupa in 759 Hijri (1357 A. D.) and struck silver coins in commemoration of the event. Other Mahomedan rulers sought to reduce the independence of the kingdom of Kâmatâ. They also attempted to conquer east Bengal.

There was king Dalip Sâmantha who ruled in Jamalpur (in the district of Mymensing) from his capital in Garh Dalipâ (or Garh Jaripâ). About 1491 A. D.,

The invasion of Mahomedans.

during the reign of Firoz Saha the Sultan of Gauda, Garh Dalipâ was assaulted and king Dalip killed by Majlis Khan Humayun the general of Firoz Sah. ⁽¹⁵⁾

During the reign of Barbak Sah the Sultan of Gauda, Kâmatâpura was attacked between 1460 and 1474 A. D. His

Rahamat Khan.

general Rahamat Khan lost a battle and escaped in a boat down the river Karatoya and did not consider him safe from the pursuit of the Koch soldiers until he was within the jungles of

(15) Maimansinher Itihâs, page 37.

"The ruins of an old mud-fort are still visible at the Garh Jaripa, 8 miles north-west of Sherpore. It covers about 1100 acres and was encompassed by seven successive walls. ... A Koch temple stood near the Khirki gate. It was converted into a mosque but a fair in honour of Dalip's mother is still held here every Baisakh... the Muhammadans took possession about 1370."—The Mymensingh District Gazetteer, page 32.

According to another view, the kingdom of Dalip was conquered by Fakir Saha Soltan.—Gauder Itihâs, Part II, Parisista page 40.

It is not clear whether this Saha Soltan is the same as the Sâha Soltan buried in Mahâsthâna Garh. The latter is said to be a contemporary of Hosain Sah and according to another view, flourished at the end of the 13th century. There is a grave of a Saha Soltan in Madanpur in Mymensing. It is written in the Tarikhi-Bângalâ that in 439 Hijri (1047 A. D.) Narasinha (according to another view, Parasurama) a king of the Bhuj-Gauda tribe of Mahâsthânagarh was killed by Sâha Soltan Mahisoar.

Bhabānipur (in the district of Bogra).⁽¹⁶⁾ In a Persian manuscript the 'Resālātos Sohādā, we read that during the reign of Bārbak Sah, there was a fight between the well-known Pir Ismail Gāzi and Kāmesvara the king of Kāmatāpura.

It is not apparent which of these battles was earlier. According to another source, the Gāzi governed Ghorāghāt up to the time of Nasrat Sāh who annexed the kingdom of a local king (minor chief?) named Nilāmvar resident in Kāntāduār. In Saka 1405 (1483 A. D.) overawed by the army of Gauda, the Kāmatā ruler took refuge with the king of the Âhoms, leaving behind his queen Sulochanā and son Durlabhendra. The Gauda army was repulsed by that sent by the king of the Âhoms on the banks of the Karatoyā river. Fateh Sah was the ruler of Gauda at that time.

Hosain Sah, immediately after he assumed power, conquered Kāmatāpur in 1493 A. D. and invested himself with the title of "Kāmatā-vijayi" (the conqueror of Kāmatā).⁽¹⁷⁾ In an inscription on the door of a mosque in Gauda built in Hijri 507 (1602 A. D.), and on the door of another mosque in Kāntāduār (in the district of Rungpur), Hosain Sah's conquest of Kāmru or Kāmtā is related. Silver coins with the name of Hosain Sah and which date from Hijri 899 to 919 (1493-1513 A. D.), bears testimony to his subjection of Kāmru Kāmta, Jājnagar and Orissa.

The invading force from Gauda was divided into several contingents. An army of Bengalis operated to the north after

(16) 'Serpurer Itihas', page 52. Kāntānagar (Thana Dhunat), Bhutiāpārā (Thana Pānchbibi), Bhutiagāri (Thana Ksetlāl) and Bhutia (Thana Shivagunj) exist in the district of Bogra.

(17) The record at page 100 of the work 'Kāmrupar Buranjī' is that Chandana Gazi, the general of Hosain Sah, conquered Kāmatāpur in 1411 Saka (1489 A. D.).

taking Garh Fatepur (in the district of Bogra) at the junction of the Mânasa river. A naval force proceeded from Ekdâlâ. (18) Hosain Sah, in the course of his attacks on Kâmatâpur, routed kings Rupnarayan, Mânakumar, Laksman and Laksmimâna. Dr. Hamilton in a Bengali manuscript found in Maldaha discovered the names of three rulers of Kâmatâ named Sadâlaksmimâna, Mâlkunvâr and Harupnarain. He has guessed these to be alternative names of Niladhvaja, Chakradhvaja and Nilâmvara, respectively. (19)

It is recorded that the Mahomedans were not able to subdue Kâmatâpur even after a prolonged siege of twelve years. At last, by a ruse, a large body of soldiers disguised as females effected an entrance and the fort surrendered. (20) According to another source, the king was taken prisoner and disappeared while bathing in a tank named Kâjali-kurâ. The cage in which he was confined was abandoned 7 to 8 miles to the west of Kâmatâpur at a

(18.) Mymensingher Itihâs, page 39.
 ".....Fort Ekdâlâ on the banks of the Bânar river where the Sonârgâon Governors fled for refuge".—The Mymensingh District Gazetteer, page 24.

There is a difference of opinion among historians as to the location of Ekdâlâ fort. It is reasonable to regard Ekdâlâ on the Bânar river as the destination of the soldiers who proceeded by the river Dharla.

(19.) The spelling of these names is not uniform. Rupnârâyan and his successor Laksmînath alias Kamsanârâyan was the king of Mithilâ. Hosain Sah the ruler of Gauda and Sekendar Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi, jointly defeated him in 1496 A. D. Bânglâr Itihâs, Part II, page 205.

(20.) This incident is not in manuscripts of 'Gosâni-mangal'. The story of occupying a fort or conquering an enemy by means of soldiers disguised as females, is recurrent. At the end of the 13th century Bhim Sing was rescued by this means when Âlâuddin besieged Chitore. In the sixteenth century Ser khan conquered the Rohtas fort by the ruse. At the end of that century "Bhog-betâl" fort (in the district of Mymensing) belonging to Raja Nabaranga Ray was conquered by Isâ Khân by a pretence that women of the harem were being sent. Again in 1582 A. D. Isâ Khân conquered the Yosodal fort (in Kishorganj sub-division) of king Gobardhan near 'Bhog-betâl' fort in similar fashion. It is not safe therefore to accept this story in all cases as a historical truth particularly as it serves to minimise the shame of a defeat.

place still called "Pinjârir Jhâr". There are survivals of mud forts in this village and at another place "Âtharakotâ". According to Sir Edward Gait, the king escaped while he was being escorted to Gauda as a prisoner, and raising an army again fought Daniel the son of Hosain Sah and was killed in battle. The 'Gosâni-mangal' relates the king spurned flight as it would have been contrary to the code of a Ksatriya; he was therefore taken prisoner.

Hosain Sah advanced towards Assam after his victories at Kâmatâpur. The "Tarikh-i-Âsâm" recounts that he launched an attack on Assam with twenty thousand infantry and cavalry in river transports. The king of Assam fled to the hills, but when the roads became impassable during the rainy season, the Assamese soldiers renewed fighting and Hosain Sah's son, whom he had left to hold the situation, was killed and his soldiers retreated to Gauda. ⁽²¹⁾ In the histories of Assam, it is told that Hosain Sah attacked Assam and placed his son in Hâjo but was constrained to evacuate by the counter-attacks of the Assamese. This is corroborated by the 'Riaz-us-sâlâtin.' In the Visvakosa, Nasrat Sah escaped after being vanquished by the Koch tribe in the reign of Visvasinha and about 1513 A. D., the Mahomedan soldiers of Gauda were forced to leave Kâmatâpura.

When Kâmatâpura was taken by the Mahomedans Durlabhendra, the son of the ruler of Kâmatâ, retired to Assam. Fenguâ, his nephew, killed him there and became king near Gauhati.

After the death of Fenguâ, the king of the Âhoms attempted to conquer the kingdom but was frustrated.

(21) The Calcutta Review (1867) states that Gîāsuddin became ruler after the death of Daniel the son of Hosain Sâh. Gîāsuddin was buried in Hajo. The 'Poâ-makkâ' mosque of Hajo was constructed by him. It is learnt from an inscription at the door of 'Poâ-makkâ' mosque that it was constructed in 1657 A. D.

The three battles between the Assamese and Mahomedans, between 1527 to 1532 A. D., are distinguished. In the first, the Mahomedan army was defeated and driven up to the Burâi river. The second battle took place near Timâni. In the last, the victorious Assamese soldiers pursued the Mahomedan forces to the banks of the Karatoyâ river. In the work 'Âsâmar Sanksipta Buranji' it is described how in 1506 A. D. General Tubrak Khân under orders of Nawab Khalach Khân (?) overcame the Assamese.

When Hosain Sâh invaded Kâmatâpura, Supim Fâ, the ruler of the Âhoms, was reigning in east Assam. His capital was at Bakatâ on the banks of the Dihing river. To the east of the kingdom of Kâmatâ, the power of Bisu alias Visvasinha, the son of Haridas Mandal of Chikna, was overshadowing that of his father. The Bhuiyâs reasserted themselves after the fall of Kâmatâpura and according to Dr.

Chandan and Madan.

Hamilton, two brothers Chandan and Madan, developed an effective administration for eight years from Muralâbâs about thirty miles to the north of Kâmatâpura.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN KĀMARUPA.

EUROPEAN antiquarians have laboured to reconstruct the lost history of the Hindu and Buddhist eras in the history of India from the ancient Sanskrit books (like the Rigveda) and Prākṛit works, numismatic remains, copper-plate, rock, and stone inscriptions, archæological evidence and works of art, and the traditions handed down from generation to generation. Indian scholars have also entered this field of research. Yet interpretation of this mass of literary, epigraphical, artistic and archæological material, has not succeeded in classifying the elusive geographical transitions through which the countries of ancient India passed. (Ed.). The exact geography at any particular period, of the ancient kingdom of Prâggyotisa is still largely the effort of conjecture, and has fluctuated between a country measuring 30 Yojans broad and 100 Yojans long to the modern district with an area of only 3858 square miles.

In the map which was prepared on the basis of 'Indica' by Megasthenes, Mithila and Vaisâli (Passalæ) mark the western and the country of the Gangaridai tribe, the southern boundary of Kâmarupa. The extent of the kingdom of Sâgaldeva is alleged to have been even greater. During the time of

The conquerors.

Bhâskaravarmâ of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who was a contemporary of Yuan Chwang, Kâmarupa stretched from the Karatoyâ in the west to Chinese territory on the north-east. Haris the king of Kâmarupa in the 8th century A. D. was the ruler of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and

Kosala'. Naranârâyan, the son of Visvasinha, and the last of the great conquerors, flourished in the 16th century. During his life, the kingdom was bounded on the west by the Kusi (Kausiki) river, on the south by Ghorâghât and on the south-east by Chittangong coast. Roughly speaking, half of the north-eastern portion of the present district of Mymensing, Srihatta (Sylhet), Kâchhâr, Kumilla, Tripurâ, the whole of Assam and the kingdom of Bhutan acknowledged his supremacy.

Something of the earlier internal conditions of Kâmarupa can be learnt from the description of foreign travellers, many of whom were not likely to be attracted to a country which was not prosperous

Travellers.

The account attributed to Megasthenes must have been written. (if at all) in the capital of Magadha. It is not free from improbabilities:—The peremiter of the kingdom of Kâmarupa (Kia-mo-lu-po) is about 10,000 Li (2000 miles) and that of the capital 80 Li (6 miles). The land is low and damp but the climate is delightful. Crops are regularly grown. Jack-fruit and cocoanuts are appreciated by the people and are produced in abundance. Water is supplied to the town from rivers and tanks. The inhabitants are simple and honest, though rough and fierce. They have perseverance and some inclination to learning. They are short in stature and of dark complexion. The difference between their language and that of the "Madhya desa", is very slight. They worship Gods and Goddesses and entertain no belief in the Buddhist religion. Since the very birth of Buddha, no monastery has been built, and those who believe in Buddha, worship in secret. Many hundreds of temples are divided between various sects, each of which numbers not less than 10,000. The reigning king, a descendant of God Nârâyana (Visnu), is a Brahmin. One of his name is Bhâskaravarmâ and the other Kumâra. His is the thousandth generation from the beginning of the dynasty. He and his

people have cultural aspirations, and scholars from distant countries are welcomed. Though not a Buddhist, he respects learned Sramanas, and when he learnt that a Sramana had journeyed from distant China to learn the tenets of Buddhism, he immediately sent men to invite the Sramana (Yuan Chwang). The latter after declining three times, eventually consented, at the request of Mahâpandit Silabhadra, to accept the invitation.

Hills border the east of Kâmarupa. There are no large towns. Wild tribes resembling the 'Lâo' and 'Mân' tribes live on the outskirts of the kingdom. Enquiry shows that the south-west border of the country named 'Su-chuan' can be reached after a journey of two months. Numberless hills and rivers render the road difficult and there is danger not only from poisonous gas, poisonous snakes and injurious trees and plants but wild elephants are found in large bodies in the south-eastern portion of the country and commit depredations in the villages. There is substantial advantage in catching them for use in war. This part of the country can be reached by proceeding 900 Li to the east from Pundravardhan (Pun-na-fa-tan-na) and crossing a large river (the Karatoya) en route. Samatata (San-mo-ta-ta) lies 1200 to 1300 Li to the south.⁽¹⁾

An Arabian traveller, one Suleman, came to India in the 9th century. He went to the 'Kasbin' country after visiting 'Kâmarupa'. Another traveller named Iban Batuta who was a resident of Tangier also visited Kâmarupa (1346-47 A. D.) when returning from Mâladvîpa. He set out for the hills of Kâmarupa from Châtgâo (Sadkawan). The journey occupied one month, through hills extending to China and Tibet where the musk-deer live. The tribes of these parts resembled Turks. They were hard-working and for this reason, their slaves commanded higher prices than those of other tribes.

(1) On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, pages 185-187.

There is a tradition that the people are versed in magic. Ralph Fitch, an English merchant came to Kāmārupa in 1586 A. D.

During the reign of Maharaja Lakshminarayan, two Portuguese missionaries, Stephen Cacella and John Cabral, penetrated to Kāmātā (1626 A. D.). Later, in the middle of the 17th century the Frenchmen J. B. Tavernier and F. Bernier were travelling in India, and the former visited Dacca, the then capital of Bengal, and recorded impressions of Assam and Bhutan in his work. He seems to have confused Tibet (Bhot) with Bhutan. He describes the passage of three ambassadors of the Duke of Muscovoy through Bhutan to China (1659 A. D.) The king of Bhutan refused to receive them as they declined to salute him by prostrating themselves at full length on the ground in accordance with the custom of the Bhutan Durbar.⁽²⁾ Tavernier met four Armenian artisans of Patna. They fashioned images of various Gods and Goddesses worshipped by the Bhutanese.

Bernier set down part of the history of Mirjumla's invasion of Assam, yet without reference to either Kāmātā or Cooch Behar. In 1774 A. D. George Bogle, in 1776 A. D. Dr. Hamilton and in 1783 A. D. Captain Turner proceeded through Cooch Behar to Bhutan on the affairs of the East India Company, but they have left no detailed record regarding the conditions they saw. In 1779 A. D. Major Rennel drew a map of Kāmātā and the surrounding territories under the East India Company. In 1808 A. D. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton undertook an enquiry into the ancient and contemporary state of the district of Rungpur. It was at that year that he came to Kāmātāpura (Gosānimāri) in the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

(2) Travels in India, Third Book, Chapters XV and XVII.

According to the historian Bushell, the 'Tao' doctrine of China was influenced by the Indian doctrine of renunciation which infiltrated to that country through Kâmarupa. In India the higher knowledge of Brahma followed the Vedanta doctrine. Especially in Mithilâ, bordering on Kâmarupa, was this knowledge developed, and it is therefore unreasonable to suppose that its light was not reflected in Kâmarupa. The doctrines of the philosopher Kapila also, were not unknown in this country, and hermitage of one Kapila is even now extant near Badarpur within Kâchhâr.

Educational arrangements in Kâmarupa during the reign of the kings of Pâla dynasty, were somewhat advanced, and knowledge of the day was instilled through schools and Buddhist monasteries. Yuan Chwang wrote that there was a degree of culture even at the time of kings of the Bhagadatta dynasty, and copper-plate inscriptions confirm this. The Mahomedan historians and common tradition have emphasized that the inhabitants of Kâmarupa were experts in magic. The "Dâker Vachana" was composed in Kâmarupa in about the 9th century, and it can be presumed that several Tântrik works including the Yogini Tantra and the Kâlikâ Purâna, were the works of local Pandits. Songs like those of Gopichând, Goraksanath and Sonârây (which date from before the 12th century), were skillfully composed by village poets. The subtlety of the "Heyâlî" or "Chhilkâ" (riddles) has been appreciated. Poems adapting mythological stories or the lives of men were disseminated both orally or in writing. The principles guiding both prose and verse composition seem to have been general in the various parts of ancient Bengal.

Music, again, was not a backward art. In old manuscripts the following musical instruments (the 'Beyâllis Bâjan' or forty-two musical instruments) are specified,—the Sankha,

Ghantâ, Karatâla, Dundubhi, Dhâk, Dhôl, Dagar, Nâgârâ, Râmbenâ (Vinâ), Khanjarikâ, Mohari, Dotârâ, Rabâb, Sârindâ, Bânsi, Jhilli, Jhinjiri, Kârâsi, Rudrak Tokâri, Turi, Mridanga, Mandirâ, Khôl, Dhomchi, Gogona, Mururi (Murali), Upânga, Barakânkha, Muchaya, Jampha, Joykâli, Bheri, Ramsingâ, Râmtâla, Jhonjrâ, Gomukha, Virakâli, Sinha-vâna, Tabal, Dochari, Uruli and Dholak.

In accounts of Greek merchants, dating from the first century A. D. brief reviews of trade and industry of that period have survived. The 'Tej-patra' (leaf of the laurus leassia) of the 'Kirâdiâ' country was exported to Europe from the port of Tâmrâlipta. At an annual fair Chinese merchants exchanged silks for Tejpatra. The historian Bushell says that there was a trade between China and India through Burma and Assam from the fifth century B. C. The entrepôt of trade between Bengal and Kâmarupa was Hâdirâ-chowki, in the present district of Goalpara, and this centre was in existence up to the advent of British rule. Among the articles available in the country, the Mahomedan historians have mentioned oranges, black-pepper, fragrant flowers, fruits not available in Western India, musk, aguru wood (a scented wood), and a sweet juice from a tree.

Tobacco was probably imported by the Portuguese in the 17th century, and it is said that the Europeans introduced potatoes, pine-apples, custard-apples, guava, papaw, chillies, kâmrângâ (averrhoea carambola) and maize. With the decline of the weaving industry, the cultivation of cotton disappeared from western but continued in eastern Kâmarupa. Yuan Chwang saw plantations of jack fruit and cocoanut trees in Kâmarupa. Dried fish was imported from east Bengal from early times. Before the policy of control was implemented by

the British Government, the poppy and ganja (*cannabis indica*) were grown. The aborigines were addicted to drink liquor. One interesting fact to be gathered from the works of Mahomedan historians is that gold dust was collected from the sand of the Brahmaputra. Salt was not readily procurable, and formerly pearl-oysters were found in the Karatoyâ river. Traces of an iron factory have been found in the Pât of Bhabachandra in the district of Rungpur. Tavernier mentioned the existence of a silver mine in Bhutan. He had also heard that about 500 years before, gun-powder and fire-arms were manufactured in Bhutan. His view was that gunpowder and fire-arms were first manufactured in Assam, distributed in Pegu and were thence exported to China.

Bhâskaravarmâ the ruler of Kâmarupa sent presents to Harshavardhana king of Thaneshwar. A contemporary poet Bânabhatta (7th century) has enumerated this in his 'Harshacharita',—an umbrella named Âbhoga obtained by his ancestor from Varuna, ornaments inherited from kings Bhagadatta etc., strings of pearls interspersed with rubies, white silk cloth, drinking vessels decorated with oysters, conches, emeralds etc., costly deer-skins fringed with gold; soft pillows covered with embroidered cloth and soft as the bark of a Bhûrja tree, beautiful yellow cane-chairs, poetical works easily legible on leaves of aguru, green and ripe betel-nuts, juicy fruit with branches attached, the juice of mangoes and oil of black Aguru; many kinds of sticks variously prepared, silk-strings to tie the gourd under the vinâ, aguru (aloe wood) of very dark colour, Go-sirsa-sandal, camphor white as snow, musk, branches of kakkol with bunches of ripe fruit, labanga flowers, Jâti fruit (nut-meg), white châmara (chowrie), painting materials, a pair of Banamânusa with golden chains round their necks; a pair of chakoras and jalamânusa, musk-deer emitting sweet scent, Chamari—birds like parrots trained to utter words, within cane-cages adorned with

gold, Chakoras in coral cages, and ivory ear-rings adorned with the pearls of sea-elephants etc. (3)

In the *Harivamsa* it is recorded that cloth of fine texture and comfortable mattresses are products of *Prâggyotisa* (*Visnuparva*, *Adhyâya* 64). Ralph Fitch has mentioned the industry in silk and cotton cloth, and musk. The metal industry of east *Kâmarupa* still maintains some signs of its former greatness. The standards of artistic skill in ancient *Kâmarupa* can be inferred from metal and stone image of Gods and Goddesses.

At the period when the "Heyâlis" (riddles) which are even noted current among the people, were composed, carpenters used to migrate from the south. Washermen and tailors followed their callings. With the Mahomedans, soap and paper were introduced. Previously the leaves of *sâchi*, palm and *bhurja* trees had served in place of paper.

Elephants had pride of place in the fauna and have been referred to in very ancient works. The seal of the rulers of *Kâmarupa* in the copper-plate inscriptions, was surmounted with the figure of an elephant. The elephants employed in war by *Bhagadatta* were famous. In the *Raghuvamsa*, *Raghu*, after conquering *Kâmarupa*, took many elephants as tribute, as did the *Mughul* emperors at a later date. *Srikrishna* seized many after killing *Niraka*. *Yuan Chwang* speaks of them in his description of *Kâmarupa*. The art of capturing and training wild elephant developed considerably in *Kâmarupa*. The sage *Pâlakâpya*, who has written the "*Hastyâurveda*", and was presumably a resident of *Kâmarupa*, used to train and prescribe medicine for elephants. (4) *Sukumar Burkayet* wrote the work

(3) *Harsha-charita*, *Uchchhvâsa* VII.

(4) A sage *Pâlakâpya* has been referred to in the *Vira-gâthâ* of the poet *Chând*. He is said to have been born of an elephant and to have been proficient in the science of their treatment. He lived near 'Luhitâksa Sarobbar' on the east of the

'Hastividya' in 1734 A. D. under orders of Sivasinha the ruler of the Ahoms and his queen Ambikâ Devi. Its contents include the different classes of elephants, the method of training them, their diseases and treatment. (5) The Râjatarangini also, makes mention of the elephants of the country. The attention of travellers was naturally attracted to these large beasts. At the end of the 18th century herds of wild elephant roamed the north and east of the present State of Cooch Behar. As late as the beginning of the 19th century, wild elephant frequented places like Pâhârganj to the north of Gosânimari. Even now they visit the reserve forests of the State on the north and east.

The well-bred horses of the country, alluded to by the Mahomedan historians, originated from Bhutan or Tibet. A manuscript of a work entitled 'Ghorâ-nidâna', describing the methods of treating diseases of horses, was composed in Kâmarupa, and has been published by the Kâmarupa Anusandhâna Samiti.

Some of the various functions of many officers of the kings have been enumerated in copper-plate inscriptions (dated the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th century A. D.)

Administration and officers
of the rulers.

of the rulers Bhâskaravarmâ, Harjar, Balavarmâ, Ratnapâla, Indrapâla and Dharmapâla. They were Âjnâprâpanakâri (carriers of orders), Simâpradânakâri (those who fixed boundaries), Nyâyakaranika, Vyavahâri, officers in charge of Bhândâras (stores), makers of of inscription, writers, utkhetayitâ, Sekyakâra, Mahâsâmantâ, Rânaka, Râja-ballava, female guards of the Harem, Officers in

Anga country. Mallinâth has mentioned Pâlakâpya the elephant physician in his commentary on Raghuvansa (VI. 27). In the Agni Purâna (Adhyâya 287) the different marks and the treatment of elephants have been reported after the words "Pâlakâpya says".

(5) The author saw this in 1915 A. D. among manuscripts collected by the Assam Government. So scientific a work regarding the treatment of elephants could not but have represented the observations and experiments of many generations.

charge of elephants and horses, searchers after stolen goods, Dandakâri (those who punished), Dandadâtâ (those who ordered punishment), Mahâsainyapati (the Commander-in-chief), Mahâdvârâdhipatya, Mahâpratihâra, Mahâmâtya (the Prime Minister), and Brâhmanâdhikâra (the Officer in charge of Brahmanas). The nature of these offices affords some side-light on the administration in ancient Kâmarupa. The office of 'Mahâsândhivigrahika' is not included in these copper-plate inscriptions, and is also not in the inscriptions of Dharmapâla and Devapâla the rulers of Gauda in the 9th century A. D., but it is found in those of Nârâyanpâla (10th century), Mahîpâla I. and Vighrapâla III. (11th century), Madanapâla, Baliâlasena and Lakshmanasena (12th century).

In very ancient times, revenue was realised in fractions of the crops grown. Thus we hear in the song of Manikchand,—

The manner of collecting
revenue, & of punishment. "1½ buri of cowries is realised as the
monthly revenue of one plough".

Even up to the middle of the last century, cowries were current as money. There is a tradition that king Kântesvara (Nilâmvara) caused an inscription to be engraved on a stone advising his successors to realise only a very few cowries as revenue for each plough. (6) Mahomedan historians have mentioned the gold and silver coins minted in the country. There were the Nârayani coins of the kings of Cooch Behar. The kings of the Âhoms also struck coins, and earlier coins than these have not yet been discovered.

It is written in the Riaz-us-sâlâtin that the rulers of Assam collected no revenue; instead, one out of every three subjects performed such work as ordered by the king and infringement of the order, was punished with death. During the reigns of the Nârayan kings of Kâmarupa, political offenders were killed by strangulation. Under the kings of

(6) No inscription of Nilâmvara or his predecessors has yet been discovered.

the Âhoms mutilation of hands and legs, or nose and ears, according to the status of the offender was a common form of punishment, and the sentence of death was inflicted either with weapons or by drowning.

In the Shâstras, it is clearly enjoined that the Hindu king should always arrive at just decisions. Actually, during Hindu and Budhist supremacy, the administration was in the hands of various classes of Sâmantas, Bhuiyâ or subordinate officers. During their regime the practice had already been established in Kâmarupa of measuring land and locating and determining the boundaries. The area, the nature and the boundaries of lands were inscribed on old copper-plate inscriptions. A general settlement of lands was directed during the reign of emperor Alauddin. Sekandar Sah the Sultan of Bengal had a settlement made and he fixed revenue accordingly. Sultan Ser Sah, his successor, also ordered a settlement of Bengal. Todarmal, the minister of Akbar, prepared the famous settlement records known as the 'Âsal jamâ tumâr', which were compiled from the Daftar (office) of the Pathan ruler Daud Khan.

In the Mahâbhârata, we have a clear indication of the wealth of Bhagadatta, the ruler of Prâggyotisa. In the

Harivamsa (Visnuparva) Chapter 64 and Kalikâpurâna Chapter 40, it is recorded that after killing Naraka, Srikrisna

removed a large quantity of money and jewellery from the treasury to his own country, and that the famous Pânchajanya Sankha (conch-shell) of Srikrisna was acquired. Perhaps the condition of a country can hardly be inferred from the wealth of the king. Again, there may be some exaggeration in the constant references to gold and silver bedsteads, and in the descriptions of the palace and the court of the king, but it can certainly be deduced that the rich men of the

country at the time lived in state. On the other hand the common people had not the means to purchase metal utensils. They used plates and jars made from dried gourd, earthen vessels with covers, and plates, pitchers and jugs made from hollow bamboos ('Thuri'). Gold ornaments were rarely to be seen among them. The women of poor class adorned themselves with bracelets of nickel and necklaces of coral; women of the middle class with silver ornaments.

Women normally wore one cloth (Bukbāndhâ). Some wore two pieces (the Agran) covering the upper and the other (the Fotâ) covering the lower portion of the body. Ordinarily, poor men wore the 'Lengti' and those of better class Dhutis down to their knees. The scarf of Endi was used by men of status as were blankets, shawls, and silken cloths. The latter we know were imported.

The basic food of the people was rice prepared from paddy, and in its absence, rice from Kaon and Cheena and barley powder ('Pairâr Gurâ'). Poor people ate powdered fried rice. When salt was not easily available, 'Ksâra' was its substitute. Chirâ and curd as light refreshments were very old, and more common than milk.

Slavery had a long vogue in Kâmarupa, the slaves being sent for sale to Bhot, eastern Assam and southern Bengal. When people were in distress, they sold their children and even themselves. In some cases slaves were kidnapped. The fear of 'Chhele-dharâ' (stealers of boys) prevalent in these parts, is not therefore historically groundless. The tradition is that boys were kidnapped to be offered as human sacrifice.

We find in the songs of Goraksanath and Sonârâi that the navel-cord of newly-born infants was severed by Binnâ-pâtâ. Oil-cake and Ksâra were used to clean the body. The old riddles (Heyâlis) refer to chewing 'Majâ guâ' (rotten betel-nuts) and wearing Jâmâ. From the manuscripts is obtained a

description of the use of betel, betel-nut and cardamom in the 8th and 9th centuries. In the copper-plate inscription of Vanamâla we find mention of Nata, Nati (actor and actress) and courtesans. In the older manuscripts reference to courtesans is ubiquitous.

In ancient times, life for the common people was simply organised. The young men passed their days till they were 17 or 18 years old playing games like Lukochuri (Hide and seek), Chilâchilâ, Gutugutu, Hatukdug, Chengupât, Bhetâpât, Dândâpât, Tepâtâ, Mogul Pathân etc. The women folk reared Endi worms and prepared the threads, from cocoons and especially in Eastern Kâmarupa were very proficient in weaving, and the skill survives in those parts. In western Kâmarupa, the men wove cloth, and according to their religion, Hindu or Muhomedan, were respectively known as Tânti and Jolâ. They did not, however, constitute a special caste. Unfortunately the art of weaving has been largely lost in western Kâmarupa.

There was anciently a fear of spirits—Bhuts, Dâinis (witches) etc. In every village there were ill-famed haunts of evil spirits. If anyone fell ill, it was believed that an evil spirit has taken possession of him ('Deo-dharâ'), and recourse was had to the incantations of Ojhâs. More reliance was set on the curative power of incantations than upon medicine. The inspired Mantras were well-preserved orally and sometimes reduced to manuscript, some of which is still extant. From ancient times there had been practice of quasi-vaccination to check the spread of small-pox. After such vaccination, eruptions of small-pox appeared on the person vaccinated who also developed a fever. The local Vaidyas professed skill in the treatment of small-pox, and to-day their advice is still availed of in the villages. The Mahomedan historians have noted that Vaidyas of the country were also efficient in treating ulcers;—their knowledge has been handed down to their modern prototypes.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS REFORMERS.

Guru Goraksanâtha, founder or reformer of the religion of the Nâthas, is addressed in the old manuscripts of the sect as "Anantakutisiddhâr Guru". Opinion differs as to whether this sect follows the Vedas or not. According to the older adherents, only "Alekh Niranjân" exists after universal destruction and the Nâtha Gurus who have attained perfection are to be deemed counterparts of Niranjân. There was no separate corporate existence of the Nâtha religion in Kâmarûpa. The surname Nâtha survives of course, but the caste has become merged into Hindu society. Many Nâthas (of the Yogi caste) live near the Maynamati hills in modern Tripura. In western Kâmarûpa there are two classes who call themselves Nâthas and prepare lime, and trade in conch-shells. In lower Assam also men of Yogi caste calling themselves Nath are numerous. Throughout northern Bengal and western Kâmarûpa evidence reminiscent of Guru Goraksanâtha remains, in the temple of Goraksanâtha in Bogra; Goraksamandapa in Rungpur; Yogi-ghopâ in Goalpara; the temple of Goraksanâtha near Rânisankal in Dinajpur, and Goraksa-Kui in Nekmardan etc.

In the local song current in northern Bengal, the birthplace of Goraksanâtha is reputed to be near Jalpesh and Mech-pârâ (in the district of Goalpârâ). According to

the view of Dr. Grierson, Goraksanâtha was a Nepalese Buddhist Yogi; and indeed his connection is borne out by ancient coins of Nepal inscribed,—“Sri Sri Sri Goraksanâtha”. The old manuscript ‘Gorkhavijaya’ of eastern Bengal tells that Gorkhanâth married Birahini the princess of Garves, and a son named Sri Khoâj was born of the marriage. In the same manuscript the visit of Gorkhanâth to Vijayanagar, is mentioned. In this connection the names of the Yogis ‘Kân fâ’ and ‘Hâri pâ,’ are recorded.

Goraksanâtha is a well-known name in other parts of India. There is a tradition that in the 15th century one Goraksanâtha was associated with Kahir, and again in the 16th century another Goraksanâtha met Guru Nânaka. The Goraksanâtha whose sandals, umbrella and a staff are preserved in Gorakhpur flourished in the 15th century or before. A Goraksanâtha lived in the Punjab in the 14th century. The Goraksanâtha hills are a place of pilgrimage for the sect of ‘Kanfâtâ’ Yogis who worship Siva. The sect was founded by Guru Goraksanâtha.

The ‘Jûâneswari’ written in the Marathi language, refers to a Yogi Goraksanâtha of the 12th century. There is a tradition that the Goraksanâtha who was the Guru of Jalandharinâtha, belonged to the period between the 8th and the 10th century. The Bharthari (Bhartrihari) cave near Ujjain, has a picture of Goraksanâtha and it is said that this Goraksanâtha was the Guru of Bhartrihari, the elder brother of Vikramâditya, who promulgated the Samvat era. In the Maharastra country the name of Jalandhara, the Guru of ‘Mainamati,’ is also legendary. It is probable that he was a distinct Goraksanâtha, his other name being “Hâri Pâ”. Images of Goraksanâtha are found in the place of pilgrimage at Tryamvak near Nâsik and near Gangâdvâra. The Hindi work ‘Goraksanâthki Gorthi’, has it

that Goraksanâtha was the grandson of Âdinâtha and the son of Lokesvara Padmapâni Matsyendranâtha. According to Mr. Wilson, Padmapâni hailed from the country to the north-east of Bengal but in the view of the late Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M. A., C. I. E., Matsyendranâtha (Matsyântradanâtha) was a resident of the modern district of Barisal and a Kaivarta by caste. From these varying accounts, it is reasonable to assume perhaps that Goraksanâtha was not so much the name of a particular person as the title of a Guru or particular class of Yogis belonging to the sect who accepted the doctrines of the Nâthas.

Before or at the time of the Mahomedan rule, two religious reformers, Sonâ Rây and Rupâ Rây, appeared in Kâmarupa, but their real history has become obscured in stories of transcendental incidents. It may be concluded, however, that the songs still current in the country concerning Sonâ Rây, Rupâ Rây and Goraksanâtha, and containing references to Mahomedans, were composed after the advent of the Mahomedans. There is one story of a battle between Sonâ Rây and the Mahomedan soldiers; and today the Garh or Pât of Sonâ Rây the deity of tigers, exists among the ruins of Gauda. Sonâ Rây was a worshipper of Buddha in the form of Dharma. The story of his birth is similar to that of Srikrishna.

Guru Nanak, the celebrated founder of the Sikh religion, came to Kâmarupa in the beginning of the 16th century. There is a tradition that on his way to Kâmakhyâ he resided for some days in Dhubri. Guru Nanak and Teg Bahadur. Teg Bahadur accompanied Râmsinha the ruler of Amber to Kâmarupa in 1666 A. D., or according to another view in 1668 A. D. The 'Sikh tolâ' established by him is still in existence at Dhubri. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Nânak Prakâsa, Part II, page 39.

It is said that Chaitanyadeva who preached Vaisnavism also came to Kâmarupa at a time when Sankaradeva was preaching the doctrines of Vaisnavism there and

Sankaradeva.

Buddhist customs were still in vogue in the country. Sankaradeva who was a Kâyastha by caste is said to have met Chaitanyadeva. He was born in 1419 A. D. in the village Baradoyâ (in the modern district of Naogaon). As he began to preach doctrines which were contrary to the worship of Sakti, the Brahmins became angry and preferred a complaint against him to the Âhom king. After the conquest of Assam by king Naranârâyan, Sankaradeva left Assam for the kingdom of Kâmatâ. There he became intimate

Among the improbable stories in Sikh history regarding the visit of Guru Nânak to Kâmarupa, we find the following regarding Teg Bahadur,—

"He (the Guru) and Raja (Ram Singh) marched through Mungher, Rajmahal and Maldaha. Their next halt was at Dhaka. The Guru and Raja then set out for the city of Rangamati on the right bank of the Brahmaputra.....At Dhubari, the capital of Kâmrup, the Guru informed Raja Ram Singh's officers that Guru Nânak had visited the place and rendered it holy by his footsteps. The Guru then requested that each soldier should bring five shields of earth to raise, in memory of the founder of the Sikh religion, a mound which could be seen at a great distance. The Guru then had a pavilion erected at the top. Some of the Guru's followers remained in Kâmarupa and their descendants are now found in Dhubri and Chaotala (Sikhtola?). Great honour and reverence was shown to the Guru, and hearing this Raja Ram of Assam.....came to do him homage. The Raja had no offspring and desired a son. He brought his two wives who made obeisance to the Guru".—Translation of Guru Teg Bahadur's life mentioned in Vol. IV, pages 348—358—By M. Macauliffe.

"When the Rajas of Assam were defeated, Ram Raj, the Raja of Gauripore, concluded peace through the intercession of the Guru and submitted. The Guru pointed out a place where Guru Nânak had once been, and raised a high platform called Damdama which exists to this day. The sacred Granth opens there and a village is assigned in Jagir for its maintenance. From the spoils the Imperial Army had gained, large offerings were made to the Guru,and reached Patna on the 7th Jaith, Sambat 1724....."—Translation of the Sikh History, Part I, page 151 by Khazan Sing.

with Sukladhvaja (Chilâ Rây) the brother of the ruler. Under the order of Sukladhvaja, Sankaradeva wrote the drama 'Sîtâsvayamvara' and organized the acting (Bhâvanâ) of it. Kanthabhûsan the Guru of the king and other Brahmins combined against him ⁽²⁾, and attributed the following faults to him in complaints preferred before the king :—

"The Kaivartas, Koltâs, Koches and Brahmins are made to sit together to eat milk Chirâ and plantain. Cooked rice has become Prasâda of Jagannâth and is distributed in the villages. He has presumed to be the Guru even of Brahmins and to give them religious instructions. He accepts all gifts like bedsteads, etc."

The Brahmins brought forth the images of Kâli immersed in water from the riverbed, and lodged a complaint before the king against Sankaradeva that he had destroyed images of the deities. ⁽³⁾ Two of his disciples were arrested and brought before King Naranârâyân. "The King said, ' Bow down to Durgâ,' but they replied, ' We cannot do this.' " At this the king ordered them to be punished and as they would give no information regarding their Guru, an order that they be killed by being torn to pieces by dogs, was passed. ⁽⁴⁾ According to another version the Hâjârikâs (a class of State officers) sold Sankaradeva to the Bhutias to realise money due to the State, and also placed his disciples in their hands. Sukladhvaja, however, concealed Sankaradeva in 'Fulbari'. ⁽⁵⁾ At last, the king released

(2). " Sree Sree Sankar Deva " page 185.

(3) Sankara- charita, page 262.

(4) " Jhapanu hengâl duiko kâmuria khâuk ". (" Let leaping dogs eat them "—
Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 194.

(5) Thâkur Âtâ, 140, 150 pages,

Sankaradeva lived in the village Kâgajkutâ when he came to Behar (The Vamsâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 45.) Sankaradeva ' lived for some time in the town of Behar ' (Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 222.) He lived happily in Bhehâ (Bhehâdângar) opening a Satra'. According to another view he ' remained in great delight in Baikunthapur, opening a Satra' Sree SreeDeb Dâmodara Charitra, page 115.

Sankaradeva as Haripāglā ("frenzied in the name of Hari") but later, appreciating the pure character, self-sacrifice and the religious doctrines of Sankaradeva through the good offices of Sukladvaja the king respected him.—Krisna Bhārati has written in the manuscript 'Santh Nirnaya' that Sankaradeva while imprisoned under the orders of the king, composed the work 'Guptachintāmani' and presented it to the king, thereby gaining his freedom. The king then offered the management of the Barapetā Mehal to Sankaradeva but he was unwilling to accept it. Sankaradeva had a piece of cloth named "Brindābani Bastra", 120 cubits long and 60 cubits broad, manufactured by the weavers of Barapetā, and various pictures illustrative of events in the life of Krisna were painted on it. This he presented to the king and as a reward, was allowed to relinquish the management of the Mehal. Afterwards Ram Rây, a relative of Sankaradeva, took over this charge.

Sankaradeva refused to become the Guru of the king ⁽⁶⁾, and in the Sankaracharita it is recorded that when the king pressed him again and again to allow him to take his 'Saran' (initiation), Sankaradeva gave up his life to avoid fulfilling the request. According to another view, he died in Saka 1490 (1568 A. D.) of an ulcerous disease. ⁽⁷⁾ He stayed in the

(6) "I never become Guru of kings, women and Brahmins who follow Karma Kānda.—Sankara Charita, page 295.

According to a different account :

"The king took initiation from the Mahāpurusa (the great man)".—Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 221.

(7) Sankara-charita, page 295.

Mahapurusa Sankaradeva O Mādhavadevar Jivancharitra, pages 187 and 354.

"Afterwards Sankara crossed the 'Manāha' and went to the Ghat of Kāgajkutā; Sankar died in Kāgajkutā Ghat".—Satsampradāyer Kathā, pages 44, 45.

The Gods rained flowers on the Kāgajkutā Ghat of the Torsa river when the body of Sankaradeva was cremated, and so the river was named 'Puspahanti'. That place has become a dried-up bed of the river or a Bil (large tank).—Sankaracharita, pages 274 and 301.—Kāgajkutā cannot now be identified in Cooch Behar.

kingdom of Kâmatâ for two and a half years. Sukladhwaj married Kamalâpriyâ (or according to another authority Bhagnesvari) the daughter of Râm Rây a relative of Sankaradeva ⁽⁸⁾

Mâdhavadeva the disciple of Sankaradeva was also imprisoned for six months, having incurred the displeasure of the Âhom king. Thereafter he came to Barapetâ and began to preach in the name of Srikrishna. Also a Kâyastha, his doctrines are known as those of the Mahâpurusiyâs. At this time Raghudev Narayan, the son of Sukladhwaja, and king of Barapetâ (eastern Kâmarupa), was instigated by Brahmins to pass orders against Mâdhavadeva who, with his devotees, was produced in the royal court as prisoner, but when the anger of Raghudev was mitigated by some means, Mâdhavadeva proceeded to western Kâmarupa and sought the protection of Lakshminarayan the ruler of Kâmatâ. ⁽⁹⁾ Virupâksha Karji, an officer of the king, at the instance of the Brahmins, attempted to intrigue against Mâdhavadeva but was unable to do him any real injury. Prince Viranarayan and many ladies of the royal harem, were charmed with his qualities, and became attached to Mâdhavadeva. Through his efforts "the people Koch Mech discarded all their previous habits."

(8) The Koch kings of Kamrupa page 29; Âsâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâma, page 58. Thâkur Âtâ, page 134. Sankaracharita Tikâ, page 263. Visvakosh. Vol. III, page 524.

(9) Mâdhavadeva lived in the village Bheladangar.—Thâkur Âtâ, page 255; Mahâpurusa Sankara O Mâdhavadevar Jîyancharitra, page 306.

According to another view :—

"Living in Madhupur, after opening a Satra there, (Mâdhava) went to heaven, departing from his mortal body".—Sree Sree Deva Damodar Charitra, page 123.

In Satsampradâyer Kathâ (pages 46, 47) the latter view has been corroborated.

Maharaja Lakshminarayan himself presented gifts of money and properties to him. It was when Mâdhavadeva was very old that he had gone to wash his hands and face when a palanquin arrived to take him to the inner apartments of the king. Suddenly he collapsed in a faint from which he did not recover. (1596 A. D.). Lavish arrangements for the funeral ceremonies were ordained by the king and a bone was sent to be thrown into the Ganges. "The king said,—'All people of my kingdom should follow the tenets of Mâdhava. Give up all those previously followed by you, for I have come to know that the teachings of Mâdhava are very pure'."

Dâmodaradeva, son of Sadânanda, was born in village Nalchâ near village Bardoyâ, the birth place of Sri Sankaradeva, and the latter gave him the name 'Dâmodara'.

Dâmodaradeva. Damodaradeva was also persecuted, and was imprisoned by officers of the Âhom king for some time. Then he came to Farapeta and began to preach the doctrines of Vaisnavism, and being a Brahmin his sect became known as 'Bâmaniâ'. At this period, Pariksit Narayan was the King of eastern Kâmarupa, and it was to him that a Sâkta Sannyâsi named Kâmesvar Giri complained,—'Your kingdom is being ruined' by Dâmodara. The king replied "Let him remain where he is if he worships the Devi; otherwise bring him before me immediately." Damodara said "I shall go to the king but I will not worship (the Devi). Who is there to be worshipped by me except Hari?" He appeared before the king and was forced to remain under surveillance for a year. In Vijaynagar the capital of Pariksit, Kâmesvara Giri continued to prefer daily complaints before the king that Dâmodara had not thrown away the plantain leaves after meals, that he had lost his caste, etc. At last, the king in open court charged Dâmodara that 'he had discarded the daily observances of a Brahmin, namely, the

repetition of Gâyatri, the performance of Sandhyâ and other rites such as the Srâdh of parents, and had been following the doctrines of Buddha." Dâmodara pleaded that 'Pilgrimages, the worship of Devi, and religious practices and sacrifices were all useless, and that for human beings "during the Kali Yuga there is no other way of salvation but through the name of Krisna". Thereafter, Dâmodar was banished from the kingdom, and following the example of Sankaradeva and Mâdhavadeva, he came to the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Maharaja Laksminarayan received him with honour and had constructed a residence for him at Baikunthapur. ⁽¹⁰⁾ He became the royal Guru and advised Laksminarayan that "all the first devotees Sankara and Fârvati never killed goats". In consequence, animal sacrifice was prohibited for a time. Meanwhile relations between Pariksit Narayan and Laksminarayan were further estranged. Dâmodara died ⁽¹¹⁾ in 1598 A. D. when he was 110 years old after his residing in the kingdom of Kâmatâ for seven years. Before his death he chose Valadeva as his representative. Already during the time of Dâmodaradeva the followers of Chaitanya were preaching in western Kâmarupa. ⁽¹²⁾ Differences of opinion had arisen between Mâdhavadeva and Dâmodaradeva in connection with the annual Srâdh of Sankaradeva and later regarding religious tenets.

(10) It is written in the work of Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra,—

"The king gave him residence with great delight and after honouring him in various ways, in Baikunthapura",—Page 133.

"Damodara stayed in Baikunthapura."—Page 161.

(11) Dâmodara died in Baikunthapura and his Srâdh was performed there after a year.—Pages 178, 180.

"All the wives and sons of Laksminarayan took shelter at the feet of Dâmodara (i. e. were initiated by him)"

Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra—page 134.

(12) Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra page 192.

Mahomedan Preachers.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the preachers of Islam first came to Kâmarupa, but we know that at about the beginning of the 13th century A. D. preaching had begun in western Kâmarupa. Thence onward many saints came, and the religious literature of the Mahomedans has preserved the names of their different sects. During the reign of emperor Akbar, his minister Sheik Abul Fazal collected information regarding Mahomedan saints and preachers. In the early period they tended to be itinerant and they were generally known as 'Pir', 'Darbes' or 'Fakir'. They must have been untiring in their efforts for Islam which became widely disseminated in western Kâmarupa. Some of them devoted themselves to meditation, others to preaching and establishing 'Dhâm' or 'Âstânâ' in diverse places. Very few of these Pirs, however, have been interred in the Âstânâs.

The Âstânâs are commonly known as 'Dargâs', but all Dargâs are not graves. The word 'Dargâ' is Persian and means 'Durbar, a court, or a grave'. About a hundred years ago the Dargâs in Pânjatan (in the district of Goalpara), Pandua (in the district of Maldah) and Mahâsthâna (in the district of Bogra) were still visited by poorer people who could not afford the 'haj' to Mecca. Subsequently, however, certain practices observed in these Dargâs, were discredited, and many Musalmans closed visiting them, with the result that they fell into decay and traces of them are gradually disappearing.

Many songs were composed around the lives of the Pirs and their religious mission, the general theme being the sacrifice and pure character of the Pirs which are extolled as ideals for the people. Printed editions of these songs are still extant. The original compositions were not, however, contemporary with the Pirs. It is to be observed that the real meaning of the songs

was gradually changed, and they came to be regarded as more amusing than serious.

The lives of most of the Pirs were full of extraordinary incidents, and biographical accounts have accorded little attention to the religious aspect, possibly with ulterior regard for the tastes and mental inclinations of the people. In the lives we find recorded the battles between some of the Pirs and the local Hindu kings. Though it is against Indian sentiment to depict saints as influenced by worldly desires, yet in actual history quarrels between kings and saints, on material or personal grounds, were not rare. Indeed, Hindu and Mahomedan rulers engaged in disputes with saints of their own religion. Thus, Sankara, Mâdhava and Dâmodaradeva of Kâmarupa were oppressed by kings who were themselves Hindus; and in Bengal, Ismail Gazi was killed by Nasrat Sah, Sultan of Gauda, and Kalandar Fakir by emperor Balban. On the other hand the well-known Âstânâs of Mahomedan Pirs in the capitals of Hindu kings, *viz.*, Kâmatâpur, Dhaliyabâri and Cooch Behar, suggest that the Pirs resided in those places receiving honour, and practised their devotional exercises and preached their religion without fear of oppression. It is significant also that the famous temple of Hayagriva Mâdhava and the vast debutter properties of that deity, exist in the place where the Mughul Fouzdar of Hajo resided.

The Dhâm of Torsa Pir at the outskirts of Cooch Behar town, is a well-known Dargâ. It is said that many people were attracted to Islam through the influence of this Torsa Pir who flourished probably in the beginning of the 18th century. His real name is not known, but it is inferred that as he resided on the banks of the Torsa, he became known as the Torsa Pir. Extraordinary stories are told regarding the king of Cooch Behar and the Pir who was

Torsa Pir.

accredited with living by Yogic power, under the waters of the river, so that when the king came to see him, he raised his hand through the water. Be this as it may there can be no doubt that the kings revered the Pir, since money grants were conferred over a long period for offering 'Sirni' regularly in the Dargâ, and Maharaja Harendranarayan granted seven bighas of land as 'Pirpâl' for the Dargâ.

In the ancient capital of Cooch Behar named Dhaluabari, four miles to the south east of the town of Cooch Behar, there lies the tomb of Saha Fakir. The Cooch Behar Durbar has granted 77 bighas of land as 'Pirpâl' to meet the expenses of this Dargâ.

Saha Garib Kâmâl was buried outside the fort of Kâmatâpura south-west of the Bâgh-duâr. This Pir probably lived in the 17th century. Even now tales of his Yogic powers survive, and of his preaching. In the settlement papers of 1872 a Hindu is recorded as the sebaît of this Dargâ.

Sâba Garib Kâmâl.

Ismail Gâzi belonged the 15th century and dwelt near Kântâduar to the south of Rungpur. The 'Gâzir Dargâ' still exists, but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the Gâzi was actually buried in the Dargâ.

Ismail Gâzi.

The real name and history of Pâglâ Pir remain obscure. As the name which the people gave him implies, he had personal peculiarities resembling those of a mad man. Rabid dogs and jackals were supposed to be quiescent in his presence. His influence has endured in the custom of erecting a bamboo in his name whenever dogs or jackals become rabid. During this ceremony a Bhowriâ (in whom the spirit of the Pir is transmitted) acts

Pâglâ Pir.

like a madman and utters prophecies. Every year in the month of Chaitra a Mela (fair) was held in his name on the banks of the Pâglâ river (the lower portion of the Tista river) near Chilmâri within Rungpur.

The celebrated saint Giasuddin Aulia preached Islam at the beginning of the 16th century. He lies buried in Garudâchala in Hâjo in the district of Kâmarupa where he established a Musalman colony and constructed a mosque named 'Poâ-makkâ Masjid', the floor of which is reputed to have been made of earth brought from Mecca. He was a man of great learning and of pure character. His mosque was rebuilt during the reign of Emperor Sajahan (1657 A.D.).

The "Manai Jâtrâ" or song based on the life and preaching of Pîr Sâha Soltan, reveals that "Bâdsâh Soltan had his residence in the town of Balkh." The tradition is that Sâha Soltân Mâhisoâr, a prince of Balkh, abandoned his claims to kingship and came to preach religion to western Kâmarupa, where he lived, and was buried at Mahâsthânagarh. According to Târikh-i-Bângâlâ Sâha Soltan resided in Mahâsthânagarh in Hijri 439 (1047 A. D.) Many extraordinary stories of him survive, including that which says that because he came to this country on the back of a fish, he was called "Mâhi-sowar." It is recorded that there was a battle between Sâha Soltan and Parasurama the then king of Mahâsthânagarh;—there are varying accounts regarding this Parasurama.

The real name of Satyapir is not known. In manuscripts and songs, his mother is Sandhyâvati, a virgin daughter of King Maidalan (Mahidalan), the latter, according to one tradition being the king of Mâlanchâ during the Pathan rule of Gauda. Mâlanchâ was

situated within the modern district of Rajsahi. The Nur river was on the west and the Kampa river on the east of Mâlanchâ. Mâlanchâ itself is ascertained to have been near Pâhârpur, four miles to the west of the present Jamalpur railway station. In a Chittah dated the 10th Baisakh 1278 B. S. and preserved in Bâdalgâchhi Cutchery in the Zemindary of Porsâ, a reference is made to "the house of King Maidalan, the land of Satya Narayan".

It may be concluded from the various manuscripts that Satyapir was originally a Hindu, but was converted to Islam and devoted his life to preaching. At first he encountered strong opposition from his maternal grandfather and others, but ultimately all, perforce adopted his teachings. He was unquestionably a religious power in northern Bengal, and even today the influence of his name, remains. The manuscripts and songs tell of Satyapir's battles. The 'Sirini' he advocated excluded all fish and meat.

The worship of Satyanarayana, one of the many names of Visnu or Nârâyana, is prevalent in Hindu society. That Satyapir was indetical with Satyanarayana, is suggested in a manuscript of Satyapir,—

"He who is Satyanarayana, is also Satyapir. By his revelation worship from both sects (Hindu and Musalmans) is rendered to him".

In the Pâñchâli of Satyanarayana it is written :

"The Musalmans should worship in the name of Satyapir, each according to his inclinations".

The indication of having accepted Satyapir or Satyanarayana was the 'Sirini' or 'Prasâd' which was both uncooked and prepared without injury to any animal. In the country to the west of Bengal the 'Prasâd' consists of fruits and the month of Bhâdra was considered the most suitable time to offer 'Sirini'. It is said

that Ganes the ruler of Gauda introduced the 'Sirini' with the object of effecting unity between the Hindu and Mahomedans.⁽¹³⁾ According to another view, Hosain Sah the ruler of Gauda introduced the worship.⁽¹⁴⁾—There is no tradition where the body of Satyapir has been entombed.⁽¹⁵⁾ Interpolations regarding worship of Satyanarayan in the Bhabisya Purâna and the Bengal text of Skanda Purâna (Revâ-khanda) and his temple at Benares are modern.

It is said that Ekdil Sâha was born during the 14th century A. D., his father being a merchant named Sâhanir and his mother Âsaknuri. He was educated under Ekdil Sâha. Mollâ Âtâ in Devakot, Dinajpur. A steady devotee and initiated by the famous Pir Sâha Badar of Chittagong, the preaching of Islamism throughout Northern Bengal, was the chief work of his life. There is a Dargâ of one Ekdil Sâha in Kâjipârâ in Baraset sub-division in the district of 24 Pergannahs. The description of his birthplace in the manuscripts and songs is uncertain and unreasonable. The work "Ekdiler Puthi" describing his pure life, was spread by singers. Considering all the evidence, it is probable that Ekdil Sâha was born in the district of Dinajpur.⁽¹⁶⁾

(13) Gauder Itihâs, Part II, page 70.

(14) Bagurâr Itihâs, Part II, page 179.

Attempts to effect unity had occurred long before. In "Dharmamangala" of Râmâi Pandit we find,—

"Dharma assumed the shape of a Mahomedan. He wore a black cap on his head. A shield and a bow adorned his hand. He rode a good horse. The three worlds became afraid. He uttered the single name of Khodâ."

(15) Some have expressed the view that Satyapir is the same as the "Bara Pir Sâheb" of Baghdat (Hazrat Abdul Kâder Jilâni) who flourished in the 18th century. (Rangpur Sâhitya Parishat Patrikâ 1322 B. S., Part X, Number 1, page 40); but this view does not appear to be worthy of support. The seat of the devotions of the Bara Pir Sâheb is said to be in the Dargâ at Etah on the north of the district of Gorakhpur. No other place in India seems to have connection with the Bara Pir Saheb.

(16) The parents of Ekdil, when he was a child, saw evil omens when he was made over to his preceptor. There is a tradition that under the influence of these evil omens, Ekdil cut off all connection with his parents and became a Fakir.

The name of Gâzi Pir is well-known throughout Bengal. Gâzi is a title, meaning 'a great man of religion'. Many different Mahomedan preachers held this title at different times, as did many Sultans of Gauda. In the north-western country, the name of one Gâzi Mia, said to have been the nephew of Sultan Mahmud Guznavi, is well-known. The account of Dârâbuddin Gâzi as given in 'Gâzi Kâlu and Champâbatir Puthi' is not historical. According to this work Gâzi was the son of Sekendar Sah the ruler of the town of Bairât, and married the daughter of King Vali.⁽¹⁷⁾ In another part of the song,—

“Eis (Sekendar's) son is Bara Khân Gâzi, the great man with whom the people of the country are pleased and who has taken incarnation in the Kali era.”

From other sources, we find that Bara Khân Gâzi was the son of Jâfar Khân Gâzi, and he died in 1313 A. D. Jâfar Khân Gâzi was also a preacher of religion and lived in Tribeni in Saptagrâm (now within the district of Hugli).

A newly initiated Mahomedan devotee named Kâlu Pir became associated with Bara Khan Gâzi who wandered everywhere accompanied by Kâlu. There are different accounts of the early life of Kâlu. One is that Kâlu Ghosh was a cowherd who was initiated by Saha Jâlâl and took the vow to preach Islam. The Dargâs of Gâzi and Kâlu survive in many places in Bengal, in eastern Bengal, the Sundarbans and Triveni. The fame of the preaching of Gâzi and Kâlu was broadcast by reciters of songs in which he is often invoked,—“Come, Come O Merciful Gâzi”. Gâzi established so great a reverence among the people

(17) There are ruins of an old city in a jungly place called 'Birât' to the south of Rungpur. In the west, traces of the capital of King Vali are in evidence in Valigrama in Bogra,

that even today his glory is sung as the incarnation of the divine being in the Kali age.

The influence of the five Pirs (Pancha Pir) of Pândua (in the district of Mâldah) was profound; thus in 'Pirân Gîta',—

The five Pirs.

"Sing after making obeisance to the west
to the five Pirs of Pânduâ" The tombs

of certain of these five Pirs, survive in Pândua. Formerly, Mahomedans went in bodies to Pânduâ and made offerings in the Dargâ on the anniversary of the death of the Pirs ("Uras"), and a class of Fakirs mounted on camels and horses, calling themselves 'Fakirs of Pânduâ', wandered about realising 'Pârvani', (gifts for ceremony) from the people. It is known that Makdum Sah Jâlâl Tâbreji the Pir of the Bura Dargâ (Bâis Hâjâri) of Pândua lived in the middle of the 14th century, that Sheikh Nur Kutub Âlam the Pir of the Chhoto Dargâ (Chhay Hâjâri) who initiated Jadu (Sultan Jelaluddin) the son of Raja Ganes into Islam died in Pândua in 1447 A. D. and that Âkhi Serajuddin, Sheikh Alâul Huk and Raja Biâbâni were among the five Pirs.

Sâha Mâdâr (also named 'Badiuddin') inaugurated the sect of Mâdâri Fakirs. A resident of Medina and a disciple of Sheik

Sâha Mâdâr.

Muhammad Tâifuri Bostâmi, Sâha Mâdâr

became a saint and devoted his life to Islam. He witnessed Taimurlang's invasion of India (1398 A. D.), and afterwards he came to Kâmarupa. His ideal was a pure life. He lived apart from the dwellings of men. He imparted his faith every Monday through the medium of stories to the assembled people who stood behind him. One of his personal characteristics was his simple clothing.

An area of about six bighas of land near Pâhârpur within the Rajsahi district is still maintained as 'Pirottar land' in the name of Sâha Mâdâr. In Serpur in Bogra and in the village Bâstâ in

Dacca district, there is an Âstânâ of Mâdâr Fakir. In the latter place a fair is held at full moon in the month of Mâgha every year. A similar fair in the name of Mâdâr Sâha occurs in Baisakh each year on the banks of 'Hosvin Dighi' in the Zemindari of Islampur in the north-east of the district of Purnea, and the practice is to throw various offerings into the tank. Sâha Mâdâr was buried in Mâkhânpur near Cawnpore. Formerly people demonstrated their respect to Pir Mâdâr by erecting bamboos in his name, and childless women wore amulets in his name, but these customs are now gradually disappearing.

The real name of Khoâj Pir or Khâje Khejar was Baliân, and his "family" name Abul Abbas. Some authorities describe him as of Jewish extraction and a descendant of Hajrat Nuh. His birthplace is suggested as having been near the town of Shiraj in Persia. Different views obtain as to the date of his birth. In his early manhood he was both a chemist and a merchant, and acquired a reputation for charity to the poor. Later, he became a religious devotee, and as a hermit, passed the remainder of his life in preaching religion. Khâje Khejar was a devine of high order, for he belonged to that of "Kutab" and "Âbdâl". Many became his disciples.—It is said that saint Bîhrâm Sâha who is buried in Burdwan, had met him.

To Khâje Khejar were ascribed immortality and perennial youth. His name is connected with a fountain near Kâbul. The Âstânâ of Khejar was in the tomb of Mir Muhammad Bakri in the district of Sukkur. A Persian inscription on a rock near a fountain situated at the bottom of the Kâmâkhyâ hills in Assam reads, "Abe hâyât chasme Khejar." ("The fountain of water having the spiritual power of Khejar"). Formerly much reverence was paid to Khoâj Pir and in the month

of Bhâdra each year, "Beras of Khoâj" were floated in water.⁽¹⁸⁾

There are Dargâs of two Pirs—one near Boda and another in the Garh of Dharmapâla. "Kadam Rasul" (the footprint of Paygambar) in Patgram, and "Pânjtan" or "Bibi's Painti" in Goalpara, are also respected by muslims as ancient sacred places.

(18) The "Bera" is a kind of boat generally made of paper. The custom of floating Beras is gradually passing. During the time of the Nawabs (of Murshidabad), and even at the end of the last century, there were festivities in this connection in the town of Murshidabad. Decorative houses, large and small, were constructed with bamboos placed on Bhela or Mândâs (rafts) of plantain trees and decorated with gold and silver coloured paper and tinsel. These were brightly illuminated, and fitted with costly fireworks, were floated on the Ganges in front of the palace in the town of Lâlbâg on a dark night in the month of Bhâdra. The "Beras" floated away to the sound of the fireworks and amidst the joyous shouts of thousands of spectators assembled on the banks and in boats. It is said that Mokram Khan, Nawab of Dacca initiated the festival, but according to another view, the floating of Beras is an ancient festival of China.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HAIHAYA DYNASTY.

EARLY HISTORY.

King Sângaldeva of Kâmarupa, to whom reference has already been made, is assumed to have flourished about the 4th or 5th century A. D. ⁽¹⁾ Some have inferred Sângaldeva to be a Koch of the Bhagadatta dynasty. ⁽²⁾ It has also been suggested that his son Rohitâsva constructed the famous fort of Rohitâsva or Rohtâs. ⁽³⁾

The Koch king in the fifth century.

Bhâskaravarmâ, also of the dynasty of Bhagadatta, was king of Kâmarupa in the 7th century. The dynasty was associated with Kâmarupa over a long period. There were many branches of the family but even the main line did not rule continuously. Eventually, after Bhâskaravarmâ, a powerful king named Sâlastambha became dominant, and the original Varma dynasty was extinguished. ⁽⁴⁾

With the passing of the Varma dynasty, minor Koch Rajas or chiefs attempted to assert themselves (10th century A. D.), though it is clear that they held tributary fiefs during the time of the Pâla kings of

The Koch kingdom in the 12th century.

(1) Riaz-us-sâlâtin, Bengali translation, page 40.

(2) Uttarbanga Sâhityasammilāner Chaturtha Adhibesāner Kāryavivaran, page 140. History of Upper Assam, page 20.

(3) According to another view, Rohitâsva was the son of the very ancient king Harischandra of the solar dynasty. The fort of Rohitâsva which was named after him, is situated at the southern extremity of the present district of Arrah. The Sâhâbad District Gazetteer, page 147.

(4) The time of Sâlastambha has been adjudged to be the 7th century A. D. Kâmarupa Sâsanâvali-Râjâvali, page 19.

Gauda (from the 8th to the 12th century A. D.)⁽⁵⁾ There is evidence that a king named Bhagadattapâla ruled in Madhupur in the district of Mymensingh during the 10th or 11th century A. D., and he has been presumed to have been a Koch. Evidently his kingdom ceased to exist with the increased power of the Sena dynasty. The Koch tribe was becoming powerful during the reign of King Durlabhnarayan of Kâmatâpura, but was restrained by him.⁽⁶⁾

When Muhammad Bakhtiar invaded Tibet (13th century A. D.) and in the ensuing period, the Koch and Mech chieftains of northern Bengal achieved a degree of independence.⁽⁷⁾ The account of this invasion refers to the Koch and Mech tribes in western Kîmrupâ (Gâlpârâ, Rungpur and Jalpaiguri districts and the kingdom of Cooch Behar).⁽⁸⁾ They continued to be influential in western Kâmarupa during the 12th and 13th centuries A. D.

According to Buchanan Hamilton, however, the Koch, Mech and other tribes were acquiring power even during the time of the Khen kings. It has to be remembered that the invasions of western Kâmarupa by Pathan Sultans after Muhammad Bakhtiar were few, their main objective being eastern Kâmarupa

The Koch and Mech chieftains of the 12th century.

Supremacy of the Koch tribe in the 13th century.

(5) Gauder Itihâs, Vol I, page 143.

"The Mechas or Miechchhas who had ruled the country of Kâmarupa for thousands of years, and been eclipsed only on account of repeated invasions by the Pala and the Sena kings of Bengal and the rule of the Soma Vamsa and Kayastha dynasties."

The Social History of Kâmarupa, Vol. II, pages 37, 38.

(6) Asâṁ Buranji by Rai Gunâbhiram Barua, pages 51-53. Visvakosh. part III, page 523.

(7) The Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 31.

(8) Tabkat-i-Nâseri, page 152.

"All these (unsuccessful invasions of Mohammed b. Bukhtiyar and other Mohammedans) go to prove that the Koch people were a powerful nation and well versed in the art of war of those times." The History of Upper Assam, page 24.

In the Chhutiâ and Assam Buranjis, it is recorded that during this period, a separate dynasty of kings existed in the kingdom of Kâmatâ (western Kâmarupa), and it may be inferred that this dynasty belonged to the Koch or Mech tribe.

In the 13th century A. D. the Mahomedans definitely directed their attention to eastern Kâmarupa. At that time, Koch and other kingdoms were strongly established in the following places in eastern Bengal, Garh Dalipâ (in the sub-division of Jamalpur), Jangalbâri (in the sub-division of Kisorganj) Madanpur in the sub-division of Netrakonâ, Bokâinagar (in the district of Mymensing) and Kâgmâri (in Tangail sub-division). (9). "Kocher Dighi", "Hâjor Dighi" etc. still survive as place-names in these areas. These rulers of the Koch dynasty maintained their importance to the end of the 15th century when their destruction began during the reign of Sultan Firoz Sâh. In 1491 A. D. the Koch King Dalip Sâmantâ of Garh Dalipâ was subdued by Majlis Khan Humâyûn the general of Gauda, a victory only counterbalanced at that time by the rising power of Visvasinha in the north of the present district of Goalpara.

In the Yogini Tantra, accounts of battles in Kâmarupa have been set down in the form of prophecies. In the Puranik and Tântrik works also, it is not rare to find a description of past events in this form. It is interesting to compare the style of the histories of the Âhoms and Mahomedans regarding Kâmarupa with that of the Yogini Tantra.

Historical material in the
Yogini Tantra.

(9) The Mymensing District Gazetteer, pages 23, 152, 154, 169.
Maimansinher Itihas, pages 28, 33, 37 and 59.

THE HISTORIES.

Invasion of Bakhtiar Khilji in 1205 A. D.; occupation of Giasuddin in 1226 A. D.

Occupation of Ekhtiaruddin Tugril in 1257 A. D. Afterwards he and most of his soldiers were killed.

Invasion and occupation by Magisuddin Tughril in 1278 A. D.

Battle between the kings of ^AÂhom and Kâmatâ in 1293 A. D.

Conquest of Sekendar Sah in 1357 A. D.

Quarrel between the kings of ^AÂhom and Kâmatâ from 1397 to 1407 A. D.

Partial conquest by Ismail Gâzi in 1460 A. D. and invasion of Rahamat Khân in 1460—74 A. D.

Conquest of Hosain Sâh in 1493 A. D.

Invasion of Tubarak Khan in 1506—1532 A. D., of Kâlâpâhâr in 1553 A. D. and of Soleman Kararâni in 1568-69.

Invasion by Isâ Khân in 1584 A. D., by Raja Mânsing, Fate Khan and Jujhar Khan in 1596—97 A. D.

YOGINI TANTRA.

Mahadeva said "O Paramesvari, the curse of the Brahmin will take effect from the time when the kingdom of the ruler of Kâmatâpura will be destroyed.

In 1111 Saka (1189 A. D.) great battles continuing day and night in which large forces will be engaged, will be fought in Kâmarupa Mandala between the Saumâra, Kuvâcha and Yavanas. Thereafter the Yavanas will defeat the Saumâras and a ruler, the first letter of whose name is 'M', will enjoy desired kingdom for one year only. With his help, the king of Kuvâcha will recover his kingdom. After yet another year, the king of the Saumâras will become king after defeating the Yavana ruler.

O Maheswri ! When Saka 1318 (1396 A. D.) has spent its course, there will again be war in Kâmarupa. The king of the Yavanas joining with the king of Kuvâchas will rule for 12 years in Kâmarupa. A king, the first letter of whose name will be the fifth letter of the sixth Varga, will then be born. After that the Saumâras, allied

Long and continuous war between the kings of Cooch-Behar and the [^]Âhom king and the Mahomedans from 1609 A. D.

Continual war between the king of Cooch Behar, the [^]Âhom king and Mahomedans from 1658 to 1664.

Invasion of Assam by Raja Ramsingh with the help of the king of Cooch Behar in 1668 A. D. and prolonged war.

Battle in the Uttarakûla (Kâmarupa) in 1682 A. D. between Mahomedans, the king of Cooch Behar and the [^]Âhom king.

Attack by Bhabâni Das of the Mahomedan party in 1685 A. D. and his death.

Attack by Ebâdat Khan in 1687 A. D. Afterwards, attack by Jabardast Khan and long continued war.

with Kuvâchas, will rule Kâmarupa. As long as the curse of the Brahmin rests on Kâmarupa Mandala, no tribe other than the Yavana, Plava, Kuvâcha and Saumâra shall rule in this country.

When 1600 years of the Saka era have passed, a terrible war will take place between the three Mlechchha tribes of Kuvâcha, Yavana and Chândra. The Laubhitya, the king of rivers, will surely flow full with the blood of men, of horses and specially of elephants.

After this when the Saumyas have been destroyed, the Kuvâchas will desert the Yavanas and will fight a great battle near the banks of the Karatoyâ river. (10).

(10) Yogini Tantra Pûrvârdha, Patala 12. Probably the word 'saumya' in the last line should read 'Saumâra (Aindra).

The Kâchhâris also called themselves Kuvâcha. ([^]Âsâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîram Barua, page 24). The meaning of Kâchhâri is 'belonging to the hills' (Parbatiya or Pâhâdiâ). Meaning of the word 'Kuvâcha' is 'speaker of an impure language'. But in the Yogini Tantra the location of the Kuvâcha tribe has been mentioned as being on the west of Kâmarupa, thus "On the east, Saumâra; on the west, Kuvâcha; on the south Yavana and on the north, Plava." Verse 79, Pûrvârdha, Patala 14.

Some of the [^]Âhom kings have described themselves in their coins as 'Saumâresvara. It is written in the aforesaid Tantra regarding Visvasinha :—

"There were many sons by him who were kings, Kuvâchas. They were virtuous and unconquerable in battle." Verse 16, Pûrvârdha Patala 13.

According to Colonel Shakspeare, the writer of the "History of Upper Assam", the beginning of Koch rule can be traced from the rise of Sankaldip (Sângaldeva) in the middle of the fifth century A. D. ⁽¹¹⁾

Ancient account in the history of Mahomedans.

Mahammad Kajem Ferista the historian of the 16th century has given a short account of this dynasty. He writes.—"The kings of the Koch country ruled their kingdom in hereditary succession from Sankala; but on four occasions there was a change of the administration under them. On one side of this country, there is Tibet, on another, China, and on the third, Bengal. The tribe (of which the present ruler is a member) has descended from the Brahmins of the hills (Parbatiya Brahmin) but they are not much respected by Indians" ⁽¹²⁾. In the Akbarnâmâ it is recorded regarding Visvasinha (Visu) that a female devotee of the Koch country worshipped Jalpesvara

(11) "This has been touched on before, so we begin the history of the great Koch tribe at the rise of one Shankaldip, a Koch chief, as we have the statements of a Hindu historian and the poet Firdusi, which give a better semblance of facts, than do the legendary ideas of Bisso, whom local tradition asserts to be the founder of this dynasty. Shankaldip rose to power in the middle of the fifth century and when Huien Tsiang visited Assam, the kingdom of Kâmarupa apparently extended from the Karatoya river, near Jalpaiguri as far as Sadiya along the north bank of the Brahmaputra, where, it seems, the Koch people lived amicably with the Chutiyas who even then may have been deteriorating from having been once a powerful community."—History of Upper Assam page 20.

(12) Tarikh-i-ferista, Part II, pages 419-420.

The work Tarikh-i-ferista was compiled in South Bijapur during the last part of the reign of Emperor Akbar. It has not been uncommon for historians to identify a particular people as Brahmins. In the 15th century Mir Khand a resident of the town of Bâ in the country of Balkh in Central Asia composed a history, the Rawajâtus Sâfâ. In his account of Alexander's invasion of India, Alexander is said to have met a people who lived in caves with their wives and children, ate grain and wore skins of animals. They discussed science and philosophy with Alexander, and the writer called them Brahmins. In the twelfth century A. D. Muhammad Bakhtiyar conquered 'Bihâr' in Magadha. At that time it is reported the men who were found there (in Nâlandâ Bihâr) with shaven heads (Buddhist Sramanas) were Brahmins (Tâbkât-i-Nâsiri, page 148. In the account of Megasthenes (3rd century B. C.) we find mention of naked Indian hermits who ate only fruit. The writer has called these Brahmins (Brachhmans). (Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (English Version page 120.))

(Mahadeva) and desired a son who would become a king. Through the grace of God she became pregnant and gave birth in due time to a son who was named Bisân (Bisu). Afterwards he gained control of the administration of that country.⁽¹³⁾ The Âkbarnâmâ does not say whether Bisân was the first king of this dynasty, but that the present ruling family of Cooch Behar is descended from the ancient ruling family described in *Tarika-i-feristâ*, is proved by the account given half a century later (1663—64 A. D.) in the '*Târikh-i-Âsâm*'. Here it is written "The Zamindars of Hindustan pay great reverence to this King (the king of Cooch Behar) and the people are of opinion that this dynasty has ruled from before the preaching of Islam (in the 7th century A. D.)".⁽¹⁴⁾ Again from the conversation of the ambassador of Maharaj Naranarayan sent to conclude a treaty in the middle of the 16th century A. D. with the Âhom king, as

On the other hand Yuan Chwang has referred to Bhâskara-varmâ of the family of Bhagadatta (a grandson of God Visnu), as a Brahmin. The Gotras of some Ksatriyas are mentioned, following those of their priests or Gurus. (Udaipur Râjâkâ itihâs, pages 219-226). The royal family of Cooch Behar is known as a lunar dynasty and Ksatriya of the Siva Gotra. From this, it may not be impossible to regard them as sprung from Devatâ in other words a Brahmin, (a Brahmin being worldly Devatâ).

Tradition has it that Châbrâ Ksatriyas (the royal dynasty of Mansâ, Bârsora etc. in Mahikanta Agency) originated from Châpa (bow) and the Jât Ksatriyas (the royal family of Dholpur, Patiala etc.) sprung from the Jatâ (matted hair) of Shiva. Trilochana the second king of the Tripura Raj family is deemed in the history of their dynasty to have been a partial incarnation of Shiva ('Sivânsa-sambhuta').

(13). Âkbarnâmâ, page 1716.

"A hundred years before this, a pious woman was praying in the temple of Jalpesh which is dedicated to Mahadev and prayed for a son who should become a ruler. By God's help, she became pregnant and bore a son. He received the name of Bisa and obtained the Government of that country". Âkbar-Nâmâh, Vol. III, page 1067, Translated by H. Beveridge.

(14) *Tarikh-i-Âsâm*, Introduction, page 13. The writer of this work was a companion of Mir Jumla when the latter invaded Cooch Behar.

recorded in the Âhom Buranji, it appears that long before that time the forefathers of King Naranarayan were ruling in this country. ⁽¹⁵⁾

In about the 11th century A. D. a king named Narasinha or Parasurâma, a descendant of Bhoj Gauda dynasty, ruled in Mahâsthânagarh in Bogra. He is said to have had some Sâmantas (tributary) kings under him. ⁽¹⁶⁾ The ruler of Paundra-wardhana, Vardhana was his contemporary. ⁽¹⁷⁾ And his sons fled and concealed themselves in fear of Parasurâma. According to another version the five sons escaped with friends and relatives from the Paundra country through fear of the son of Mahânanda, took shelter in Ratnapitha (western Kâmarupa) and became known as 'Râjvansi' after discarding the sign of a Ksatriya (the sacred thread). ⁽¹⁸⁾ In the Kâlikâ Purâna it is related some Ksatriyas, through the fear of Jâmadagnya (Parasurâma) assumed the garb of Mlechchhas and resided under

The colony of Ksatriyas in
Ratnapitha

(15) "We are in friendly terms from a very long time. We (Âhom and Behar Rajas) are friends of long standing. We are descendants of Gods as our forefathers were children of Gods. We are living as brothers. In olden times, a girl was offered to us by the king of Assam," Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai. (English Version), Mss., Part I, page 497.

(16) Bagurâr Itihâs Vol, II page 68.

(17) Bagurâr Itihâs Vol. II page 68. An account of a battle between Vardhana and Vijaysena is inscribed in the inscription of Vijaysena (the last quarter of the 11th century A. D.). There is mention of one Vardhana 'the lord of Kusambi' one of the friendly Sâmantas of Râmpâladeva in the 'Râmacharita' of Sandhyâkara Nandi (last quarter of the 11th century).

(18) "The five sons of Vardhana came with their friends and relations from the Paundra country through fear of the son of Nandi. They entered Ratnapitha. As time passed, they having no connection with Brahmins, abandoned Ksatriya rites and came to be known as Râjvansi." Bhrâmari Tantra, Patala II.

The following excerpt is quoted as it is found (but there are obvious mistakes in the Sanskrit verse) from the Uttara Banga Sâhitya Sammilanar Kâryavivarani (The fourth conference, pages 189-191)

"Then from Mahânandi will be born in the womb of a Sudra woman a Nanda named Mahâpadma, very avaricious and very powerful, who will destroy all Ksatriyas like another Parasurâma"—Visnu Purâna, Ansa IV, Adhyâya 24,

the shelter of Jalpesh Shiva (Jalpeswar in the district of Jalpaiguri which is Ratnapitha).⁽¹⁹⁾ It appears that a confusion has arisen owing to similarity of names between Narasinha Parasurâma and Jâmadagnya Parasurâma.

The Vansâvali (history of the family) of the Durrung kings who form a branch of the kings of Cooch Behar speaks of
Haridas. twelve Ksatriya princes of the family of

Sahasrârjuna (who succeeded the Haihaya of the lunar dynasty) having disguised themselves through fear of Parasurâma, living in Chiknâ Ratnapitha and becoming known as Mechas. Sumati was the principal Ksatriya prince of that family. He begat Bhadrâjit who begat Bhadraravâ who begat Vasudâma who begat Damâmbu. A son of Damambu was born of his wife Urvasi and was named Haridas *alias* Hârîâ.

It is to be understood from the different views regarding the early history of the ruling family of Cooch Behar, as mentioned above, from the old account quoted from the Târikh-i-Âsâm and the Tarikh- i-feristâ that from ancient times (4th or 5th century A. D.) the ruling family had passed through many vicissitudes and had come to its then condition after the sceptre had changed hands several times among its different branches.

(19.) " The Ksatriyas who being afraid of Jamadagnya formerly took the disguise of Mlechchas and took shelter under Jalpisha. " Verse 30, Adhyâya 77.

From this ' Mlechchha ' (Prâkrita : ' Mechchha,) the word " Mech " has been derived. (The Social History of Kâmarupa, Vol. II, page 107), The meaning of of the word ' Mlechcha ' is ' those who speak impure dialects '. In the Sabhâparva of the Mahâbhârata (Adhyâya 51), Bhagadatta the king of Kâmarupa has been referred to as the Ruler of the Mlechchhas, and in the Vanaparva (Adhyâya 251) he has been mentioned as belonging to the Ksatriya Varna. Sâlastambha the king of Kâmarupa who was later than he, has been recorded as ' ruler of Mlechchhas ' in the copperplate inscription of Ratnapâla, but in the copperplate inscriptions of Vanamâla and Balavarmâ he has been described as belonging to Bhagadatta dynasty,

The origin of the Koch tribe is thus attributed. " The Ksatriyas having hidden themselves (Sankocha) through fear of Parasurama, are called Kochas. "

The prophecy of the Yogini Tantra (Purva Khanda, Patala 13) suggests an explanation of these changes "When the curse of the Brahmin will cease to take effect in Kâmâkhyâ Pîtha, Visvasinha will appear and rule Kâmarupa".

During the time of Damâmbu, a king known as Sailarâja was ruling in the east of Bhutan (in Toyang country). Sailarâja was the father and Mirâ was the mother, of a girl named Hirâ. According to another view, Sailarâja lived in the town of Punyakhâtâ in the country of Geleng Bhot. (20) Again, in the Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali we are told—"Formerly there was a Ksatriya named Ramâ. He denied his caste through fear of Parasurâma. Both the husband and wife worshipped Gauri who was pleased to reveal Herself to them. After ten months, a daughter was born, and the joy of the parents knew no bounds. Seeing her to be exceedingly beautiful, she was named 'Hirâ' in endearment."

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton has written that the name of the father of Hirâ was Hâjo. According to him, Hâjo was "a valiant chief" and he drove away the Mahomedans from Kâmatapura. According to the view of Rai Gunâbhirâm Barua, the name of Hira's father was Hâjo (Hâji) or Hâkhia. Another view is that the father of Hirâ was the king of Hâjo in Gauhati. (21)

Probably it is Dr. Buchanan Hamilton who first mentioned Hira's father as Hâjo. It seems that following him, Mr. Hudson in his Essay on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes has referred

(20) Samudranarayaner Vansâvali, page 34. Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 9.

(21) The preface to Dâmodara-charita (A manuscript).

to Hajo. The name is also found in Dr. Latham's *Ethnology of India*, in Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* and in his article entitled 'Notes on Assam Temple Ruins'.⁽²²⁾

Haridas *alias* Hîriâ was elected Mandal of the land bounded on the north by the Himayas, on the east by the Manâs river, on the south by the Brahmaputra river and on the west by the Sankos river, an area now within the district of Goalpârâ. In the Gandharbanarayaner Vansâvali (page 30) it is said.—“All of them brought Hâria and made him a Mandal. From that day he became its administrator.”

A similar account is given in the Kharganarayaner Vansâvali (page 7).—“All came and made Hîria a Mandal of the country bounded on the east by the Mânâha, on the west by the Sankos, on the north by the Dhavalagiri (Himalayas) and on the south by the Lohita (Brahmaputra). All went away with delight after a feast of rice. From that time he became the administrator of twelve villages. He did not pay tribute to any for the land within this boundary”.⁽²³⁾

In an old work the 'Mânsâra', "Mandalesa" is described as one of nine kinds of kings. He whose income was ten lacs of Kârsa (Kâhan) was called a Mândalik. The Mândaliks became kings by primogeniture though at the time of their election, the consent of the subjects had to be taken. (The phrase "Mandal pâtilâ"

(22) J. A. S. B., 1849, Vol II, page 704.

"The other name by which the 'hill' is designated is Manikut. The etymon of the word 'Hajau' is traceable to the language of the Bows (Bodos?) who were for a long period the masters of the valley. It is composed of 'Ha' a land, and 'How', 'high.' —J. A. S. B., 1855, page 8.

In the Kâchhâri language also, the meaning of Hajo is 'a hill'.

Hajo is situated 14 milles to the north-west of Gauhati. The temple of Haya-griva Madhav is there. When the Mahomedans occupied it, its name was changed to 'Suja-abad'.

(23) This is supported by 'Âsâm Burunji' (page 27) written by Harakânta Barua.

seems to confirm this). In the Arthasāstra of Kautilya, *Mandala* is a combination of twelve kingdoms. Perhaps the meaning of the word 'Mandala' is 'a kind of king', and it can be derived from the root 'Manda' meaning 'to distribute'. In the seventh chapter of the Manusamhitā, minor kings and chieftains are referred to as *Mandala*, but rulers of provinces were called *Mandalas* during the time of the Gupta kings. The word was in use during the reign of the Pāla kings. In the commentary on Rāma-charita written by Sandhyākar Nandi, the form is 'Mahāmāndalika'. A copper-plate inscription granted by Mahāmāndalika Isvara Ghosh has been preserved by the zemindari family of Maldoar, Dinajpur. It has been supposed that this plate dates from the 10th or 11th century A. D., and that Āryāvar Mandal, the ancestor of the Raj family of Vardhankot in Rangpur, was almost contemporary of Haridas Mandal. Haridas Mandal is said to have cultivated his lands. (24)

The marriage of Princess Hirā with Haridās took place when she was nine years old. At first the mother of Hirā did not agree to the marriage on the grounds of her daughter's youth, but when Damāmbu promised that the bride would reside in her father's house till she attained her majority, Hirā's mother consented to the marriage which was celebrated auspiciously. Haridas, beautifully dressed as a bridegroom, rode on a horse to the house of the bride's father, and, after marrying Hirā according to the Shastras and customs of the family, brought her to his house. The bride returned to her father's house on the eighth day

(24) The cultivation of cotton by Haridas is referred to in all the Vansāvalis of Durrung and some of the Burunjis. The small kings and chieftains of this country were personally engaged in trade of agriculture. Even the independent kings of the family of Haridas had 'Khāmārkhāta', 'Golābari' (granaries), and 'Mahisbāthān' (the place where herds of buffaloes were kept). The actual work was performed by servants known as Hāluā, Tārāi and Hājra,

following the marriage, after such ceremonies as the Astamangalā. She did not again go to her husband's house until she attained maturity. At some later date Haridas took to himself another wife named Jirā.

Hirā gave birth to Sisu and, some years after, to Bisu. The latter was so named because he was born on the first Bihu day (the first Bihu is the Mahāvisuva, that is, the last day of Chaitra).⁽²⁵⁾ In the Vansāvali of Cooch Behar and Durrung, he was considered to have been the son of Mahadeva, and so also in the Sankaracharita of Ramcharan Thakur (16th century). The version of a contemporary work Âkbarnâmâ, was that Visvasinha was a son begotten of Mahadeva, whereas in the colophon of the manuscripts of Bhāgavatsāra, composed by Rājā Rāmchandra (about 18th century A. D.) who was a descendant of Narasinha the son of Visvasinha, Mahadeva himself is accredited with being born as

The birth of Sisu and Bisu.

(25) Samudranarayaner Vansāvali, page 8.

Kharganarayaner Vansāvali, page 8.

It is written in the Gandharvanārāyaner Vansāvali that the Garbhādhān (conception) ceremony of Hira took place in Falgun and Bisu was born in Kārtik Bihu. This account is supported by Kāmarupa Vansāvali. Even now in Assam, the festival of Bihu is celebrated three times during the year. The Baisakh Bihu (Mahāvisuva) is celebrated on the last day of Chaitra; the Kārtik Bihu (Jalavisuva) on the last day of Āswīn and the Māgh Bihu on the last day of Paus. Bihu is a corruption of the word Visuva. The equinox (when day and the night are of equal length) is known as Visuva. The Bihu of Māgh however is celebrated in connection with the Makarsankrānti (the last day of Magha). Visuva is mentioned in a copperplate of Valavarmā (10th century.)

It is recorded in the Rājopākhyāna that Hirā Devi was born in the Kali era 4581 (1481 A. D.), and her first son was born when she was fifteen years old and some years after Bisu was born. Devakhanda, Adhyāya III. It will be seen from the accounts referred to later that such dates of the birth of Hirā Devi and her sons are fictitious.

Visu. In the Kâmarupa Burunji composed in the 17th century, it is written that owing to the curse of Vasistha, Mahadeva and Pârvasi were born as Hâria and Hirâ respectively and that Visvasinha was their son.

In the Râjopâkhyâna (about 1823 A. D.) Hirâ is the mother of Sisu and Visu by Mahadeva, and Jirâ of Chandana and Madana by Haridas. (26) Joynath Ghosh in the preface of this manuscript mentions the names of all the kings of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, and then adds,—“I am engaging myself to write the history of the kings of the dynasty of Siva,” and “I have written in this Râj Upâkhyâna, the accounts of fifteen kings.....up to Sree Sree Maharaja Harendranarayan.” The name of Chandana does not occur in this work, but in the original manuscript there is an account of sixteen kings including Chandana. (27)

In the tenth Chapter of the Devakhanda of this manuscript, Visvasinha is said to have become king on a divine throne, an umbrella and a sceptre of divine origin being used at the investiture. After this event, there were two battles between him and

(26) In the Vansâvalis of Durrung and Kâmarupa, Sisu has been mentioned as begotten by Haridâs.

(27) All the copies of the manuscripts of Râjopâkhyâna are not the same. Joynath Ghosh says in his preface that his work contains three parts and 51 chapters. An incomplete copy of this work (1839 A. D.) is preserved in the record room of the State Council, Cooch Behar. In this the full index of the 51 Chapters and the first 17 Chapters (from the beginning to a portion of the 5th Chapter of the Narakhanda) are found. In the copy (about 1860-68 A. D.) in the Rungpur Sâhitya Parishad there are 66 chapters but no index. The Rev. Robinson translated the manuscript of 66 chapters, with an index (1874 A. D.). There is a colophon at the end of the two last mentioned copies (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâyas 19 and 33) that the extra 15 chapters of the work are also the composition of Joynath Ghosh. Some discrepancies in incidents and differences of expressions are found in the copies. It also appears that there are interpolations in the copy preserved in the Rungpur Parishad.

Kotwal, and Madana was killed in the first battle. Ultimately Visvasinha was victorious and to please his sorrowing stepmother (Madana's mother) he made Chandana a king on another throne and "under another umbrella". There is nothing in the Rājopākhyāna about the procedure at the installation of Chandana. In several works compiled subsequent to the Rājopākhyāna, many contradictory accounts regarding Chandana and Madana, have found place.

Three copies of the genealogical table of the royal family (written in 1839 A. D.) are preserved in the record-room of the State Council, Cooch Behar. Though these differ in minor points, they are uniform in omitting the names of Chandana and Madana. The table collected by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) also excludes these names.⁽²⁸⁾ Joynath Ghosh has written in the Rājopākhyāna (Pratyaksa Khandā, Adhyāya 18), "Maharaj Harendranarayan became exceedingly pleased on going through the whole of Rājopākhyāna". This Maharaja however, has not mentioned Chandana and Madana in the short history of his own family in the manuscripts of the Upakathā which he himself composed, (1803 A. D.). Nor are Chandana and Madana found in the genealogical table given in the colophon of the manuscripts of Vanaparva translated under his orders by Paramānanda Tarkālankāra (1797 A. D.); nor are they apparent in the genealogical tables of the report of Mr. Moore the Collector of Rungpur and Political Officer of Cooch Behar (1784 A. D.) and the report of the Commissioners Mercer, and Chauvet (1788 A. D.).

The parties in the Bijni succession case (all of them claimed to be descendants of Visvasinha) filed genealogical tables in

(28) According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, Chandana and Madana resided for some time in Muralābās after the fall of Kāmatāpura. But he has not mentioned that they were in any way related to Visvasinha. Eastern India Vol. III, page 413.

court, but in none of these were Chandana and Madana mentioned. (29) Râja Ramchandra was the sixth generation from Narasinha the son of Visvasinha, recorded a genealogical table in the colophon of his work the Bhâgavatasâra. He also has not entered Chandana and Madana. In an adoption case concerning the family of the Raikats of Jalpaiguri, and indeed in several other sources, genealogical tables omit the names. Again, in the 'Sivavansâvali' of Bijni and in the Assam Burunjis, the names do not appear. Dr. Wade in his work "An Account of Assam" (1792-94 A. D.), has mentioned the origin of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, but not Chandana and Madana. In the Âkbarnâmâ also, there is an account of the birth of Visvasinha, and of his son and grandson. There is, however, no reference to Chandana or Madana. Thus Sir Edward Gait has correctly concluded, — "There is not sufficient evidence for assuming that Chandan and Madan belonged to this family". (30) Chandana therefore cannot be regarded as a ruler of the royal family of Cooch Behar.

Haridas Mandal appears to have taught his sons the use of arms, but of Visu it has been specially observed that he acquired no knowledge of Sastras. (31) The young princes became expert and daring hunters of wild animals of various kinds, and in these expeditions Visu was always in the forefront.

The training of the sons of Haridas.

When sixteen years old, he had attained great skill in wrestling and the use of arms, and he gradually developed a great desire to extend the kingdom of his father. Seeing his son's prowess and warlike eagerness, Haridas was encouraged to attempt to conquer the country of the

The spread of the kingdom of Haridas.

(29) Kumar Lalitnarayan Plaintiff versus Râni Abhayesvari, Case No 100 of 1894 in the Court of the Sub-Judge of 24 Pergannahs.

(30) The Koch Kings of Kâmarupa, page 31.

(31) Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali, pages 10, 16.

neighbouring Bhaumiks. In a battle with the Bhuiyâ of Karnapura (according to another view, of Fulguri) Haridas was, however, defeated and imprisoned. Visu escaped and took shelter in a forest. The tradition is that Visu found in the forest an image of a goddess with ten arms, and that he brought it with much care to his home. At first the image was established in Manikûta, and afterwards, at Kâmatâpura. (32) Thirteen days after the battle, the victorious Bhuiyâ released Haridas. After three days in the forest, without food Visu sheltered in the house of a Mechni, and eating rice there, followed her advice and killed the Bhuiyâ of Karnapur in a sudden attack on the festival day of Baisakh Bihu, and occupied his kingdom. (33) Kâlaketu and Dhumâ Sardar the officers of Narayana Bhuiyâ betrayed their master and helped Visu in this battle.

(32) The description of the image may be compared with the celebrated Dhyâna of the Goddess in the Purânas.

"There are ten arms and one face. There are there beautiful eyes. The dress is that of a young female. Ornaments glitter. The right leg is on a lion, the left leg on the back of a buffalo. In the severed neck of the buffalo, a human being has been born whose hair is held in the clenched fist, and whose breast is pierced by a trident held in the right hand. A tiger is biting the left arm of this Asura. The wicked is dying and is baring his teeth. His eyes protrude and blood covers his body. Ten weapons are held in the ten hands. In the right side the Sula, Kharga (sword), Sara (arrow), Sakti, Chakra (discus) and in those of the left side Pâsa (noose), Khetak Dhanu (bow), Parasu (axe) and Ankus.—Seeing this the son of Mahadeva was greatly delighted".

Gandharvanaryaner Vansâvali, pages 43—45.

(33) It is said that this Mechni was the Goddess Bhagavati herself in disguise.

"After wandering for three days without food, he met the Devi (Goddess) there in the disguise of a Mechni....The Goddess cooked rice after killing a cock, and placed the same before Visu to eat. The (Goddess) disguised as Mechni said: Hear attentively. I can tell you how and by what means (your enemy) will be defeated".

Samudranarayaner Vansâvali, page 11.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAHARAJA VISVASINHA.

Râjasaka—24; Sakâbda 1418—1455;

Bangâbda—903—904,—1496—1533 A. D.

While the kingdoms of the Bhuiyâs or Bhaumiks on the north of the Brahmaputra were being subjugated one after another by Visu, the attention of Su-Sen-Fâ the Âhom Raja was attracted and in Saka 1405 (1483 A. D.) he sent his General Chan-Khâm Gohâin to fight Visu. As his power was not consolidated, the clever Visu temporised with various presents to the General and concluded a treaty through him admitting fealty to the Âhom Raja. ⁽¹⁾ At this time the king of Kâmatâpura in western Kâmarupa was disturbed by the attacks of Pathan rulers of Gauda and had no leisure to notice the activities of his vassals or neighbours. Visu waited on the result of the struggle already begun between the rulers of Kâmatâ and Gauda. In 1493 A. D. the kingdom of Kâmatâ was conquered by Hosain Sah the Sultan of Gauda, who not content with occupying Kâmatâpura, gradually pressed on eastwards into the kingdom of Assam or eastern Kâmarupa. The Âhom Râjâ fled in fear and took shelter in the hills. And when about this time (1496 A.D.) the Bhuiyâ or Bhaumik kings took up arms against the Mahomedan army, Visu seized the opportunity

(1) Rudrasinher Burunji, page 17. The Burunji, of Khun-long Khun-lai describes a meeting between Visvasinha and the Âhom Râjâ and says that the former's acknowledgment of the latter's supremacy took place in 1537 A. D., but actually this transpired a long time before, in 1497 A. D.

to fulfil a cherished desire and took the title of "Kâmatesvara" (lord of Kâmatâ) and declared himself king of Kâmatâ or western Kâmarupa.

Kâmatesvara Visvasinha.

He was duly installed on the throne according to the Shâstric rites and during this installation, the Brahmins following ancient custom gave him the name of "Visvasinha" as befitting a king. Water from various sacred places of pilgrimage was brought for the Abhiseka (sprinkling with sacred water) and Visvasinha was acknowledged as king by his subjects of the four Varnas,—(Brahmin, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra) and the rituals were performed according to Vedic rites. During installation, all the royal insignia, viz., the umbrella, sceptre, the white Châmar (Chowrie), the flag etc. were displayed, and Sisu, renamed Sisvasinha or Sisvasinha, held the umbrella over the head of the king. ⁽²⁾ But a little after this assumption of independence by Maharaja Visvasinha, his grand-father Damâmbu and his grand-mother Urvasi died.

At first Visvasinha followed a policy of appeasement towards the Pathan Sultans of Gauda and when expedient admitted their supremacy. In Saka 1419 (1497 A. D.)

Treaty with the Ahom king.

he met the Âhom King Su-hung-mmung and concluded a treaty, ⁽³⁾ and exchanged presents. Probably the main object of this treaty was

End of Mahomedan domination.

a mutual pact to destroy the Mahomedan power in Kâmarupa, Mandala. Meanwhile the son of Hosain Sah was defeated or killed in Hâjo or Garudâchala in Kâmarupa ⁽⁴⁾ and Visvasinha had occupied the whole of the kingdom of

(2) According to another view Sisvasinha was made Yuvaraja (crown-prince) at this time. Samudranarayanar Vansâvali, page 17.

(3) Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 26. Âsâmbanti (a journal) dated 27th June 1901 A. D.

(4) Tarikh-i-Âsâm, page 59; Riaz-us-Sâlâtîn, Bengali Translation, page 126.

Kāmatā ⁽⁵⁾. About 1505 A. D. there was another battle between Visvasinha and Tubarak (Turukā Kotwal?) the Pathan representative of Âtgāon in Kāmarupa. ⁽⁶⁾

The small kingdoms within Kāmatā and Kāmarupa named Ugāri, Lukibakāi, Pântān, Bako, Bholâgāon, Fulguri, Bijni, Beltalā, Mairâpur, Rāni, Bangāo, Karāibāri, Atiābāri, Kāmatābāri, Balarampur, Pāndu, Jhârgāon, Dighlā, Khutâghât, Karnapur, Behar, Rāusiā, Dhakuār, Chhai-gāo, Baranagar, Durrung etc., and the Bhuiyās,—Bara Bhuiyā,

Conquest of the Bhuiyās.

Saru Bhuiyā, Âguri Bhuiyā, Chhuti Bhuiyā, Kusum Bhuiyā, Keleyā Bhuiyā etc., gradually admitted subjugation by Visvasinha. ⁽⁷⁾ Visvasinha suddenly attacked and killed Svetadhān the brother of Pratāp Bhuiyā of Pāndu while he was bathing in the Brahma-putra. Again, from the Rājopākhyāna

Conquest of Bhutān.

it is learnt that when Maharaja Visvasinha attacked Bhutan, the ruler of Bhutan was defeated and concluded a treaty promising to pay tribute. Visvasinha also advanced up to Singri by the river with

(5) Âsām Burunji by Rai Gunābhīram Baruā, page 55. Bagurār Itihās, Part II page 88.

(6) After about 1513 A. D. the Mahomedan rule ended in Kāmatāpura. According to the Rājopākhyāna there was a battle between Visvasinha and Turkā Kotwal for offering a human sacrifice and the latter was killed. (Devakhanda, Adhyāya 10). Turkā Kotwal is said to have lived at 'Astragrām,' and Rev. Robinson has translated this name as "Eight villages," (page 18). A part of the town of Gauhati is still known as Astragrām. It is written in the Kāmarupa Vansāvali,—“At that time (15th century A. D.) the Bāngāl (foreigner) resided in Âtgāo.” During the Mogul supremacy, their officers resided in Gauhāt and in Pāndu on the near west of it. Most of the kingdoms of Sāmāntas were situated on all sides of the aforesaid Âtgrām. Such places as “Chhai-gāo,” “Sāt-gāo” and “Nao-gāo” still exist.

(7) Kharganarayanar Vansāvali, pages 10, 12; Gandharvanarayanar Vansāvali, pages 43, 44; Samudranarayanar Vansāvali, pages 10, 11; Kāmarupa Vansāvali, pages 19, 20; Sankara Charita, pages 185, 198. Pūrva-vanga O Âsām, Part II, page 18.

the object of attacking Assam but his progress was hampered by lack of funds, the common practice of looting an invaded country being deemed improper by him. He therefore returned determining to return after collecting sufficient war material.

The Mahomedans raided Assam several times (1527-1532 A. D.) during the reign of Maharaja Visvasinha.

In 1532 A. D. Tubrak Khan attacked Assam but was repulsed. In Saka 1455 (1533 A. D.) the army of the Âhom king defeated and pursued the army of Gauda to the banks of the Karatoyâ.⁽⁸⁾ At that time Nasrat Sah was the ruler of Guada. The Visvakosh tells that Nasrat Sah was defeated by Visvasinha and fled. In the Râjopâkhyâna it is written that during the time of Eslam Sâh the Emperor of Delhi (1545-1552

A. D.) Gauda was conquered by Visvasinha,⁽⁹⁾ but no mention of this is found in the works of Mahomedan historians.

Haridas Mandal the father of Visvasinha, had his capital at Chikinâ. The tradition is that while out hunting Visu planted a Chikni (branch) of bamboo upside down and worshipped the same as Bhagavati, and thereafter the place became known as Chiknâ.⁽¹⁰⁾ According to another view, it was Haridas

(8) Purani Asama Burunji, page 61.

(9) In the Yogini Tantra we find an account of the conquest of Kâmatâ, Saumâra (Upper Assam) and Gauda, *e. g.*—

“Ekena jitavân Kâmân Saumârân Gaudapanchamân,” (Prathamârdha. Patala XIII), *i. e.* he alone conquered Kâmas, Saumâras and five Gaudas.

In 1533 A. D. the king of Gargão (the Âhom king) helped the ruler of Kâmatâ. When he attack Visvasinha, the latter acknowledged his supremacy. (Assam Burunji, Manuscript Book VIII, pages 27-30). It is difficult to indentify this king of Kâmatâ.

(10) According to another view Visu worshipped the Goddess in a piece of Madan or Moynâ wood. From that time, a piece of Moynâ wood has been used as ‘establishing Sakti’ (Sakti Gonj) in the capital of Cooch Behar (every year) during the Devi Puja—Râjopâkhyâna, Devakhanda, Adhyâya 9.

Mandal who established Chiknâ. The ruins of the city of Chiknâ still exist between the rivers Saralbhângâ and Champâ-mati in the district of Goalpârâ 50 or 60 miles to the north of Dhubri. There are also signs of forts in the vicinity, at Sonâ-bâri, Mahâdev, Bâmankillâ, Bânsbâri, Sikârpur and Nayâgarh. In Bhutan, 19 or 12 miles to the north of Chiknâ, are the ruins of "Killâ Bisensing", a fort of Visvasinha. After his return from Assam, Maharaja Visvasinha removed his capital to Kâmatâpur.⁽¹¹⁾ Thus, Durgadas has written in *Hara-bhakti-taranga*: "The king has constructed a palace within the city of Kâmatâ. He is like Indra descended in this world".

The Vansâvali of Sumudranarayan records that after Visvasinha's attack on Assam, "all came to Pângâ saying 'let this happen' and remained with delight in the town named Kânta".

The same Vansâvali says of the capital of Visvasinha :—

"Deviganj is to the south-west where there is the Goddess Kâmateswari. To the north there is Siva named Bânesvar, to worship whom is to obtain the four objects Dharma, Artha, Kâma and Moksa".

The undermentioned works by Pitambar, written under the orders of Sukladhvaja the son of Visvasinha, contain three references.—

"Maharaj Visvasinha (was the ruler) in the city of Kâmatâ. Even Indra is not comparable in enjoyments to his son".—*Mârkandeya Purâna*, page 1.

"In the city of Kâmatâ, King Visvasinha is a great power. In enjoyments, he is like Indra".—*Mârkandeya Purâna* page 35.

(11) It is written in the Râjopâkhyâna that Visvasinha under orders of his mother removed his capital from Chiknâ to the plains (Hingulâbâs)—Devakhanda. Adhyâya 11. The ruins of Hingulâbâs or Hingulâkot are extant near Mahâkâlguri in the sub-division of Alipur Duar 20 miles to the north-east of the present capital of Cooch Behar. In the Kâmarup Vansâvali, it is mentioned that Visvasinha established his capital in Chandikâbâha (Chândikâ Bihâr) near Bhramarâ Kunda.

"The city of Kāmata is very like the city of the Suras. King Visvasinha resides there".—*Bhāgavata*, 10th Skandha, page 78.

The marriages of Visvasinha were performed according to the Gāndharva ceremony. Difference of opinion prevails as to the number of his queens. Eighteen (or according to another view, nineteen) sons were born to him. The names of his queens and the sons born to them are thus set down in the Durrung Vansāvali :—

The country of the fathers of the queen.	Name of queen.	Name of son.
1. Nepal	Ratnakānti	Narasinha.
2. Gauda	Hemaprabhā	Naranārāyan.
3. „	Padmāvati	Sukladhvaja.
4. Kāmarupa	Chandrakānti	Kamalanarayan.
5. „	Purnakānti	Madana or Maidan.
6. „	Hemakānti	Rāmachandra.
7. „	Rati	Surasinha.
8. Kashmir	Tilottamā	Mānasinha.
9. Kāsi	Chandrā	Mechā.
10. „	Chandrānanā	Brisaketu or Brisās.
11. „	Jayā	Ramnārāyan.
12. „	Vijayā	Ananta.
13. „	Jayanti	Dīpasinha.
14. Sonitapur	Lalitā	Hemadhara.
15. „	Lāvanyavati	Meghnarayan.
16. „	Padmamālā	Jagat.
17. Mithila	Satarupā	Rupchand.
18. „	Kānchanamālīka	Surya.
19. (Unknown)	(Unknown)	Harisinha.

The Vansâvali of Gandharvanarayan mentions that queen Prabhâti gave birth to Narasinha and queen Sudâmni to Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja. According to Ripunjaya, there were two queens named Madhumati and Sudâmni and a 'Kanyâ-pâtri'⁽¹²⁾ named Lilâvati who gave birth to Narasinha, Madhumati bearing eighteen sons. The names of eighteen sons of Visvasinha are given in the Kâmarupa Vansâvali, but that of Narasinha does not appear among them. The history of the queens also is not mentioned in this text. In the Vansâvali of Kharganârâyan the number of princes is eighteen, but the names of only Narasinha, Malladeva (Naranârâyan), Sukladhvaja and Gohâi Kamala (Kamalanarayan) are given and there is no reference to their mothers' names. In the Kâvyâ entitled 'Visvasinhacharitam' the poet Srinâth (17th century) alludes to the "many brothers" of Malladeva (Naranârâyan). Durgâdâs has written that two sons of Visvasinha named Malladeva and Sukladhvaja were born of the queen Visvadhâtri. According to the view of Jaynath Ghose Turkâ Kotwal the ruler of Astagrâma, originally a Hindu but subsequently a Mahomedan, married his daughter born while he was a Hindu to Visvasinha and she gave birth to three sons Narasinha, Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja.

Among the sons of Maharaja Visvasinha, Narasinha, Naranârâyan (Malladeva), Sukladhvaja (Chilâ Râi), Kamal-nârâyan (Gohâi Kamal), Gohâi Madana, Gohâi Surya, Râmachandra, Hemadhara and Dîpasinha are famous, especially the first four. It is said that Maharaja Visvasinha determined the

The education of Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja.

(12). At the time of the marriage of kings or persons of royal family, one or more virgins were given as companions to the bride, and as dower by the guardian of the bride. Such a virgin was known as a 'Kanyâpâtri'. In Title Suit No. 112 of 1840 (Parbatnarain Konwar Plaintiff *versus* Karindranarayan and others Defendants) regarding the zamindary of Pângâ (in the district of Rungpur), Sarvadeva Raikat of Jalpaiguri filed a statement referring to the custom. In addition, he mentioned that the son of such a companion could become king if there were no male issue from the married wife.

future careers of his sons by 'Gulibânt' (lottery). Narasinha drew gold and was destined to be a king in a foreign country. Naranârâyan having drawn earth was to be the king of his own country. Sukladvaja drew iron and was ordered to follow the practices of war. Narasinha, it appears, was deeply religious and so great a favourite of the king his father that Naranârâyan and Sukladvaja left the country out of jealousy and went to Banares where they acquired education in the hermitage of a saint named Brahmânanda Svâmi. They became proficient in grammar, literature, astronomy, the Vedas, the Smritis, Nyâya, Mimâmsâ and Purânas.⁽¹³⁾

Sisyasinha or Sivasinha, the brother of Maharaja Visvasinha constructed a house in 'Siliaguri, or Raikat Sisyasinha, Silikhâguri'. His descendants (with the surname of Raikat) moved subsequently to Vaikunthapur, and now reside in Jalpaiguri.

Maharaja Visvasinha created many posts for the better management of his kingdom. He made Sisyasinha 'Raikat' (Rai Kot = chieftain of the fortress) and Commander-in-Chief. Twelve capable men of his own family became 'Kârjis' (officers). Barihanâ was appointed minister for war and foreign affairs Baisâgu the supreme Judicial authority as he was well-versed in the legal Shâstras, Juddhâvara a General. A Pundit with the title 'Sârvabhauma,' an astrologer named Srivara and a well-trained Vaidya (physician) were also present in the royal court. There were apparently gradations of rank among the officers of Maharaja Visvasinha. The leader of twenty men was called 'Thâkuriâ'; of a hundred men 'Saikiâ'; of a thousand

(13). This account is common to all the Vansâvalis of Durrung.

'Hajārikā' ; of above three thousand 'Umra'. The commanders of twelve Umrās was called a 'Nabāb'.⁽¹⁴⁾ The king maintained many elephants, horses, donkeys, buffaloes and camels. Powerful men with the title of 'Laskar', 'Bhuiyā', 'Baruā' etc. were located at the extremities of his kingdom to keep the peace of the border. The royal revenue consisted of a proportion of the produce of the land.

Maharaja Visvasinha revived the Kāmākhyā Pitha in the Nīlāchala near Gauhāti and erected a temple there. "The Kāmākhyā temple is said to have been first erected by Naraka".⁽¹⁵⁾ But afterwards it had fallen into decay and had almost disappeared under a mound of earth which local people supposed to be the abode of a deity and where they sacrificed birds and animals including pigs and fowls. The legend is that during a night march, Visvasinna and Sisyasinha lost contact with their soldiers and in their wanderings reached Nīlāchala. There they learnt from an old woman seated under a tree near the mound that it was the seat of the deity worshipped by local people. The king made Mānat (a vow) and prayed to be reunited with his army. When his prayer was almost immediately fulfilled, he realized the sanctity of the place, and came to know through the Pandits and reading the Shāstras that it was the site of the Mahāpith of Kāmākhyā. He vowed to build a golden temple of the Goddess on this Pitha if his kingdom was delivered of its enemies. When his wishes were fulfilled and the mound was excavated, the ruins of the lower part of an ancient stone temple and the

(14). This arrangement is analogous to the ancient custom (Mahābhārat, Adiparva, Adhyāya II). There is some similarity between these posts and the titles of 'Mansab' etc. of the Mughul emperors.

(15). The Kamrupa District Gazetteer, page 91;

main Pitha were revealed. The king erected a new temple of brick on the ruins and gave a Rati of gold on each brick. (16)

Maharaja Visvasinha worshipped Siva and Durgâ and had been initiated into the Siva tenets by a Brahmin named Kâlichandra Bhattacharya. (17). He imported a

The religion of Visvasinha.

large number of Brahmins from Kanouj, Benares and other places. He engaged Ballavâchârya the son of a Kanouj Brahmin named Vâsudeva Âcharya as the priest of Kâmâkhyâ Devi, bringing him from Sriksetra (Puri). (18)

Some Western scholars have opined that Maharaja Visvasinha embraced Hinduism after he became king and many later historians have supported this view, though none have been able to produce adequate proof that this was so. The historian Abul Fazal on the other hand a contemporary of the son of Visvasinha wrote in the Âkbarnâmâ that the mother of Visvasinha begot him after worshipping the Jalpeswar Siva. This would clearly establish that the parents of Visvasinha were Hindus.

(16) Âssâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâma Barua, pages 55-56. Prabandhâstaka, page 99. 'He (Bisva Sing) revived the worship of Kâmâkhyâ, rebuilt her temple on the Nilâchal hill near Gauhatti, and imported numerous Brahmanas from Kanauj, Benares and other centres of learning.'—History of Assam, page 49.

The Yogini Tantra says, "Whenever the curse of the Brahmana will fall on Kâmâkhyâ, Visvasinha will protect Kâmarupa." Pûrva-khanda, Patala 13. The temple of Kâmâkhyâ extends lengthwise from east to west, and is divided into four parts. The Garbhagriha or main temple is on the east; the rooms of Bhog-mûrti or Chalanta Mûrti and Pancharatna being situated one after another. The stone portion in these rooms is (including the Garbhagriha) 26 feet, 12½ feet and 12 feet in height respectively. It has been ascertained that the room to the extreme west was subsequently constructed with bricks by the Âhom kings.

(17) "A Bhattacharya named Kâlichandra was brought. He gave the initiation of Siva with delight." Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, page 52.

(18) The Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya.—There was a Brahmin named Ballava Bhatta who resided in Sriksetra and who was a contemporary of Sree Chaitanya Deva (Sri-Chaitanya-charitâmrita, Antyallâ, Parichheda 7).

Sir William Hunter in 1876 A. D. held that the Brahminic religion was first introduced among the Koch tribe during the time of Visu the grandson of Hâjo, and Visu and his officers and leading subjects, embraced Hinduism. He has written of Sisvasinha Raikat, the brother of Visvasinha, that after Visu embraced Hinduism, Sisu took the title 'Sivakumâra'. According to Dr. Campbell (1848 A. D.) though the king (the then Raikat) was desirous to profess Hinduism, he cannot be deemed a real Hindu. And in an adoption case in the family of the Raikats of Baikunthapur in the district of Jalpaiguri, their Lordships of the Privy Council quoted these opinions and held that whatever Hindu customs might have been adopted by the royal family of Baikunthapur, it was certain that the custom of succession through an adopted son had never been introduced in the family. ⁽¹²⁾

According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) no trace of Brahmins is found in Kâmarupa before king Niladhvaja. This view is not sustainable.

It is very difficult—even impossible—to decide that a particular group of persons or tribe is Hindu or non-Hindu by merely adopting as a criterion the customs followed or not followed by them, for the Hindu faith is so widely spread that, naturally, variation in religious beliefs and customs have been evolved in different regions and been adopted by different sects. There are not only distinctions in doctrine, but in law. Thus succession may be determined by sons in some cases and by daughters in others. Nor is the criterion of food and drink a test of a Hindu or a non-Hindu. The pure Katriyas of Rajputana eat the flesh of wild boars without hesitation. In the Jogini Tantra and other authoritative Shâstras,

(19.) I. L. R. Cal, XI (P. C.) pages 472, 477, 482.

A The aforesaid view would seem to imply that although Visvasinha with his courtiers and principal subjects were professed Hindus, his brother and highest officer merely assumed the name, 'Sivakumâra'. This does not appear to be reasonable.

eating the flesh of tortoise and wild boars is valid according to the Shâstras. In the fifth Adhyâya of Manusamhitâ, even for the three twice-born castes (not to speak of Sudras) tortoise, wild boars, rhinoceros and wild birds and beasts in general, are edible.

It has already been stated that in the age of the Purânas, Naraka expelled the Kirâta tribe from Kâmarupa and settled the higher castes *e. g.*, the Brahmins etc. there. It was long afterwards, when the traveller Yuan Chwang was visiting Kâmarupa, that he wrote (7th century) of the people of the country who worshipped Gods and Goddesses and offered sacrifices of the birds and beasts. He also observed several hundreds of temples but no Buddhist monasteries.—The people, he noticed, inclined to learning and he remarked on a resemblance between their language and the language of Central India.

All the copperplate inscriptions dating from the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A. D. which have hitherto been described are records of grants of lands for Brahmins or establishment of temples. The grantors were all kings devoted to Hindu religion. Yuan Chwang has given an account of the highly developed condition of certain contemporary residents of Kâmarupa. For a thousand years preceding the birth of Visvasinha, the country of Kâmarupa, like Bengal, was under the influence of the Buddhist religion, an influence which only waned in Kâmarupa after a very long time.—Even today traces of Buddhist customs are apparent in the social observances of the area corresponding to old Kâmarupa.

Maharaja Visvasinha is reputed to have constructed a long earthen wall from the Karatoyâ to the banks of the Brahmaputra to strengthen the southern defences of his kingdom. A portion of this wall extending east to west from the banks of the Karatoyâ to the banks of the Ghâghat, is still extant in a

Arrangement for protection
of his kingdom.

comparatively well-preserved condition near Kundi (some miles to the south of the railway station Badarganj) in the district of Rungpur. Ruins of the wall are seen up to Sâdullapur on the west of the Ghâghat. From the north of Gaibandha the wall extended eastwards to Baritalâ (on the banks of Brahmaputra), and across the Ghâghat, and a branch of it ran from east to west to the Brahmaputra, six miles to the south of Ulipur. Later historians have opined that this wall determined the southern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the 16th century.⁽²⁰⁾ Some have inferred that rulers of Kâmatâ preceding Visvasinha were responsible for the construction,—but their kingdom extended far south of the wall. Some again have expressed the view that it dates from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century and is attributable to Maharaja Naranarayan or some king subsequent to him.⁽²¹⁾ Dr. Buchanan Hamilton heard a tradition ascribing it to Maharaja Modnarayan (1665—80 A. D.) or Uperdranarayan (1714—63 A. D.). In fact, any connection of Uperdranarayan with the wall may be discounted, and at the utmost it can be said that Modnarayan had it repaired. During the attack on Cooch Behar (1661 A. D.), Subedar Mir Jumla considered it a serious barrier to an invasion, for, on the inside there was a deep ditch and the whole was covered by thorn jungle. After conquering Cooch Behar, Mir Jumla destroyed many portions of it.⁽²²⁾

(20) A Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 315; The Rungpore Report, page 11; The Rungpore District Gazetteer, pages 26, 32.

"The Kâmatâ family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty.....the new Rajas secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation."

The Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 32.

'And thus (a line of fortifications) completed the defence of the northern parts of Kamrup from the Brahmaputra to the Karatoya. There can be little doubt, that, these works were constructed by the Koches as a defence against the Moslems, but for an additional strength to their lines they may have taken advantage of an old fort built by Nilambar'.—The Eastern India, Vol. III, page 465.

(21) The Rungpore District Gazetteer, page 26.

(22) Alamgirnama, page 692.

It is recorded in the history of the Sikh religion that in the beginning of the 16th century (during the reign of Maharaja Visvasinha) Baba Nanak, the first Guru of the Sikhs visited Kāmarupa. (23)

Maharaja Visvasinha promulgated an era from the time of declaring his independence. This is still followed in Cooch Behar and is known as the Rāja Saka. The beginning of the Rāja Saka is counted from 1510 A. D. It will be shown, however, in another place that the reign of Visvasinha actually began at least 13 or 14 years before.

The following account of the death of Maharaja Visvasinha is mentioned in all the Durrung Vansāvalis.—A distinguished Brahmin named Bhavānanda visited Maharaja Visvasinha in his capital Sonitapura, and the king asked him the reason for the efficacy of the water with which the feet of a Brahmin is washed. Bhavānanda replied that it was considered as sacred as the water from places of pilgrimage, as Brahmateja of white colour always flows in the toe of a Brahmin. Curious to see blood of white colour, the king immediately ordered the toe of Bhavānanda to be cut with a chisel. The order fulfilled, red blood poured out in profusion, and unfortunately the Brahmin died, but not before he had pronounced a curse upon the king in his last moments.—“You will also die from a bleeding disease”.

Although the king was repentant, he was attacked after a week with Bara Khasu (small-pox) (or according to another view with a carbuncle), and

(23) “Guru Nanak and Mardana went to Kamrup, a country whose women were famous for their skill in incantation and magic. It was governed by a queen called Nurshah in the Sikh Chronicles. She, with her several females went to the Guru and tried to obtain influence over him.....It is said that they became followers of Guru Nanak and thus secured salvation.....The Guru returned

died. He left the advice to his descendants that they should never ill-treat any Brahmin.

Maharaja Visvasinha died about Saka 1455 (1533 A. D.), queen Sudâmni mounting the funeral pyre.⁽²⁴⁾ The Vansâvali of Gandharvanarayan tells that at the news of the death of Visvasinha his old father Haridas Mandal died of grief and his mother Hirâ Devi mounted the funeral pyre with her husband's body. The funeral ceremonies of the father and the son were performed at the same time.⁽²⁵⁾

MAHARAJA NARASINHA.

Râjsaka 24 ; Sakâbda 1455 ; 940 B. S. ; 1533 A. D.

Kumar Narasinha ascended the throne about 1533 A. D., the princes Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja being still at Benares.

Coronation. Their nurse (Dhâi Mâ) who lived in the

inner apartments of the king and was called Ratni Dhâi by the people, sent the news of the installation by a letter through a Sannyasi named Nâgabhoga to the princes Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja. The brothers left Benares and reaching the capital of the kingdom, objected to Narasinha

from Kamrup by the great river Brahmaputra, and then made a coasting voyage to Puri on the Bay of Bengal."

Extract from Chapter VI of the Sikh Religion by Macanliffe, Vol. I, page 73.

(24) The above account regarding the death of Visvasinha is mentioned in all the Durrung Vansâvalis. According to the Râjopâkhyâna he "went up to the hills to practise Yoga in 961 B. S. (1554 A. D.)." According to the Kâmarup Vansâvali, Visvasinha made over the throne to Naranarayan and went to 'Bhitar' (the inner apartments for religious solitude?). There is no mention of retiring to the forest in the Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya. According to Durgadas, Naranarayan became king after the Kalpântar of Visvasinha.

(25) The Vansâvali of Durgadas has it that Hirâ Devi died during the year in which Visvasinha was enthroned.

being king by their father's arrangement. The other brothers joined issue with them, and Narasinha having no alternative, escaped to the Morang kingdom with his son and four adherants, taking with him the image of Dasabhujâ and the 'Hanuman Danda'. Subsequently he was pursued by Naranaryan (now the king) and forced to take shelter in Nepal. The king of Morang who assisted Narasinha, is reported to have been defeated in battle and compelled to surrender some of his subjects to Naranarayan under conditions of treaty. The descendants of these men are still living in Cooch Behar and are known as Morangia or Murungia. The image of the Goddess and the Hanuman-Danda were restored to Naranârâyan. Narasinha went to Kashmir and thence he and his son took refuge in the country of 'Geleng' Bhôt.⁽²⁶⁾

In the Vansâvali of Durrung we find that a year after Narasinha left his country, he became known in Bhutân as Dharmarâja.⁽²⁷⁾ During the reign of Lakshminarayan the son of Naranarayan (1627 A. D.) Stephen Caccella, a Christian missionary, journeyed

Dharmarâja of Bhutan.

(26) It is said that Narasinha became king where there was Pât of Salarâja in the town of Pûrnakhâtâ (Punâkhâ) between the Hingâlâ and Sankha (Pâncu and Mâchu?). Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 34. The city of Pûnyakhâtâ, Pûrnakhâtâ, Purnâkhyâ or Punâkhâ is between the rivers Pâncu and Mâchu.—Bhutan and Story of Doar War, page 138.

(27) It is written in the Râjopâkhyâna that when the newly-married bride of prince Naranarayan made obeisance to the eldest prince Narasinha, he blessed her saying 'Be a queen'. When the time came for Narasinha to be a king, the wife of Naranarayan reminded him of that blessing and Narasinha who loved truth, made his blessing true by making Naranarayan a king and he received the Panga Pergana (in the district of Rungpur).

According to the Ripunjaya, Vrisaketu the step-brother of Narasinha was the first ruler of the Panga dynasty and was the General of the southern portion of the kingdom. But this is not true. In the Bâhârîstân Ghaibi, Jesketu (Vrisaketu) the father of Madhusudan has been mentioned as the brother of Lakshminarayan. In the colophon of the Bhâgavatasara written by Raja Ramchandra of the sixth generation of Narasinha, the son of Narasinha has been recorded as Vyâsaketu.

to Bhutan through the kingdom of Kâmatâ. He has written that several years before the uncle of king Lakshminarayan travelled to the hilly country of Bhutan. He was arrested there and made to plough land and king Laksminarayan was so angry on learning this news that he ordered all the Bhutiya subjects of his kingdom to be imprisoned. These reprisals continued until the Bhutiyâs released his uncle.

CHAPTER IX.

MAHARAJA NARANÂRÂYAN.

*Râjsaka 24—78 ; Sakâbda 1455—1509 : 940—994 B. S ;
1533-34—1587 A. D.*

In Saka 1455, Maharaja Naranârâyan ascended the throne of the kingdoms of Kâmarupa and Kâmatâ. At the installation, Raikat Sisyasinha held the royal umbrella over the head of the king. The tributary chiefs tendered tribute and presents to him, and acknowledged fealty.

Installation.

The new king struck coins in his own name.⁽¹⁾ A 'Chhâp' or seal was prepared with the name of the king inscribed thereon, and also another seal with the figure of a lion. The latter was called the 'Sinhachâp' (the lion seal), and was used on special royal mandates.⁽²⁾

When Svetadhâna, the brother of Pratâp Ray the Bhuiyâ of Pându, was killed by Maharaja Visvasinha, Pratap took refuge in eastern Assam with his family. He had a daughter Bhânumati and a niece (the daughter of Svetadhâna) Chandrapravâ, and both these girls eminently marriageable as they were, were exceedingly

Marriage.

(1) Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali, page 20. Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 55 Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya I. At this time Sukladhvaja was made the Commander-in-Chief.—History of Assam, page 51.

(2) In addition to the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis, the Sinhachhâp seal is alluded to in the Sankaracharita, page 226.

beautiful and cultured. Accordingly, an ambassador was sent by Pratap to Maharaja Naranârâyan proposing a marriage of the Maharaja with Bhânnumati and of Prince Sukladvaja with Chandraprabhâ. The Maharaja agreed, and his marriage with Bhânnumati, and the marriage of prince Sukladvaja with Chandraprabhâ, were duly celebrated.⁽³⁾

After the death of Nasrat Sah, his son Firoz Sah had become Sultan of Gauda (1532 A. D.), but Mahmud Sâha killed him and assumed the Sultanate. He in his turn was ousted by Sher Khan (1538 A.D.) who occupied Gauda. In fact, the rule of the Pâthân Sultans of Gauda was on the wane, and realising his opportunity, Maharaja Naranârâyan resolved to extend his kingdom to the south and the west.

Extension of kingdom.

The ill-feeling between the Âhom king and Maharaja Visvasinha during the last part of the latter's reign, now manifested itself in an open quarrel. The Kâmatâ guards on the 'Assam' frontier were repulsed to a place named 'Holâ' (1543 A. D. by the son of the Âhom king. The brothers of Maharaja Naranârâyan,—Kumar Dîpsinha, Kumar Hemadhara and Kumar Ramchandra—who held different outposts on the east of the kingdom, became involved. When the princes were bathing on a pilgrimage in the Bhramarâkunda some of their soldiers seized a boat belonging to Bara Saindik, an Âhom officer. Thereupon, the son of the Âhom king attacked Dîpasinha and his men, with the eventual result that Dîpasinha himself was killed with a large part of his force. (Saka 1468=1546 A. D.). His daughter and fourteen elephants

Quarrel with the Âhom king.

(3) Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, page 66; Sankara Charita, page 198.

The Bhutiyâ Pratap Rai was a Kâyastha. His descendants still live in Gauripur in Assam, in Chenga near Barapeta and in village "Bâlikariâ" near Nalbâri. The name of another father-in-law of the king, Govinda Garmahali, occurs in Thâkur Âtâ, page 114. In the Sankara Charita (page 275) Bhubanesvari, a queen of Maharaja Naranârâyan, is mentioned.

were taken by the Âhoms, and when Hemadhara and Râmchandra showed fight, they also were killed. In this engagement, the Âhoms killed Manu Giri the son-in-law of Sree Sankaradeva and an officer (residing in 'Kâhinagar') of the king of Kâmatâ. Later, a new Kâmatâ force arrived and attacked the Âhoms simultaneously on land and by river. On the banks of the Dikrâi river, the Âhoms were dispersed with heavy losses, and fled either to the jungles or to Kaliâvara. The Kâmatâ army followed them up to 'Sâol' where a severe battle was fought. A large army of Âhoms led by famous generals defeated the Kâmatâ army which retired towards the Brahmaputra and constructed a fort in Narayanpur (in the district of Laksmipur) (1547 A. D.), whence they attacked the Pichillâ fort of the Âhoms. The brother of the Âhom king personally engaged in this battle and attacking the Kâmatâ forces on land and water, destroyed them completely. (4) It was estimated that in one of these battles the heads of five thousand Kâmatâ soldiers were stacked in one place, and for this reason the place became known as "Mathâdâng" (in the district of Sibasagar). In the month of Mâgha, Saka 1470 (1549 A. D.) the army of the Kâmatâ kingdom was thoroughly routed in the east. (5)

Some writers entertain the view that the well-known Kâlâpâhâr attacked Kâmarupa in 1553 A. D. and destroyed the famous temples and images at Hijo and Kâmâksyâ. It does not appear that any resistance was offered to Kâlâpâhâr on behalf of Maharaja Naranârâyan, who probably was fully occupied at the time with the war in east Assam. (6)

The attack of Kâmarupa by
Kâlâpâhâr.

(4) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscripts Vol. I, page 488 (English Version).

(5) Burunjee of Rudrasinha, page 52. The word 'Mathâdâng' is Assamese. Its meaning is: Mathâ=head; Dâng=Dângâ or heap; a heap of heads.

(6) Koch kings of Kâmarupa, page 34; Âsâm Pradeser Visesa Vivarana, page 11.

After the conquest of Kâmatâpura by Hossain Sah, Durlabhendra, the son of the Kâmatâ ruler proceeded to establish a small kingdom in the east. Suchâruchand the son of Durlabhendra subsequently received assistance from the king of Ahoms. Some time after 1525 A. D. the Âhom king "delivered" the kingdom of Behar (?) to Suchâruchand according to the advice of the ruler of Gauda. But Maharaja Naranârâyan drove out Suchâruchand (1555 A. D.), and it was at that time that he acquired the Hanumânadanda and umbrella.⁽⁷⁾

It was now also that the struggle between Maharaja Naranârâyan and the Âhom king reached a climax. A tributary chief of the Kâmatâ kingdom revolted and took shelter with Sukleng-mung the Âhom king who took up his cause and again renewed the war with Kâmatâ.⁽⁸⁾

In the month of Asar in Saka 1477 (1555 A. D.) Maharaja Naranârâyan despatched Satânanda Karmî, Râmesvara Sarmâ, Kâlaketu Sardar, Dhumâ Sardar, Udbhânda Châonia and Syâmray Châonia as ambassadors to Assam. Twelve 'Dhekari' kings accompanied them. The deputation reached 'Gargân' the capital of the Âhoms, and in interview with the Âhom king, presented the gifts and a letter sent by the king of Kâmatâ. They referred to the "friendly relationship subsisting between Assam and Behar from the time when, during the reign of the father of the present king, such relationship had been established in presence of the ruler of Gauda." They remonstrated to the

Mission to Assam.

(7) Burunji of Rudrasinha, page 38; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 55;

It is written in the Durrung Vansâvali and the Râjopâkhyâna that it was Visvasinha who through divine grace obtained the Hanumânadanda and the white umbrella.

(8) History of Assam, page 49.

Ahom king that their three princes had been killed in unfair fighting.

Traditionally, the letter was written with liquid from the bodies of leeches instead of with ink ; so no one was able to read

The 'Behar' letter.

it. An officer named Durgâcharan Barakâkati, however, managed to read it "in the darkness of the night", and the Âhom king was exceedingly pleased with him and generously awarded him. He also ordered that the descendants of the officer would be immune from the sentence of death, whatever offence they might commit. The letter ran,—

"Let there be auspiciousness to Maharaja Sree Sree Svarganârâyan of great prowess, whose virtues are sung by nymphs in all the universe ; who is an ocean of learning, of fortitude and glory ; whose pure body is sanctified by the waters of the heavenly river of the Gods ; whose fame is spotless like snow, the necklace of Siva, laughter*, Kâsa† and Kailâsa‡ and which fame is spread by wind fanned by the ears of all Dik elephants.

So be it written. I am well and I always wish you welfare. The seed of good feeling between us will germinate if pleasing letters be now exchanged between us, and under our efforts friendship will blossom and bear fruit. I am prepared to do my part and you should do yours. You know the result if you do not do so. There is nothing more to write. I am sending Satânanda Karmi, Ramesvara Sarmâ, Kâlaketu, Dhumâ Sardâr, Udbhânda Châuniâ and Syâm Ray. Hear all news from them and send them back without delay.

* Laughter is described in Sanskrit Kāvya literature as white. "Yasasi dhavalatâ varnyate hâsa-kirtyoh" (Sâhitya Darpana).—Trans.

† Kâsa is a kind of white flower.—Trans.

‡ Kailâsa is white being covered with snow.—Trans.

Further, these things have been sent with the Ukil.—two ghuris (a kind of cloth or petticoat), one bow, a pair of cheng fish; one pillow, one jakâi⁽⁹⁾; five sâris (cloths worn by females). Reply orally understanding my message. And presents for you (are sent).—one gom-cheng (a cloth of Chinese silk), five chhits (a kind of cloth), ten ghâgris (wearing apparel), 20 black Chowries and 10 white Chowries.—*The month of Asâr Saka 1477.*”

The Bara Gohâin the Minister of the Âhom king thought the presents insulting. —“I have heard that in the country of the Koches, men lie on gârus⁽¹⁰⁾ made of the entrails of human beings. It may be for this reason that pillows made of entrails of human beings have been sent;—but in our country only crows and vultures are associated with corpses.⁽¹¹⁾ The fish which has been brought is not used by the people of this country. Its taste is appreciated only by eaters of impure things like the Koches. And the Sâris which have been sent are worn by courtezans of our country.⁽¹²⁾ A jakâi has been sent, with three corners. The earth also has three corners, but this is of use only where water can be waded; if it be used in deep water, one will have to die by drowning.”

Replying to the remonstrance of the ambassadors, Bara Gohâin said that the death of the princes was due to an accident. “The death of Ksatriyas normally takes place in being cut off in this manner”, there could be no change in the former relations between the two kings for this.

An unfriendly reply, full of insinuations, was sent to the king of Kâmatâ.

(9) A fishing implement made of bamboos.

(10) Gâru=a pillow.

(11) Kâuri (in the original)=a crow. ‘Sa’ (in the original)=a corpse.

(12) Khârchâi (in the original)=a courtesan.

"Let there be auspiciousness to king Sree Mallanarayana of generous character who shines as the sun causing the lotus of his family to unfold its petals, whose fame is white as the waves of the river of snow, who is the ocean of honour, gifts, prowess, fortitude, gravity and generosity, who is like a bee drinking the honey from the golden leaves of the feet of the destroyer of Tripura (Mahâdeva)."

The Reply of the Âhom king.

"This is written.—All is well here. I am greatly delighted to learn of your welfare. You have written that the tree of good feeling will grow and blossom and bear fruit to our delight, but you know the basis of our amity. If that remains, the tree may blossom and bear fruit. I am as before."

"However, the things which you have sent through your Ukil, are not fit to be shown in a (royal) court. Such things would (naturally) appear proper to those who are accustomed to them. You yourself best understand what you meant by sending these things by messengers. My Ukils Sri Chandîvar and Sri Dâmodar Surma are returning with your Ukil. You will learn all news from them. These presents are sent for you,—two pieces of Narâ cloth, four elephant tusks, two gânthian (fragrant roots of a tree).—10th Ahâr ⁽¹³⁾ Saka 1478."

The mission returned from Assam, and when he had received their detailed report and read the letter of the Âhom king, Maharaja Naranârâyan proceeded to prepare for war and the conquest of Assam. Communication towards eastern Assam was very difficult, and he therefore entrusted Gohâi Kamal, one of his younger brothers, with the task of constructing a road for the passage of troops and munitions. A broad road was driven

Attempt to attack Assam.

(13) Âhâr=Asar, Âsâmbanti Patrikâ, 27th June 1901.

between the Bhutan hills and the Brahmaputra as far as Parasukunda.⁽¹⁴⁾ Many tanks were excavated at equal distances by the side of the

The road of Gohâi Kamal.

road which is still known as the 'Gohâi Kamal Âli'.⁽¹⁵⁾ The road is connected with the 'Kavirâ Âli' in the district of Tejpur and with Rajgarh (Dâflagarh) to its east.⁽¹⁵⁾ When it was completed,

Expedition of Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja.

the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja set out (1562 A. D.) with sixty thousand soldiers of the Koch, Dom and Kâvi (Keot ?) tribes. At this time the Âhom troops were engaged in looting beyond the borders of their country.

Sukladhvaja planned to attack Assam simultaneously by land and river. A large flotilla of boats under the naval

The naval Commander.

Commander Bhaktamâla (Buktumlung) and Tepu proceeded by river, and a force of fifty two thousand men by the land route under Generals Bhîmvala and Vâhuvala Pâtra. Enroute, Sukladhvaja found and established an image of a deity at a place called 'Sri Sûrya'.⁽¹⁷⁾

(14) According to another view, the road extended to Narayanpur within the district of Laksmipur.

(15) During the Âhom regime in Assam, 'Gohâi' signified a high officer of State. The Kumaras of the Visvasinha dynasty were also called 'Gohâi' (Gosâin?). In the Akbarnâmâ, we find the names "Mâl Gosâi" and "Sukal Gosâi" and in the Bâhâristân Ghâibi the name "Sûrya Gosâi".

(16) Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam, page 17. In the beginning of the 18th Century the Âhom king Rudrasinha repaired Daffâgarh to prevent depredation by the Daffâ tribe.

(17) The 'Sri Sûrya hills' are situated in the Howrâghat Pergannah within Goalpârâ. There is an inscribed representation of an astronomical figure on a circular stone at this place. It is said that Sukladhvaja had 'Dhaval Suchi' (Leucoderma) all over his body, but after establishing this image, the colour of his body became almost natural. Only a small portion near the navel remained white. On this account, he was known as Sukla-dhvaja, (the Burunji of Rudrasinha, pages 64, 66). According to another view, because he took a white elephant from the Âhom king as a condition of a treaty, he was named Sukla-dhvaja. The Âsâm Burunji by Râi Gunâbhiram Baruâ, page 104.

Maharaja Naranârâyan with his queen Bhânûmâtî joined the expedition and followed the soldiers. He pitched his first camp on the banks of the Sankos. Thence he proceeded to Tântumâni where twelve bodies of his subjects paid him "nazar". For this reason, the name of this place has become "Bâradalâ".

The king with his queen joined the expedition.

From Bâradalâ the king went to Chandikâbehâr near Bhramarâkunda and camped for several days between Trîsûladevi and Dhanasûri.⁽¹⁸⁾ In accordance with his order, a hilly fortress and a Math named 'Nalkhâmâr', were constructed there. An image of a Goddess was set up in this Math and a Kâchhârî was engaged as Deorî. The Bhutiyâs of Sât Duar (Dvâr), the Bhuiyâs and principal subjects of Bijni and Fulguri were summoned and the following order was promulgated :—

Promulgation of royal order.

"Gohâi Kamal Âli will be the boundary in the middle. Under my orders, Koch and Mech as well as the Kachharis who live on the northern side of this (road) will worship in all the temples situated in this division. The Brahmins will worship in the southern division. Religious practices should be regulated under this rule."—*Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali*, page 41.

At the same time the Bhutiyâs were directed to pay tribute in musk, chowries, horses, and gold and brocades. They also joined the king's campaign.⁽¹⁹⁾

(18) Bhramarâ-kunda or Bhairab Kunda is within Mouza Sonâigão within the sub-division of Mangaldai. It is immediately north of Odlâguri.

(19) Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, pages 68—69. Rudrasinher Burunji, page 66.

From Chandikâ Behâr the next halt was called at Singri.

All the Vansâvalis of Durrung recount how the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvja crossed the Bharli river by jumping over it on a horse. This incident led to his becoming known as 'Chilâ Râi'.⁽²⁰⁾

At this time the descendants of the Chhutiya kings, dethroned and driven out by the Âhom king, took the protection of Maharaja Naranârâyan. He gave them land in Bânsbâri (in the Durrung district).

Brahmin Bhuiya and Daffâ tribe.

Gradually also, the Bhuiyâs who were opposed to the Âhom king joined Maharaja Naranârâyan. They included a Brahmin Bhuiyâ who became a friend of Sukladhvja after presenting an elephant to him. The Daffâ hill-men also allied themselves with Maharaja Naranârâyan in the war and the king fixed the boundary of the lands to be occupied by them.

Close fighting between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ began in Saka 1484 (1562 A.D.). The naval commanders Tepu and Bhaktamâla, sailed up the Brahmaputra, and conquering Seola and Mâkâlang, advanced up the Diksu river. When the naval force of the Âhoms advanced against them, a cannonade was exchanged and a sharp fight developed between the two flotilla at the mouth of the Hâriyâ river. In this battle, the Âhoms were defeated. Some of their generals were killed, and one was captured. In January 1563 A. D. Sukladhvja the Kâmatâ Commander-in-Chief advanced by river and constructing a fort at the mouth of

(20) According to the another view, he suddenly attacked the enemy as a kite pounces upon its prey and for this he was named 'Chilâ Râi'. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 36.

'Riding a horse, he pounces like a kite into the battle ; so everyone in the kingdom calls him Chilâ Râi.'

Sree Sree Sankara Deva, page 184.

the Diksu river, halted there. In April he plundered the Morangi territory. The Âhoms took up a position on the Sisà river after fortifying the other side of the river to obstruct Sukladhvaja's advance. Then three distinguished representatives of the Âhoms came to Maharaja Naranarayan with proposals for a treaty, and the Maharaja sent Ratikânta as an ambassador to the Âhom king with instructions. Ratikânta told the Âhom king,—“There has been friendship between both parties for a long time. The ancestors of both were sons of Gods.⁽²¹⁾; so both belong to a divine dynasty. You have been living from generation to generation as brothers, and in ancient times one of your ancestors gave a daughter to an ancestor of our king. This friendship should remain, and it is not fitting that the conflict between you should continue. You should enter engagements to secure that the happiness and prosperity of both these countries may become permanent”.

When Ratikânta returned the conditions of a treaty were determined, and there was an exchange of presents between the

Defeat of the Âhom king.

parties; but the war persisted. In May, the naval commander Tepu with a fort as his base on the banks of the Dihing river, began to plunder enemy country. The Âhom soldiers were defeated, and their king, seeing no other alternative, escaped to the Nâgâ hills. At this time Maharaja Naranârâyan had halted at Mâujuli.⁽²²⁾

(21) In Yogini Tantra, the Âhom kings have been mentioned as the Saumâra of the dynasty of Indra. Prathamârdha, Patala 14.

(22) The places where quarters for soldiers were constructed by Sukladhvaja during the expedition came to be known afterwards as 'Mechâghar'.—Rudrasinher Burunji, page 68.

To allay the attack of Sukladhvaja, the Ahom general is said to have sent Sudras with sacred thread on their necks and mounted on cows. At first Sukladhvaja hesitated to fight them, but afterwards, realizing the cunning device of the Âhom General, he attacked them and routed them. (Âsâm

When Gargão, the Capital of the Âhoms, was occupied, he advanced to it. There he received a distinguished person on behalf of the king of Âhoms who presented Maharaja Naranârâyan with two golden and two silver drinking cups and a large silver vessel.

The Maharaja consented to a treaty but informed the representative of the Âhom king that the sons of Tháo-mang-lâng, Seng-dâng and Khâm-seng should be sent to him with the Âhom prince.

Subjugation of the Âhom king and treaty.

Thereafter, he would leave the country. Accordingly, in July 1563 A. D. the Âhom king dispatched Âhu the son of his own courtier Lâng-lau and four nobles to Maharaja Naranarayan and paid tribute to him and acknowledged his supremacy.⁽²³⁾ It is related that the Âhom king also presented to Maharaja Naranarayan as a condition of treaty;—a large store of gold, silver, cloth, sixty elephants, sixty beautiful maidens, three hundred men and a red royal umbrella. Thus the whole of the country to the north of the Brahmaputra passed under the rule of Maharaja Naranarayan. Kumar Kamal Narayan was appointed Uparâj or representative of the king in Morangi country (in the district of Laksmipur).

Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâm Barua, pages 61, 103; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 56). It is written in the Vansâvali of Durgadas that the descendants of these Kâchhâris disguised as Brahmins and mounted on cows, were subsequently known as 'Bongânyâ Brahmins' (page 22). Later, as the descendants of these false Brahmins became engaged in impure practices, Pratâpasinha, an Âhom king stripped all of them of their sacred threads except eight families and ended their pretence to being Brahmins.—Âssam Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâm Barua, page 109.

(23) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscript, Vol. I, page 496—502 (English Version).

The version has been given in Durrung Vansâvalli, Sankara Charita, Gurulilâ, Kâchhârer Itihâs and in all the Burunjis of Assam whether printed or in manuscript.

Maharaja Naranarayan conquered Kâchhâr after conquering Assam. Sukladhvaja accompanied by General Kavindra, Rajendra Pâtra, Dâmodar Kârji and Meghâ Makdum and only twenty cavalry, suddenly appeared in Maibang the capital of the Kâchhâr kingdom. The Kâchhâr king (probably Meghnarayan) was thoroughly alarmed and presented Sukladhvaja with many valuables and twenty-eight elephants. He acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Naranarayan and promised to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 silver coins, one thousand gold coins and 60 elephants. Sukladhvaja established a colony in Kâchhâr, and the settlers being of the same caste as Dewan Chilâ Râi were known as Dewan or 'Dheyân' (by corruption). Under the Kâchhâr kings, these Dheyâns received special favour and respect in the royal court.⁽²⁴⁾

In the Napoleonic advance of Sukladhvaja, the next victim was Manipur. The king of Manipur was not inclined to fight, and concluded a treaty whereby he undertook to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 silver coins, three hundred gold coins and ten elephants. Insatiable, Sukladhvaja attacked Jayantia. The Jayantia king was killed in battle by Sukladhvaja, and by the order of Maharaja Naranarayan his son was given his father's kingdom, the annual tribute being fixed at 10,000 silver coins, 70 horses and three hundred 'Nâkai Dâo' (a kind of weapon). The Jayantia king was prohibited from striking coins in his name, and proofs have been found to indicate that this order was properly obeyed until 1730 A. D. We find in coins of the Jayantia kings inscriptions (similar to the Narayani coins),—**"Sree Sree Siva-charana-kamala-madhukarasya"** on one side

(24) Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 38.

and on the reverse, instead of the name of the king, "Sree Sree Jayantâpurapurandarasya Sâke 1592".⁽²⁵⁾

To enforce him to admit fealty, an ambassador was sent by Sukladhvaja to the Âmil of Srihatta; but the Âmil rejected the proposal. Hostilities ensued. The Âmil
 Conquest of Srihatta. was attacked, and after incessant fighting

lasting for two days, Sukladhvaja himself entered the fray, sword in hand. Eventually he personally reached the Âmil and cut off his head with his sword;—whereupon the Âmil's soldiers dispersed. The brother of the Âmil was brought before Maharaja Naranarayan and invested as Âmil, and on his promising to pay an annual tribute of 100 elephants, three lacs of silver coins, 10,000 gold coins and two hundred horses, the kingdom of Srihatta was returned to him.⁽²⁶⁾

Under orders of Maharaja Naranarayan, Sukladhvaja now launched an attack on the kingdom of Tripura which at this time included the plains of Kâchhâr. A
 Conquest of the kingdom of Tripurâ. fierce battle was fought at Lankhâi between Sukladhvaja and the king of Tripurâ. General Bhimvala with one-third of the army (of Sukladhvaja) and on the other side, the king of Tripura with eighteen thousand soldiers, perished. Sukladhvaja symbolized the victory by driving into the ground an inverted sword (a Lankhâi) and a bamboo.⁽²⁷⁾ The heir-apparent

25. J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, No. 4, page 159.

26. Srihatter Itivritta, Bhâga II, Khanda II, page 62. At this time the rule of the Mahomedans was established in Srihatta, but Mahomedan historians are silent about it. It is written in Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali:

"There is a king on the north-west of Jayantâ. He is the Bâdsah of the Chirâta (Srihatta) country".

27. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 37.

This incident recurs in almost all the manuscripts of the Durrung Vansâvalis. More than a hundred years before the Vansâvalis, the "Purani Asama Burunjee" was compiled (1695 A. D.). In that book also we find mention of the conquest of Tripura

of Tripura (or according to another view, a brother of the king) sued for a peace, and offered presents of 10,000 silver coins, 100 gold coins and 30 horses. The annual tribute of the kingdom was fixed at 9,000 rupees, and the dominion of the king of Tripura over the kingdom of Kâchhâr was ended.

At this time the northern half of Chittagong also was ruled by the king of Tripura. Maharaja Naranarayan maintained a body of soldiers in Brahmapur to preserve his authority in the newly conquered country. Subsequently Brahmapur came to be known as Kochpur, and now it is Khâspur.⁽²⁸⁾

The king of Khyrum observing the miserable plight of the neighbouring kings, acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Naranarayan of his own accord. The annual tribute payable by him was 15,000 silver coins, 900 gold coins, fifty horses and thirty elephants. A prohibitory order against coins being struck by the ruler of Khyrum, was later on withdrawn at the request of queen Bhânumatî and he was permitted to strike coins in the name of Maharaja Naranarayan.

by Naranarayan, page 66. Regarding the expedition of Maharaja Naranarayan and his brother Sukladhvaja to conquer the kingdoms of Jayantia, Kâchhâr, Tripura and Khâirâm, Dr. Wade has written in his "An Account of Assam" (1792-94 A.D.),—"The brothers (Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja) proceeded to the conquest of Zewointia (Jayantia), Cosari (Cachar), Tepoora (Teppera) and Kuiramee (Khyrum)", page 251.

In the history of Cooch Behar entitled the *Rajopâkhyâna* and in the history of Tripura—the '*Râjamâlâ*' (compiled by Kailas Chandra Sinha)—there is no account of this battle and the defeat of the king of Tripura. There is only a record of the conquest of Assam in the *Rajopâkhyâna*, which as has already been stated, is an incomplete work, as is also the *Râjamâlâ*. Further it has been admitted in the *Râjamâlâ* (pages 49, 52 and 85) that the shame of defeats had been hidden, and real events changed.

28. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 38. Sribhatter Itivritta, Upasanhâr, page 101.

Pântesvar the king of Dimruâ acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Naranarayan in the hope of being saved from attacks by the Kâchhâris. According to another view, the king of Dimruâ was defeated and made a prisoner by Maharaja Naranarayan. Afterwards, pursuant to the orders of Maharaja Naranarayan, Pântesvar was appointed to superintend eighteen small kingdoms situated on the outskirts of the Jaintia kingdom. The boundaries of the kingdoms of the Sâmantas kings in the countries to the south of the Brahmaputra river were now fixed. Later, Chakradhvaja the son of Pântesvar having refused to pay tribute, was imprisoned, but Raghudevnanarayan, the son of Sukladhvaja revolted and released him.⁽²⁹⁾

At this period the main stream of the Brahmaputra flowed via the "Khârubhânj" (a circuitous channel shaped like a bangle) near Hâjo.⁽³⁰⁾ On his way back from Assam, Maharaja Naranarayan excavated a canal to cause the river to flow straight (from the Râksashi hills to the mouth of Baraliyâ river) to the west. When in time this became silted up, the Âhom king re-excavated it. Thence onward, the Brahmaputra has flowed by this channel.

(29) History of Assam, page 109. Posâl Sinha the son of Chakradhvaja and his son Prabhâkara paid tribute to Pariksit, the son of Raghudevanarayana. In 1616 A.D. the kingdom of Dimruâ came under the Âhom king. Rudrasinha Burunji, page 94.

(30) "Lauhitya sprung from the fire of Brahmâ flows between the hills Manikûta and Gandhamâdanaka". Kalikâ purâna, Adhyâya 78, Verse 76. Manikûta is known as Hâjo. Gandhamâdana alias Gândmore is situated to its south. This old channel of the Brahmaputra is now known as 'Hâjor Sotâ' or 'Burâ Lohita'. It is mentioned in Yogini Tantra that at some time the channel of the Brahmaputra became narrow.—

"O supreme Goddess, the (raised land like the back of a) tortoise at Kâmâkhyâ being broken, the Brahmaputra met with the Urvasi and its channel was narrow". Prathamârdha, Patala XII.

At one time the river Urvasi flowed near Gauhati.

The attack on Gauda by Maharaja Naranarayan after the conquest of Assam (1563 A.D.) and before the construction of the temple of Kāmākhyā (1565 A.D.), is given in almost all the Vansāvalis and Assam Burunjees. There had been continual changes of rulers in Gauda. After the death of Bâhâdur Sâh (1561 A.D.), his brother Jalaluddin ruled for a time and then died (1563 A.D.). His son became ruler, but was killed by Giasuddin who occupied the throne. He too was soon killed, by Tâj Khân (1563-64 A.D.). It is suggested that Maharaja Naranarayan attacked Gauda in retaliation for Kâlâpâhâr's destruction of the temple of Kāmākhyâ ⁽³¹⁾, but this view is not shared by any Mahomedan history.

Even if it be accepted that Maharaja Naranarayan attacked Gauda, the enterprise was not victorious. His soldiers were defeated in battle, the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja was made captive, and the remnants of the force which escaped destruction, were driven back as far as Tejpur. The king himself escaped with great difficulty. There is a legend that during his escape, the hungry king asked food from a house and revealed his identity. The householder however showed him no respect, and gave him only one 'Kâthâ' of rice. The king was mortified at this behaviour and left the place without accepting the rice. Nor, it is said, did he eat rice until Sukladhvaja was released. He subsisted on milk only and was continually engaged in various kinds of propitious ceremonies. ⁽³²⁾ The Durrung Vansāvali has it that the mother of the ruler of Gauda

Attack of Gauda. Defeat.
Sukladhvaja made a captive.

(31) "Âsâmer Visés Vivaran", page 11. Ripunjaya has written that Kumâra Visaketu the General of Maharaja Naranarayana conquered Gauda and brought back insignia as mementos, and the king took the epithet of 'Raja Bâdsâh'.

(32) Khargrnarayaner Vansāvali, page 37; Kāmarupa Vansāvali, page 21. "He (Chilārâi or Sukladhvaja) was thrown into prison and confined in irons for twelve months". Dr. Wade's 'An Account of Assam', page 204.

was bitten by a snake and was saved from poisoning by the treatment of Sukladhvaja. As a reward

Release of Sukladhvaja and his marriage in Gauda.

for this, the mother of the ruler called Sukladhvaja 'son', and releasing him from

captivity arranged his marriage with five girls of high family.

The Perganas of Bâhârband, Bhitârband, Goybâri, Serpur and Daskâhanîa were presented to him as a dower. According to

another view, the entire tract to the east of the river Karatoyâ was offered to Sukladhvaja as a dower, and was given a valuable horse and a sword valued one thousand eight hundred rupees.

At this time he brought two famous Pundits with the titles of

Bringing of Pandits from Gauda.

Vidyâvâgisa (Purusottama) and Siddhântavâgisa (Pitâmvara) to his country. They

were Sabhâ Pandits (Pandits of the royal

court) of the ruler of Gauda. During the captivity of Sukladhvaja, Siddhântavâgisa had supplied water to him.⁽³³⁾

The sun of glory of Maharaja Naranarayan passed its meridian when he was defeated by the ruler of Gauda, and thereafter he kept his influence undiminished by recourse to shrewd policy rather than prowess of arms. After his defeat in Gauda, some of his adherents were severely punished by the Âhom king, and he was forced to release distinguished Âhom hostages to save them.

It is traditional that Sukladhvaja secretly sent to the king from Gauda the proposal to release the hostages of the Âhom king, but the king thought that it would

Returning the hostages of the Âhom king.

not be good policy to do this openly. He therefore engaged in a game of dice with

one of the hostages (Sundar Gohâi),- staking the liberty of the

(33) At first, the Pandits did not agree to come to Kâmarupa. But when the king promised to make excellent arrangements for their livelihood and a grant of Rs. 100 a day, they agreed.

Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, pages 16, 83.

According to another view, Siddhântavâgisa was the Guru of Pratâp Bhuiyâ. Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 66.

hostages. The king intentionally lost (1564 A.D.) and released them in fulfilment of his promise. On this occasion, Gajasinha and Pâtâlasinha Kārjī were sent as ambassadors to the Âhom king and were accompanied by a beautiful princess. After this, the Âhom king sent his own ambassador Ratnasinha Kandaliâ to Maharaja Naranarayan. The shrewd policy of Maharaja Naranarayan however did not realize any advantage in this direction. On the contrary, the Âhom king attempted to free himself from subordination, and in October 1566, when the naval leader Tepu again attacked Assam, he was forced to return after many of his soldiers had been killed and his Captain, Mohan, made a prisoner by the attacking flotilla of the Âhom king. At the end of 1571 A. D. Tepu and Bhitruâl again led an invasion against the Âhoms. There was a fight between them and the naval forces of the Âhoms at the mouth of the Nântimâ river, and they were again defeated. Many of their soldiers were killed, and many boats and guns fell into the hands of the enemy. Tepu and Bhitruâl were compelled to flee. Thus Durgadas has written in the Vansâvali composed by himself that in 1493 Saka (1571 A.D.) the Âhom king succeeded in regaining his independence.

The Ahom hostages returned to Assam and revealed to the Âhom king the various customs and practices of the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Hearing of the manner of worship of the ten armed image of Durgâ in Kâmatâpura, the Âhom king introduced this worship in his own kingdom.

The worship of Durgâ in Assam.

On the 17th Falgun in Saka 1488 (1567 A. D.) Mahârâni Bhânumatī bore a son to Mâhârâja Naranârâyana. He was named Laksminârâyana. Raghudeva-nârâyana, the son of Sukladhvaja, was older than Kumar Laksminârâyana. (34)

The birth of Laksmi-nârâyana.

(34) Gandharvanârâyana's Vansâvali, Part II, pages 39-41. According to another view, Raghudeva was born in Saka 1492 (Khargarnârâyana's Vansâvali, page 42), but this view cannot be supported. Raghudeva after declaring

After the conquest of Assam by Maharaja Naranarayana, Sri Sankaradeva the celebrated Vaisnava reformer came to the kingdom of Kâmatâ and lived there for the remainder of his life.

Coming of Sri Sankara
Deva.

In 1568-1569 A.D. the kingdom of Kâmatâ was attacked by Sultan Soleman Kararani the Ruler of Gauda, and an account of this is given in the Visvasinha-charita. The Âkbarnâmâ says that Soleman returned unsuccessful. According to another view the king was defeated in battle and the capital besieged by the Mahomedan soldiers, but learning news of a rebellion in Orissa the Sultan left the kingdom of Kâmatâ. (35).

The Pâthân rulers of Gauda awarded jaigirs to Pâthân Sardars in Ghorâghât with the object of protecting the outskirts of their own kingdom from the king of Kâmatâ. A Kâyasth named Danujâri Ghosh living to the north of the present town of Dinajpur, and having landed property in that place, was plundered by soldiers sent by the king of Kâmatâ. As the Pâthân rule weakened, the Jaigirdârs of Ghorâghât joined with the ruler of Kâmatâ (Naranârâyan) and took up arms against the Mughuls. The Âin-i-Âkbari records that when Ghorâghât was attacked by Mujnân Khân Kâkhsâl under the Mughul general Monâyen Khân (after Hijri 982 or 1574 A. D.), the Pâthân chieftain Bâbâ Mânkali and the well-known Kâlâpâhâr took shelter in the Koch (Kâmatâ) kingdom, and sons of Jâlâluddîn Sur a descendant of Ser Sâh joined with them and drove out Kâkhsâl

Attack of Dinajpur.

Giving shelter to the
Pâthâns.

his independence caused inscriptions to be written on the doors of the temple of Hayagriva in Hâjo in Saka 1505 and the temple of Pândunâth in Saka 1507.

(35) Riaz-us-sâlâtîn. Bengali Translation, page 143.

from Ghorāghāt. In 1578 A. D. amity between Akbar the Emperor of Delhi and Maharaja Naranārāyan was established, and the latter sent presents to the Durbar at Delhi. (36)

Amity with the Emperor of Delhi.

Mâsum Khân Kâbuli was one of the Jaigirdârs and Mughul officers who revolted against Muzuffar Khan the Subedar of Bengal. In Hijri 988 (1580 A. D) the rebel party became powerful and killed Muzuffar Khan and occupied the capital Tândâ (near Gauda). At first Mâsum Khan and Maharaja Naranârāyan were not friendly disposed to each other but subsequently they allied and together attacked Gauda. (37) Raja Todarmalla who was sent against them, failed to gain any success. Then Mirza Âziz Koka came to Bengal as Subedar, but he left again before the Pâthâns were checked, and his assistant

Friendship with Mâsum Khân.

(36). It is written in the Akbar Nâmâ that Nazar was sent to Emperor Akbar through Subedar Khân Jehan by "Koch-râja Mal Gosâin" (Malladeva or Naranârāyana).

In the Ain-i-Âkbari also the sending of fiftyfour elephants as Nazar to Delhi through this Subedar in Hijri 984 is mentioned, 'Nazar' is an Arabic word meaning 'present'. In practice, it means whatever is given as a present in acknowledgment of obedience to the king or ministers. On the basis of this meaning, some historians have thought that at that time the kingdom of Kâmatâ (Cooch Behar) was under the Emperor of Delhi (History of Bengal, page 188). The Mughul Emperors did not readily acknowledge the independence of any king in India. On the other hand, it was unnatural that a king like Naranârāyana should admit subordination to any one without showing fight. Considering all the circumstances, it is inferred that the friendly presents sent by the king of Kâmatâ were interpreted as 'Nazar' by the historian of the Delhi Durbar. It is clearly written in the Bâhârîstân Ghâibi (page 140 kha) which was composed later on in 1624 A. D. that the kingdom had been independent for a hundred years. Probably the number of elephants sent as presents has also been exaggerated.

(37). The Mahomedan historians have given an account of the attack on Tândâ but there is no reference to Maharaja Naranârāyan in this connection. It is written in the Gandharbanârāyaner Vansâvali:

"The king made friendship with Mâsum Khân and met the zemindars of Bârabānglâ. Mâsum Khân went with the zemindars and took them to Gauda showing them the way." Page 74.

Sāhabaj Khān was appointed Subedar (1584 A. D.). In 1583 A.D. Jāberi the son of Muznān Khān retired to the Koch (Kāmatā) kingdom in fear of the Mughuls, and from there he attempted to attack Tāndā. Giving shelter to Jāberi. The "Ain-i-Ākbari" states that Jāberi, after occupying Tājpur (within Dinājpur) and Purnea, advanced gradually towards the capital Tāndā. (38)

Maharaja Naranārāyana delegated his authority over the kingdoms of chieftains situated on the east of the Sankos and Brahmaputra river to Sukladhvaja. Different duties given to the king's brothers. Kumar Kamalnārāyan (Gohāi Kamal) was governor of the newly conquered Dibrū in the east and was afterwards transferred to Kāchhār. The other brothers of the Mahārāja were invested with duties of State. The Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja was however

The Vansāvali written by Ripunjaya says that Kumār Vrisaketu was the leader of the soldiers who conquered Gauda.

An army of Maharaja Naranārāyana consisting of Bengali Bhutiyā, Rājput, Mughul and Pāthān soldiers conquered Ghorāghat and Gauda. Aniruddha was appointed ruler of Gauda, and many grants of Irahmottar land were made there, "Even now (1823 A. D.) some of these Wāqqās (deeds of gift) are in existence" (Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adhyāya 11); but up to the present, no such deed of gift has been found.

There is an old temple of Jambulesvara Siva in village Mirzāpur situated three miles to the south of Birāmpur within Dinājpur. There is a generally accepted tradition that this temple was constructed by an ancient king of Cooch Behar and the Sivottar land of the temple was granted by him.

Chaklajat Settlement Report, 54, 55.

(38) It is written in the Samudranārāyaner Vansāvali that when the mother of the ruler of Gauda who called Sukladhvaja her son, died, Maharaja Naranārāyan and Akbar Saha the Emperor of Delhi jointly defeated the ruler of Gauda and divided his kingdom between themselves (pages 71, 74.) This rendering is not supported and it cannot be said to be worthy of support. On the other hand, Maharaja Naranārāyana may be regarded as the ally of the Pāthāns. He died in 1587 A. D. In 1576 A. D. with the passing of the Pāthān ruler Dāud Khan, the kingdom of Bengal

the Maharaja's right hand man and a great favourite. He was called 'Yuvarāja'. Possessed of deep learning, unusual personality, natural disinterestedness, and a firm love for his brother, he was the great political leader in the eastern India of that time. (39). The vast country bounded on the west by the country of Mithila, on the east by the extreme frontier of Assam, on the north by the lordly Himālayas and on the south (near Chittagong) by the shores of the Bay of Bengal, was conquered by his prowess. The ruins of his fort "Chilârâyer Kot" still exist in Tufanganj in the State of Cooch Behar. Nearby, there are signs of a fort in village Jâldhoâ, known to have been built by Sukladhvaja. The Bara Mahâdeva in the village of Bârakodâli and the Chhota Mahâdeva in the village of Nâk-kâtigâchh, both established by Sukladhvaja, are still regularly worshipped.

There is a difference of opinion as to the time of the death of Sukladhvaja. The view is that he died of small-pox on the banks of the Ganges in Chaitra Saka 1492 (1571 A. D.) when he attacked Gauda for the second time.

The colophon of Mârkandeya Purâna written by Pitâmbara Siddhântabâgisa, a contemporary of Sukladhvaja recounts.— "Maharaja Visvasinha (lives) in the city of Kâmatâ. His son is not less endowed than Indra. (Page 1) * * * One day the Yuvarāja sitting in court, considered a project for a great work.

came under the Mughul rule only in name. The Bhuiyâ kings and the Pâthân Sirdars did not easily acknowledge obedience to the Mughuls. Orissa and the country of Ghorâghât was devastated by the quarrels between Mughuls and Pâthâns; hence it is said, the game of 'Mogul Pâthân'.

(39) The king installed Sukladhvaja as Yuvarāja and bestowed on him the title of Sangrâmasinha. (Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 38). Only installation as a Yuvaraja is mentioned in Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali (page 64). In Rudra-sinher Burunjee (page 76) it is written that Sukladhvaja came to be known as Sangrâmasinha for showing valour in attacking Gauda.

* * * The matters which are hidden in Shāstras like the Pūranas are understood only by Pundits and not by common people. For this reason, translate (them) into the language in use in our country in Payâr (verse) from the Slokas (Sanskrit verses) so that all may understand them. (Accordingly) the work began in Saka 1524 on all the subjects mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya (in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna).” (Page 2).

The work began in Saka 1524 (1602 A. D.), but Sukladvaja was not alive at that time. It was started after his death.

Pitāmbara has also written in a later part of the work.—

“(There was) King Visvasinha in the city of Kāmatā, of great prowess and endowed like Indra. Following the orders (of the Yuvaraja) Pitāmbara having little knowledge writes in Payâr (verse) his (Visvasinha’s) history of great sanctity.” (Page 35).

Again.—

“(There was) King Visvasinha in the city of Kāmatā. The king had great power and was like Indra. His son has all the qualities, like an ocean containing jewels. He is the greatest of the great in bestowing gifts like Karna. Following the orders of Kumāra Samarasinha, Pitāmbara is writing (this), touching the Nārāyaṇa.” (Page 48)

In 1586 A. D. Ralph Fitch an English merchant has referred to Sukladvaja (Suckel Counse) as “Rāja”, but this cannot be accepted as true. A foreign traveller might well have thought him to be a king.

Raghudevyanārāyaṇa the son of Sukladvaja rebelled against his uncle after the death of his father. He

constructed the temple of Hâjo in 1583 A. D. and that of Pândunâth in 1585 A. D. Inscriptions on the doors of these temples are still in existence. There cannot be any doubt therefore that Sukladhvaja died long before 1586 A. D.

It is written in the 'Sankara Charita' that after the death of Sankara Deva (1568 A. D.), his daughter-in-law lived with other relations in the village of Pâtâusi near Bara Petâ. Bangayâ Giri the brother of Sri Sankara Deva made over the girl to the king who, coming to know her real status through the efforts of her relations, released her. This king appears to be Raghudevanârâyana and the year of Sukladhvaja's death is inferred to be latter than 1568 A. D. (or approximating to 1571 A. D. the date of the second attack on Guada).

Maharaja Naranârâyana loved Raghudevanârâyana the son of his younger brother Sukladhvaja like a son and sometimes sat on the throne with him on his lap. As no son had been born to the king before his old age, there was a chance of Raghudeva's becoming king. The king even invested him as Yuvarâja (crown prince) and he was called 'Pâtikumar' (Yuvarajâ), (40), but when prince Laksmînârâyan was born, Raghudeva was greatly mortified.

Yuvaraja Raghudeva-
nârâyana.

After the death of Sukladhvaja, his elephant, horse and other effects were brought to the capital under orders of the king. Kavindra Pâtra, Gadâdhar Châoniâ, Purandar Laskar, Judhisthir Bhândâr Kâyasth, Sriâma Laskar, Karnapur Giri, Sonâvar, Rupâvar Sardar, Kaviraj Gopal Châoniâ, Gadai Barkâyastha and other officers were devoted to Sukla-dhvaja, and they endeavoured to incite Raghudeva against his uncle. In course of time, the advice of these evil counsellors succeeded in influencing the

Displeasure of Raghudeva.

(40) Akbar-nâmâ, page 716 Kamarupa Vansâvali, page 21.

mind of Raghudevanârâyan who, disregarding the good advice and the wishes of his uncle, left the capital and began to live with his family in a fort he had constructed near Baranagar on the banks of the Manâs river. Raghudeva raised another fort in Ghilâvijayapura on the banks of the Gadâdhar.

The custom of appropriating all the properties left by relatives, Mansahdârs and Omrâhs (even when they had heirs) who were recently dead, was prevalent in the contemporary Mughul Durbar. Raghudevanârâyana however, not content with merely doing this, influenced Râmgovinda

The revolt of Rag'udeva.

of Daksinkûla and looted the province of Bahârband (in Rungpur district) in the kingdom of his uncle. Maharaja Naranârâyana sent Virupâksa Kârji to pacify his nephew, but Karji was imprisoned by Raghudeva. Then the king sent Gohâi Madan and personally took military measures. Whereupon Raghudeva, instead of fighting fairly, dressed his one hundred and twenty wives as soldiers and sent them to oppose his uncle. At first, the king expressed wonder at the appearance of so young soldiers and without moustaches, but when he came to know the real facts, he was filled with shame and immediately left the battlefield with his army. As there was no other means left to the king, he made over to Raghudeva the country to the east of the Sankos river, and Raghudeva was called "Chhoto Râjâ". As a mark of fealty, some gold, several horses and Baranagar cloths were fixed as the annual tribute to be paid by him and he was prohibited from striking coins in his own name. According to another view, Raghudeva agreed to strike the name of Naranârâyana on his own coins (41).—According to the Mahomedan historians, this partition of the kingdom took place in 1581 A. D.

(41) Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 56.

"Provided he agreed to stamp the name of Nurnarain on his coins". Dr. Wade's *An Account of Assam*, page 210.

After the fall of Dâud Khân the ruler of Gauda, Isâ Khân of Khejerpur (in the district of Dacca) became the head of the Pâthâns and attacked the south-eastern border of the kingdom of Kâmatâ (1584 A. D.). At that time, this country was under Raghudeva, and Laksmana Hâjârâ or Hâjârikâ was the

Attack of Isâ Khân.

"Ragoodeo received also the title of lesser Rajah, but it was stipulated that the latter should transmit the horses and gold which Nurnarain formerly received from Buxadwar (Buxa Doar) and the cloths (Pat Kapor) from Bayghar (Baranagar ?) in the usual manner to Bayhar (Behar, i. e. Cooch Behar)". Ibid, page 210.

There is nothing in the Vansâvalis of Kharganârâyana and Samudranârâyana about the tribute payable by Raghudeva. It appears from inscriptions in the temple of Hayagrîva and Pândunâth constructed under his orders that Raghudeva regarded himself as an independent king. Thus it is written in the inscription (dated Saka 1505, 1583 A. D.) on the door of the temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava in Hâjo.

"Sree Sree Visvasinha was the ruler of the earth. King Sree Malladeva was his son. His fame was well known. He had great intellect. He conquered all his enemies. He was sanctified by religious works and his great fame was based on serenity, generosity and prowess. His brother was born named Sukladhvaja the whole country was under whose control.

The son of Sukladhvaja was King Sree Raghudeva who was like Râma himself and whose fame spread in all countries, who was the ruler of Kâmarûpa and who was like a rain-cloud to extinguish the fire of grief in all men.

That king who gave gladness to all people and who worshipped the feet of Sri krisna attained age and constructed this jewel of temples with the help of Gadâdhara dedicating it to the enemy of Asura Haya on the hill named Mani in Saka 1505.

The temple of Pândunâtha was built on the Pândunâtha hill to the west of the Kamâkhyâ temple (Saka 1507; 1585 A. D.). When in time it fell into decay, a tin shed was erected there. The old inscription on the door of the temple reads as follows,—

"When the son of accomplished Sukladhvaja (who was the brother of Sree Malla King) named Raghudeva, possessed of power and adorning his dynasty, the seat of arts, who was beautified with all good qualities, was ruling the earth through the boon granted by Goddess Durgâ, through the great help and affection of his Minister Gadâdhara, the beautiful temple of Sree Pândunâtha Hari was constructed in stone by Payonidhi who was always devoted to the feet of Visnu in Saka 1507."

immediate ruler. (42).—Unsuccessful against Isâ Khân Raghudeva retreated to the fort of Jangalbâri (in the district of Mymensing) and afterwards saved himself by escaping from the fort by a secret passage. Then the victorious Isâ Khân moved his base to Jangalbâri, (43), where even now, the site of the demolished fort of Laksmana Hâjârikâ is discernible. With the enhanced power of Isâ Khân, that of Madana Koch of Madanpur, Bokâ Koch of Bokâinagar and Horâ Râjâ of Kâgmâri, disappeared. (44).

Mahârâja Naranârâyana established himself as the supreme overlord of a vast tract of territory in the north-east of India, and about fifty rulers recognised their subordination to him. At its fullest development, this kingdom extended to the east to the wild tribes near the borders of Burma, to the north to Tibet,

The extent of kingdom.

(42). Maimansinher Itihâs, page 55; The Mymensing District Gazetteer page 25,

(43), There is a ditch named Raghukhâli near Jangalbâri. It is said that this ditch was named Raghu Khâli as Raghudeva escaped by it in a boat, but the name of Raghunath the king of Susang is also connected. The descendants of Isâ Khân with the title of 'Dewan', are still living in Jangalbâri.

There is a village named Raghukoch (Mouza No. 240) on the banks of the Dhaleswari river in the Ghior Thana, Dacca. Some people known as Râjbansis live there.

(44). There is a tradition that the kingdoms of Bhabânanda Koch of Jangalbâri, Madan Koch of Madanpur, and Dalipa Sâmantâ of Gar Dalipâ were conquered and occupied by Sâha Soltan, a Fakir. If these kingdoms were occupied by Sâha Soltan of Mahâsthânagarh (in the district of Bogra), it is possible that the name of the same king changed at different times. Bhabânanda was probably the king of Jangalbâri before Laksman Hâjârikâ.

"There is a tradition that the very first Mahomedan settlement in Mymensing was at Madanpore near Netrokonâ, where their leader, a saint called Shah Sultan, lies buried."

".....Shah Sultan who came from Turkey and settled at the site now known as the 'Darga Madan'; the Koch King of the village tried to poison him, but, being convinced of his saintly character, accepted Islâm." The Mymensing District Gazetteer, pages 23, 152,

to the west to the borders of Mithilâ or Tirahpukti (Tirhut) and to the south to Ghorâghât. The boundary of this vast kingdom met the shores of the Bay of Bengal near Chittagong.

His contemporary Mâdhavadeva wrote of Mahârâja Naranârâyan in the colophon to Âdikânda of Râmâyana.—

“Victory to Naranârâyana the crested jewel of all kings
whose great prowess has covered this world.....

* * * *

May he live long to enjoy a kingdom extending to
the sea, looking after his subjects and disseminating
devotion to Krishna” Page 63.

According to one modern writer, the extent of the kingdom of Mahârâja Naranârâyana as estimated by Srijukta Harendra-nârâyan Chaudhuri following the view of Sir Edward Gait, is full of exaggeration. This writer has argued that the invasions of the time were made with the object of looting and for the fame of conquest; that as a result of this, the occupation of the conquered areas was not permanent, and that these accounts have been compiled from the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis and Purani Asam Burunjee which are not corroborated by other sources. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ It is a historical truth that the vast kingdom of Narânarâyan did not constitute a permanent dominion but that however ephemeral it may have been, there can be no doubt that the conquered kings promised fealty and regular payment of annual tribute to Naranârâyana, for this is proved by the many Burunjees of Assam and by the Purani Asama Burunjee written as far back as 1695 A. D. Nor is there reason or proof for disbelief of accounts written at different times by historians under rival royal patronage.

(45) A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, pages 96, 97.

Gohâi Kamal the brother of Naranârâyana had formerly been a subordinate king at Khâspur in Kâchhâr but became independent. Proof is available that his descendants ruled there until the beginning of the 18th century. To the time of Pariksit, the grandson of Sukladhvaja, the king of Dimruâ (in the district of Nâogâon) was a chieftain under him and the kings of Jaintia struck coin under orders of Naranârâyana until the 18th century. These facts have not been derived merely from the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis or Burunjees. The southern and western boundaries of the kingdom of Mahârâja Naranârâyana as defined by the famous historian Âbul Fazal, have been endorsed by later historical works. In the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi it is found that at the beginning of the 17th century, the Koch kingdom extended to Ghorâghât (to the south of Rangpur) and at that time embraced the two large Perganas Bâhârband and Bhitârband. In the Târikh-i-Assam written about half a century afterwards, the kingdom of Cooch Behar is given as extending to the Garh near Bâgduâr to the south of Rangpur. The boundaries mentioned by Abul Fazal are roughly repeated. In the Târikh-i-Âssâm, Bhâtgâon near the Morang country has been estimated as the western boundary of Cooch Behar. This place is to the east of Tirhut and to the north of Purnea. The modern writer already referred to, has fallen into the error of confusing Bhâtgâon with Pâtgram (Patgong) mentioned by Major Rennel. In his map, the location of Pâtgram has been shown correctly on the banks of the Dharla, but this is very far from Bhâtgâo. Bhâtgâo and Patgram are very different places and the boundary of the State of Cooch Behar even now extends twenty to twentyfive miles to the west of Pâtgram. In the first quarter of the 18th century, the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was far to the west of this, on the banks of the Mahânandâ river, and included territory today included in the State zemindary.

Various factors limited the dominion of Maharaja Naranarayana towards the end of his life, the absence of Sukladvaja, the revolt of Raghudeva and the establishment of the Mughul power. His large army and fleet were supplemented at that time by regular levies from chieftains and Jaigirdârs. Instead of paying the soldiers, a Jaagir consisting of three Purâs (about 12 bighas) was fixed as remuneration for each soldier. For purposes

Census. of census, Maharaja Naranarayana introduced the 'Poâ Pâik' enumeration (a rule counting four men as one Poâ Pâik). By this calculation, the population of his kingdom was estimated at 17 lacs. (46).

In different Vansâvalis, we find record of the establishment of temporary capitals by Maharaja Naranarayana. Gohâin

Capitals and roads.

Kamal Âli (the road of Gohâi Kamal) is one of the great public works of the Maharaja. Besides this celebrated road, he also constructed other roads and caused tress to be planted on both sides of them. He built many temples and excavated many tanks. The ancient

The temple of Hayagrîva
Mâdhava.

temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava of Hâjo which had become deserted and full of jungle, was repaired and he granted landed properties as Debutter for the worship of Mâdhava. (47).

(46) Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya. Probably the number of subjects of the Sâmantas (feudatory) kings were not included within the 17 lacs.

(47) J. A. S. B., 1855, page 10.

The Debutter land of Hayagrîva Mâdhava existed during the supremacy of king Raghudevanârayana, the Mughul emperor and the Âhom king. Even during the time of the East India Company these lands (measuring 18000 bighas of rent-free land and 16300 bighas of land at half rates) were accepted as Debutter. The temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava constructed by Raghudeva in 1583 A. D. on the Manikûta hill, still exists.

With the help of Sukladvaj, Maharaja Naranârâyana renovated the temple of Kâmâkhyâ which was almost in ruin.

The work was first entrusted to an officer The temple of Kâmâkhyâ. name Mahatrâm Vaisya, but when he was found guilty of misappropriation, General Meghâ Makdum was employed and finished the work properly. After the completion of the temple and during its consecration, Maharaja Naranârâyan with Maharani Bhânûmati, and Sukladvaja with his wife Chandraprabhâ and the ladies married in Gauda, went in state to Nilâchala. (48).

At the first great worship of the goddess, many offerings were made, servants and sebaits were engaged and the various landed properties dedicated. (49). In the chamber adjoining the temple, where the moveable images were kept, the stone images of Mahârâja Naranârâyana and Sukladvaja still stand.

(48) In the Sankara Charita Sukladvaja is credited with one hundred wives. page 286).

(49) Sir Edward Gait has concluded that on this occasion 140 men were offered as human sacrifices ("including 140 men whose heads he offered to the goddess on copper plates." The Koch Kings of Kamrupa, page 28). Most probably, he derived this interpretation from the following.—

"Tin laksa hom dilâ ek laksa bali.
Sât Kuri paik dilâ kari tâmrafali."

Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 68. The real meaning of the verse is,—"140 Pâiks were given to help in the worship of the goddess and this fact was recorded on Tâmrafali (copperplates)." In Assam, the servants employed in temples of Gods and Goddesses and whose caste befit them for drawing water for worship, are called 'Pâiks'. The lines following the above verse giving different castes employed in the service of the temple) are these.—

"Brâhmana Daivajna Nata Bhât (Tânti Mâli.
Kamâra Kanhâr Bârhai Dhobâ Sâlei Teli.
Sonâri Kumâr Hirâ Kaivarta Chamâr.
Muchiâr Hâri âdi dilâ nirantar."

The meaning of the word "Dilâ" in both places is 'employed' and not 'killed as sacrifice'.

It has been written in the Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali regarding this matter.—

"Brâhmanak âdi kari devân taniyâ dhari Bahu nara uchargiâ 'dilâ'." Page 38. i. e. "many men, Brahmins etc. were employed in presence of the Dewan."



The Temple of Kaniakhyā. To Face Page 138

He also made a grant of sufficient Debutter land to meet the expenses of the temple, and for the maintenance of the servants.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Even now after the special worship of the goddess during the Ambuvâchi and the autumn season, Nirmâlya is regularly sent to Cooch Behar.

There is a tradition that when music was played in the evening on the occasion of Ârati, Kâmâkhyâ Devi herself appeared naked and danced, and once Maharaja Naranârâyana, with the connivance of a Brahmin priest named Kendu Kalâi, saw the dancing goddess from a hiding place. The goddess

The curse of Kâmâkhyâ. came to know this and was highly displeased and pronounced a curse that thenceforth it was forbidden to the kings of Cooch Behar to see the image of Kâmâkhyâ and other naked images of deities. The priest died instantly. In the Kâmrupa Vansâvali the rendering is that king Dharmapâla who came from Gauda saw the goddess in the same manner and was cursed and left the country, the priest Kendu Kalâi dying. In the Sankara Charita also there is an account of king Dharmapâla being cursed by goddess Kâmâkhyâ. Dharmapâla lived about the 12th century. In the Sankara Charita he has been described as a "Belgiâ" (living in separate mess) brother of Durlabhanârâyan. The celebrated Pâla king Dharmapâla of Gauda ruled during the last quarter of the 8th century A. D.

There is a tradition based on a similar reason for forbidding the kings of Cooch Behar from seeing Kâmâkhyâ, that they are also forbidden to see Kâmatesvari in Gosânimâri (Kâmatâ-pura). It is said that a priest of Kâmatesvari (a Brahmin of

(50). The Debutter property of the Goddess Kâmâkhyâ measuring 23,685 Bighas of rent-free land is still in existence. In 1897 there was great damage to the temple of Kâmâkhyâ owing to the earthquake. The Durbar of Cooch Behar sanctioned Rs. 3,200 as a contribution for its repair.

Mithilā) and Mahārājā Prānnārāyana incurred this anathema. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton refers to this tradition (1808 A. D.). In the local history 'Rājopākhyāna' and in the manuscripts of Gosānimangal, there is no such legend, and the editor of the 'Gosānimangal' printed in 1899 has remarked on this in the Appendix to the work.

Ripunjaya Das has observed in the Vansāvali composed by him that Maharaja Naranārāyana established Bānesvar Siva (in the kingdom of Cooch Behar) and gave the name 'Gerd Sāndārā' to that part of the country. According to another view the Asura Bāna, well-known in the Purānas, established this Siva in his own name and king Nīlāmbar constructed the temple. In the Yogini Tantra there is mention of a Siva named Bānesvara, but it is inferred that that Siva was established near Manikūta (Hājo).⁽⁵¹⁾ There are temples of Bānesvara Siva in Bara Bhogiā Mouza in the district of Durrung in Assam and in Uttara Saru Bangasar Mouza, in the district of Kāmarupa. Durgadas Mazumdar says that Maharaja Naranārāyana established an image of Visnu under the advice of Sankara Deva, and entrusted Ananta Kandali with its worship. He gives the name of this image as Laksmīnārāyan or Madanmohan. According to the cult of the Vaisnavas who follow the doctrines of Sankaradeva, Laksmi or Rādhā is not worshipped with Nārāyana as Sakti. The image of Madanmohan in Cooch Behar also, is being worshipped alone. In the Alamgir-nāmā composed in the 17th century and in Stewart's history, the presiding deity of Cooch Behar has been deemed Nārāyana. Perhaps Visnu as established by Maharaja Naranārāyana according to the doctrines of the Mahāpuruṣiā sect of Vaisnavas, came to be known as 'Nārāyana' and later

(51) Uttara Khanda, Navama Patala, 101.

on, as a result of the attack of Nawab Mir Zumla this image or probably a substitute for it, came to be accepted as Madanmohan. (52).

According to the Rājopākhyāna Mahārāja Naranārāyana founded the worship of Durga with ten arms. To the present time the worship of Durga continues in Devibāri a part of the capital town of Cooch Behar, in a separate building every autumn. The peculiarity of this image Durga is that the images of Laksmi, Sarasvati, Kārtik and Ganes are neither constructed nor worshipped with it. The Rājopākhyāna tells that Sukladhvaja the brother of the king became overweening in his pride and had conceived the evil desire of occupying the throne. Once he went to the royal court with the intention of killing the king, but reaching the royal presence he saw that the goddess Durgā herself was protecting the king with her ten arms. At this supernatural sight, Sukladhvaja was filled with fear and shame and openly asked forgiveness from his brother. Different feelings filled the mind of the king. He thought Sukladhvaja

(52) Considering the circumstances, it is more probable that the name of the image established by Mahārāja Naranārāyana was 'Laksmīnārāyana' and it is also natural that it came to be called 'Nārāyana' by the people. As a part of the Maharaja's own name was Nārāyana, the ancient custom of keeping one's name identical with that of one's favourite deity, was adhered to, and when in his old age a son was born to him, he gave the auspicious name of the presiding deity of his kingdom who was worshipped by him, to his dearest son and called him 'Laksmīnārāyan'. The account of the destruction of the image of Nārāyana when the capital (Kāmatāpura) was occupied by Nawab Mir Zumla, is given in the history of Mahomedans (and also, in the work of Mr. Stewart).

It is written in the Rājopākhyāna (Narakhanda Adhyāya 11) by Jaynath Ghose that Mahārāja Rūpnārāyan (1704-1714 A. D.) "Apūrva Mūrti Sree Sree Madanmohan *gnakas* kariyā sevār yathestha vāhulya kariyā dilen" ("revealed the wonderful image of Sree Sree Madanmohan and arranged for its worship in lavish style"). In this context, there is no mention of the 'Pratisthā' (establishment or consecration) of Madanmohan. In "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements" by S. J. Harendranarain Chaudhuri, it has been said in one place (page 242) that this image was established by King Rūpnārāyan, but in another (page 698) by King Prān-nārāyan (1632-1665 A. D.).

more fortunate than himself and began to live in solitude and to fast, because he had not seen the goddess. On the third night, she appeared to him in a dream. The king promulgated the worship of the goddess he had seen in his dream, and this continues today (53). Previous reference has been made to Maharaja Visvasinha finding an image of ten armed Durgâ in a forest and bringing it home. There appears to be no difference in the form of this image as described in the manuscripts of Vansâvalis from that of the image of Durgâ as worshipped in Cooch Behar.

While living at Mandalâbâs, Maharaja Naranârâyana once went to bathe in the Ganges. He brought Brahmin Pandits from places like Mithilâ and Gauda and settled them in his own country and made large grants of Brahmottar lands to them. His court was always adorned with Pundits, and in his time Sanskrit learning was greatly extended in the country. Bhûsan a Brahmin was the court poet. Conversation was conducted in the court in Sanskrit, and appointment of uneducated men as officers was prohibited (54). During the reign a Pundit who had wandered in various countries and defeated adversaries in argument, came from the west to the capital and was thoroughly nonplussed in discussion with the Pundits of the royal court.

Under orders of the king and the queen, Pundit Purushottam Vidyâbhâgisha composed the celebrated Sanskrit grammar, 'Prayoga-ratnamâlâ' in Saka 1190 (1568 A. D.) (55).

(53) Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya, II.

(54) " No one spoke any language but Sanskrit. Even ordinary conversation was carried out in Sanskrit ". Mahâpurusha Sankaradeva O Mâdhavadevar Jiban-charitra, Page 168.

(55) It is written in the Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali.

" Bhânu Pâtesvari (the queen Bhaumati) who was the dearest (of all the

Raghudevanârâyan is supposed to have been educated through the help of this grammar. Under orders of the king also, Pundits Aniruddha and Râma Saraswati translated into verse the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârata and the eighteen Purânas. Srihar Daivajna (the astrologer) wrote a work 'Jyotis', and Bakul Kâyastha composed 'Bhûmi Parimân' and translated 'Lilâvati'. The latter also wrote 'Ankar Putli' (a treatise on Mathematics in verse) (56). Pitambara Siddhântabâgisa was celebrated under the cognomen 'Jagadguru' and the king engaged him to give legal and religious opinions in his court. He wrote many treatises on Smriti entitled 'Kaumudi' and translated many Sanskrit works into Bengali. Ananta Kandali another courtier of the king also composed a large number of works.

queens) to the king spoke to Bhattâchârya respectfully 'Do not write the order of the letters according to Pânini, but follow the order as given in Kalâpa (Vyâkaran by Mahes.' Page 93.

The introduction to Ratnamâlâ.— "According to the order of Sree Malladeva who is the Indra on earth and who is the only receptacle of good qualities like an ocean, Sree Purusottama is composing with care the Prayogottama ratnamâlâ".

Jibeswara and Jaykrishna the Pandits of Kâmarupa have composed separate commentaries on the Prayoga ratnamâlâ. Mahâmahâdhyâpak Pandit Siddhanâth Vidyâbâgisa (who is now dead) who lived in Khâgrâbâri Cooch Behar, published an excellent edition of this work under State patronage with his own commentary 'Gôdha prakâsikâ' and the two old commentaries. In the introduction to this work he claims Purusottama Vidyâbâgisa as a resident of Khâgrâbâri. Khagrabari is now on the out-skirts of the present capital (Cooch Behar). Long after the time of Purushottama, at the beginning of the 18th century, Brahmins have lived here.. Râjopâkhyâna Narakhanda, Adhyâya II.

The Tagore zemindars of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta rate themselves the descendants of Pundit Purushottama.

(56) A manuscript of a treatise on Mathematics, the Kitâbat Manjari, (in the Assamese language) compiled by one Vakula Kâyastha in 1434 A. D., has been discovered. Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts, page 94.

(57) Suryadeva a descendant of Pundit Pitambara composed the 'Gandharva-nârâyaner Vansâvali' in the middle of the 19th century, His descendants are still living in village Sarâbâri in Mangaldai subdivision in Assam. A Brahmin Pundit

Sree Sankaradeva, living under the protection of Maharaja Naranârâyana, used to preach in the name of Krishna. He wrote a drama the *Sitâ-svayambara*, and the *Krisnagunamâlâ* and many works of Vaisnava doctrine including a translation in verse of *Srimad Bhâgavata* (58). Among the ancient manuscripts collected recently by the Government of Assam, there are many written under the orders or with the encouragement of Maharaja Naranârâyana. The patronage of Maharaja Naranârâyana is acknowledged in the colophons of many of these works. Very few however of the manuscripts written by the Pundits of his court have been preserved in the State library of Cooch Behar. Even among those preserved there, some are incomplete and many appear to be copies of the original (59).

Because of the renaissance of learning he inspired, Maharaja Naranârâyana is even now called 'the Vikramâditya of Kâmarupa' (60). The people called him Dharmarâja. His character and the fame of his enlightenment were conveyed to the Durbar at Delhi of the time. The *Âkbarnâmâ* declares

The Vikramâditya of Kâmarupa.

Gopalchandra Tarkasmriti vyâkarana tirtha who lives in the district of Kâmarupa has recently printed and published, after great research and labour, two of the Kaumudi treatises of Siddhântabâgisa the 'Preta-kaumudi' and 'Sankrânti-kaumudi' with his own commentary.

(58) 'Âssâm Sâhityasabha' has discovered no less than 30 works composed by Sree Sankaradeva.

(59) The manuscripts preserved in the Cooch Behar State library are.—

'Râjsuya, written by Ananta Kandali and the 10th Skandha of *Bhâgavat* translated by him.

Mârkandeya Purâna, the first and tenth Skandha of *Bhâgavat* translated by Pitâmbara Siddhântabâgisa.

Prayoga-ratna-mâlâ by Purushottama Vidyâbâgisa (incomplete), *Bhâgavater Kirtan*, *Rukminiharan*, *Gopi-Uddhava-sambâd* and *Bhaktipradîpa* by Sree Sankara Deva and his translation of the first eighth and eleventh Skandha of *Bhâgavat*.

(60) "King Naranârâyana gave encouragement to learning. He was really the Vikramâditya of Assam". Assam Sâhitya-sabhâ Navam Adhibesaner Sabhâpatir Abhibhâsana, page 40.

that Mâl Gosâin (Malladeva or Naranârâyana) was full of wisdom and adorned with the highest qualities. Hearing of the

glory of the emperor through psychic media, he wrote a book of praise for the emperor and sent it to Delhi with many presents. ⁽⁶¹⁾ As he was

expert in wrestling, he was called Malladeva ⁽⁶²⁾. We hear of a dictionary composed by him, the 'Malladevi Abhidhân', but this has not upto the present been discovered. Sometimes Maharaja Naranârâyana competed with the Pundits in discussion about Shâstras. Once during such a discussion Sankaradeva

composed seven pairs and the king eight pairs of extempore verses ⁽⁶³⁾. A Pundit with the title of 'Kantha-bhûsana' was the Guru of the king.

During the time of Maharaja Naranârâyana, a Brahmin was the Nazir and a Kayastha Dewan. According to another view,

a Kârji was the Dewan. We know that during his time there were various classes

of officers known as Karmi, Sirdâr, Pâtra, Kâyastha, Biswâs, Kandali, Makaddam, Garmali, Châonia, Deuri, Chomdâr, Kotwâl, Âhudi etc. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ A person named Nayanânanda was the Royal Kotwal.

".....and it would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole of the ancient literature of Assam is full of appreciative references to the benevolent Koch rulers of the past. It is hoped that the publication of this book will awaken an interest in the minds of our educated young men in the historical literature of our country, and will serve also to help in restoring the old happy relations that existed between Cooch Behar and Assam."

The work of the Kâmarupa Anusandhâna Samiti, 1920, page 87.

(61) Âkbarnâma, page 716.

(62) Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 35.

(63) Mahâpurusa Sankar Deva O Mâdhava Devar Jibanacharitra page 162.

(64) The Kâyasthas also obtained the post of Kârji (Gandharvanârâyane: Vansâvali, Khanda II, page 29). The meaning of the word 'Kârji' is 'one who works' or 'an officer'. Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 54.

"These twelve persons were brought and at an auspicious time they were engaged as Kârji and informed of their orders".

Samudranârâyane: Vansâvali, page 18.

The people were habituated to trade during the reign of Mahārāja Naranārāyana and the various merchandise of the kingdom was exchanged with other parts of Bengal *via* the Brahmaputra river.

Trade and commerce.

There was a terrible earthquake during his reign, (1548 A.D.) As a result the ground opened up, and water, sand, ashes and stones were thrown out. (65) In the travels of the English merchant Ralph Fitch (1586 A. D.) the name of the king Sukhladhvaja has been rendered "Suckel Counce" and the name of the kingdom as "Couche". He came in 25 days from Tândâ (Gauda) to the Koch country. He has recorded that the Koch country extended at that time up to the Cochin China (?) and musk, silk and cotton cloth were found there. The people worshipped Gods and Goddesses. His account contains much that is improbable (66).

Earthquake.

Visit of Ralph Fitch.

(65) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, manuscript Vol. I, page 489 (English Version).

We also learn that there was a terrible earthquake in Bengal after the death of Nityānanda the disciple of Sree Chaitanyadeva. Gauder Itibās, Khanda II, page 216.

(66) "I went From Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25 days journey Northwards from Tanda. The King is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counce his country is great, and lieth not far from Conchin China (sic!) for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the country is set with Bamboos or canes made sharpe at both ends and driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water and drowne the ground above knee deepe, so that men or horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silke and muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue ears which be marueilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by deuises when they be young. (!) Here they will be all Gentiles and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates dogs, cats, birds and for all other living creatures." Ralph Fitch, Pages 111—112.

Sukhladhvaja (Suckel Counce) written by Ralph Fitch was not a king and at that time (1586 A. D.) he was not even alive. We have already mentioned that his son Raghudevanarayan constructed the temple at Hâjo in 1583 A. D. and that at Pandu in 1585 A. D. The ears of the people being half a cubit long and their being opposed to any injury to animals, appear to be unheard of and impossible "travellers" tales.

Immediately after Maharaja Naranârâyana began his rule, Sri Chaitanya Deva the founder of Gaudiya Vaisnav religion came to Kâmarupa. It is said that he crossed the Karatoyâ river and went to Manikuta, and staying there for a few days, proceeded to Parasukunda. On the return journey he again rested for a few days in Manikuta and then proceeded towards Orissa. A place in Manikuta is even now known as "Chaitanya-ghopâ" presumably because he practised devotional exercises there. (67)

Visit of Chaitnya Deva.

Maharaja Naranârâyana died in Saka 1509 (1587 A.D.) (68). It is not known whether he had any children other than the two sons Laksmînârâyana and Valinârâyana and a daughter Prabhâbati. It is said in the Akbarnâmâ that when he was 50 years old, he nominated

Death of the king.

(67) Sahitya-parishat-patrikâ, 1322 B, S. Vol. 22, page 241.

"Afterwards Mahâprabhu (Chaitanyadeva) coming from that place stayed on the banks of the Karatoyâ. After that when king Naranârâyana was just established in his kingdom appointing Sankara a Gomasta and bringing men from upper hilly tracts to the plains, Prabhu Chaitanya Bhârati came to Manikuta to visit Mâdhava."

Sat-sampradâyer Kathâ, pages 30, 33.

It is contended that this work was composed at the end of the 16 century, There is difference of opinion as to the truth of the statements contained in it. The account given in it (pages 29-30) about the meeting between Akbar and Chaitanya is clearly an anachronism.

The story of the visit of Chaitanya Deva to Kâmarupa is also in another manuscript, the 'Santa-nirṇaya.' The exact dates of this Krisna Bhârati have not yet been ascertained, but Purushottama Vidyâbhâgisa has the name of one Krisna Bhârati in his grammar, the Prayogratnamâlâ (1568 A. D.)

Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts, page 159.

No reference to Sree Chaitanya Deva's visit to Kâmarupa is given in any work describing his life.

(68) Dviṇa Paramânanda wrote (in Râjasaka 288=1797 A.D.) in the colophon to the Vanaparva : "For conquering by power the wrestler of powerful body the grandson of Bhîma, was known in the world as Mallanarayana. He conquered enemies with his prowess through his own armies and a large number of foreign countries were made his own country (by conquest). Fighting with delight with spirits, he gave up his life in a fight terrible for cowards. " Page 3.

his nephew as Pâtkumâr (Yuvarâj), but subsequently a son was born to him named Laksminârâyana. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

At the end of the 15th century A. D. owing to the genius of Mahârâja Visvasinha the newly organised Kâmarupa or kingdom of Kâmatâ had recovered its former independence and competed with the neighbouring kingdom of Gauda in power and prosperity; but before the lapse of even a century it had lost its position and its vast body was dissected into parts by family dissensions. The primary cause of the ensuing decline was the appointment of Raghudevanârâyana as Pâtkumâr (Yuvarâja).

(69) Akbarnâma, page 716. The following is in its English translation:—

"At fifty years of age he (Mal Gosain) nominated his brother's son the Patkunwar as his successor. His eldest (sic!) brother Shukl Gosain expressed a wish that he (Mal Gosain) should marry, and the latter out of love to him consented. He had a son to whom he gave the name of Lacsmi Narain. When he died, the kingdom came to him (Lacsmi Narain)."

The Akbarnama, page 1067.

CHAPTER X.

MAHARAJA LAKSMINÂRÂYANA.

Rajjala 78—118; *Sakabla* 1509—1549; 994—1084 B. S.;

1587—1627 A. D.

Maharaja Naranârâyan died in 1587 A. D., and his son Kumar Laksmînârâyan ascended the throne and struck coins in his own name. The Raikat of Baikuuthapur and the ministers offered *Nazar* to the king in new coin. At the installation, letters expressing good wishes and conveying presents, were sent to him from different countries, and he duly honoured foreign ambassadors by bestowing suitable presents. He retained the ministers of his father in their respective posts.

At the time of the installation, Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbara Saha, the glory of the Mughal dynasty, was emperor of Delhi. His representatives in Gauda, Sâhabâz Khân and Wâzir Khân Herbi, were engaged in subduing the Pâthâns who had revolted (1584-87 A. D.) Sâhabâz Khân defeated the Pâthâns of Ghorâghât and drove them to the banks of the Brahmaputra.

Fighting with Mughal soldiers.

It is recorded in the *Rājopākhyāna* that Kumâr Aniruddha the Governor of the southern portion of the kingdom of Mahârâj Laksmînârâyan, was killed in a fight with Mughu

soldiers, and his family escaped and came to Panga (in the district of Rungur).⁽¹⁾ Immediately after the installation, Mahārāja

Declaration of independence
by Raghudevanārāyana.

Laksmīnārāyana's cousin Raghudevanārāyana declared his independence as the king of eastern Kāmarupa and struck coins in his own name, and for this reason hostilities began between him and Laksmīnārāyana.⁽²⁾ Raghudevanārāyana was defeated and his royal umbrella seized by the victorious Laksmīnārāyana.

Pariksitānārāyana the son of Raghudeva having become devoted to a Sannyāsi, his father was extremely displeased with him and ordered him to leave the Sannyāsi.

Revolt of Pariksitānārāyan
against his father.

Ill-feeling between father and son ran so high that Pariksitā engaged in a plot to assassinate his father. When this was discovered, Pariksitā was imprisoned under the orders of Raghudeva, but he escaped by a stratagem and fled to his uncle Mahārāja Laksmīnārāyana.⁽³⁾

Raghudeva concluded a treaty with Isā Khān the celebrated Bhaumik of east Bengal and again began to fight with Laksmīnārāyan. Finding himself unable to deal with Raghudeva and his new ally, Laksmīnārāyan first essayed friendship with the

Treaty between Isā Khān and
Raghudeva.

(1) The Mahomedan historians have not mentioned any fight between the Mughal General Ali Kuli Khān Khān Jāhān Chistani and Aniruddha. If it took place during the early part of the reign, it must have been with Sāhabāj Khān, either for the protection of southern boundary of the kingdom or on account of help offered to the Pāthāns.

(2) Even during the life time of Mahārāja Naranārāyana (1583 A. D.) Raghudevanārāyana styled himself as 'Kāmarupesvara' (ruler of Kāmatā) in the inscription of the temple of Hayagrīva in Hājo. Three coins of Raghudevanārāyana dated Śaka 1510 (1588 A. D.) are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and one coin of the same date is preserved by the Assam Government.

(3) According to another view, Pariksit revolted against his father at the instigation of Mahārāja Laksmīnārāyana.

Âhom King. Later he sent a messenger to Rājā Mānsinha the then Subedar of Bengal informing him in detail of his difficulties, with the object of enlisting the protection of the Mughal emperor Akbar. In response to this eager invitation Mansinha marched to Anandpur *via* Salimnagar (Serpur in the district of Bogra), Laksmīnārāyana having advanced 80 miles to meet him there. Friendship was established between them, and feasts etc. were exchanged.⁽⁴⁾ Gradually this tie became stronger and an auspicious marriage was celebrated between Mānsinha the ruler of Amber with Pravābati Devi the sister of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana (Hijri 1005—1596 A. D.)⁽⁵⁾

Protection of the Emperor of Delhi.

Marriage relationship with Mansinha.

There had been long-standing quarrels between the ruler of Kāmātā and the Raja of Dinajpore regarding the northern part of the present district of Dinajpur. Raja Mānsinha acted as a mediator and inspired a friendly understanding between the Raja and the Maharaja, which was symbolised by the exchange of turbans.⁽⁶⁾

Friendship between the ruler of Kāmātā and the Raja of Dinajpur.

(4) Âkbarnāmā, page 716.

In the report of Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet dated the 10th November, 1788 and in the written statement of Canungoes Laksmīnārāyana and Mahendra nārāyana dated the 25th Magh 1190 (B. S. (1784 A. D.)) it is stated that the kingdom of Cooch Behar was independent before 1772 A. D. If these writers meant "completely separate" by the word "independent", their statements are opposed to historical truth; for it is written in the Âkbarnāmā:—

“One of the occurrences was the sub-mission of Lacsmi Narain. He was the ruler of Kuc (Behar)”, Akbarnama, page 1066.]

(5) Akbarnāmā, page 716; Prabasi (a journal) 1321 B. S. Aswin, page 679.

“After some time he (Lacsmi Narain) gave his sister to the Raja”. Akbarnama, page 1068. In 1614 A. D. when Rājā Mānsinha died, Prabhābati Devi ascended the funeral pyre with him. Prabasi (a journal) 1321 B. S. Aswin page 679, and Agrahāyan, page 230 Dular Rawalji of Jaipur State is the descendant of queen Prabhāvati.

(6) In 'Bāngālār Sāmājik Itihās' the name of Prānanāth the celebrated Raja of Dinajpur has been mentioned in this connection (page 147); but this cannot be

But a few months after the departure of Raja Mânsinha from the country, Raghudevanârâyana renewed his attempts against Laksmînârâyana, the officers Fateh Khân, Purandara Laskar, Nitâichandra Nazir, Thakur Panchânanda, Kavindra Pâtra, Gadâdhar Barua etc. being his advisers. Guided by their advice he attacked a portion of the kingdom of Laksmînârâyana (Bâhâband) and occupied it. Repulsed, Laksmînârâyana sheltered in a fort and sent news to his newly formed relative Raja Mânsinha. Immediately Fate Khân Sur and Jujhâ Khan under orders from Raja Mânsinha arrived with soldiers and completely defeated Raghudeva and drove him back (1597 A. D.).

Help from Fate Khân and Jujhâ Khân.

The policy of Mahârâja Naranârâyana had been sometimes to ally with the Pâthâns and sometimes with the Mughals. When therefore Maharaja Laksmînârâyan sought the protection of the Mughals, the power of Pâthans in northern Bengal became somewhat weakened, and it was comparatively easy for Râjâ Mânsinha to subdue them. Under this pressure, the Pâthâns began to withdraw to eastern Bengal and to Orissa, and Mâsum Khân Kâbuli their leader joined up with Isâ Khân of Subarnagrâma (in the district of Dacca). Prior to this, Isâ Khân had concluded a treaty with Raghudeva, and he now took up arms against Laksmînârâyana to help Raghudeva. Thereupon Raja Mânsinha sent his son Durjansinha (or Arjun Sinha) against Isâ Khân (1597 A. D.) In the naval engagement in Katrâbhu (in the district of Dacca) Durjansingha was defeated and killed. Lasmînârâyana extricated himself with difficulty, a large number of

' Battle of Katrâbhu.

accepted. Râjâ Prânanâth was the Râjâ of Dinajpur about one hundred years after this (from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of 18th century A. D.).

soldiers being captured. (7) When Isâ Khân died in 1500 A. D. Raghudeva gave his daughter Mangaladevi (Mangala Devi) in marriage to Sung-khâm-fâ the Âhom king and concluded a treaty with him.

Pariksitânârâyana the son of Raghudeva remained under the protection of his uncle Laksmînârâyana for about thirteen years. It is alleged that with the help of his Guru the Sannyâsi, he assassinated

his father and become king. (8) Immediately after his installation he killed his brother Indranârâyana by having him throttled by an assassin of Mech tribe,—(“Mech lâgâi ghâr moohari mâri”). His other brother Mânsinha escaped in fear of his life to the Âhom king. After this, Pariksitâ attacked his

uncle Laksmînârâyana who had protected him for so long and looted the Bâhârband portion of his kingdom. Laksmînârâyana was overwhelmed in this battle, but escaped. Twelve of his Kârjis (officers) were

(7) Âkbârnamâ, page 733.

(8) There are different versions of this incident, e. g. Raghudeva was killed by a Daitya (secret assassin) sent by the Sannyâsi while he was returning from a call of nature. According to another, he was killed by snake-bite or by poison administered to him by the mother of his second son (History of Assam, page 64). Raghudeva was a great hoarder of wealth. Thirty millions coins belonging to him were very secretly buried and lest information regarding these coins be divulged, every man connected with the cache was killed. Only one faithful officer employed from his father's time, Gadâdhar Bhândari, was spared. Gadâdhar refused to reveal information of the hidden treasure, though tortured in various ways by Pariksitâ.

Sanskritnârâyana's Vansâvali, page 90.

The name of the Minister Gadâdhar recurs in inscriptions in the temples of Hayagriva and Pândunâtha in Assam inscribed under the orders of Raghudeva.

The difference of opinion regarding the time of death of Raghudeva has not been settled (History of Assam, page 64). It appears that he died about 1603. There are two guns in the possession of the zemindar of Gauripur (Assam) bearing

taken by the enemy. While the king was escaping his "Mahadev" (Mahadevi = Maharani) was with him, and when a Pathan soldier attempted to seize her, Parikṣita prevented insult to his aunt. In the mêlée during the night, a soldier named Rupāvar Dhāli mortally wounded Balinārāyana the brother of Lakṣmīnārāyana with a spear without being able to recognise him in the darkness. Afterwards when the man learnt what he had done, he became deeply repentant, and unsheathing his sword gave it to Kumar Balinārāyana and requested him again and again to retaliate. The generous Kumār Balinārāyana replied in a manner befitting a hero; "What good will result in killing you? I shall not live any more. Further, you cannot do any act unpleasant to your master whose salt you eat. Again, you have unwillingly killed me. You are not in the least at fault". After uttering these words, he breathed his last.⁽⁹⁾ The victorious Parikṣita duly performed the funeral rites of his uncle Kumar Balinārāyana and sent a "bone" to Lakṣmīnārāyana. When Lakṣmīnārāyana requested Parikṣita to release the Kārjis Parikṣita proposed that in exchange, his father's regal umbrella should be returned. This arrangement was implemented. Apprehending fresh raids from the Mughals, Parikṣita sought the help of the Āhom king and concluded a treaty with him.

Raja Mānsinha was the Subadar of Bengal from Hijri 907 (1589 A. D.) to Hijri 1015 (1606 A. D.). Once during this period (1604 A. D.) he resigned his post, and Abdul Mazid

the name of Raghudevānārāyana and the Saka year in which they were constructed. The first was in Saka 1514 (1592 A. D.). Its length is 7 feet 4 inches. The diameter of its breech is 11 inches. The second (having twelve sides) dates from Saka 1519 (1597 A. D.). It is 4 feet 6½ inches long and the diameter of its breech is 5½ inches.

(9) "Tok māṛile ki haya? Sahaje mul jivār nui. Bises jār lon khāva tār kārysta thāki ak-thā karibāko pāra? Āru ajānata mārichhānha, tor eko spāddhī nai." It is meet to preserve the last words of the dying prince in letters of gold.

Âsak Khan was appointed in his place. During the last phase of Akbar's life, there was unrest in his capital over the succession to his throne. The emperor died in September 1605 and Soltan Selim ascended the throne taking the name 'Jahângir'. The new emperor again appointed Raja Mânasiuha as Subadar and sent him to Bengal, but before a year elapsed he was recalled to the Durbar (1606 A. D.) and Kutubuddin Khan was appointed to Bengal. Kutubuddin's short period of rule was concerned with Sher Afgan, and after he was killed in this affair (1607 A. D.) Jahangir Kuli Khan was appointed ruler of Bengal. He also died within a year and Sheikh Âlâuddin Eslam Khan succeeded as Subadar (1608 A. D.). Taking advantage of these changes in the imperial control, some of the Pathan leaders of Bengal and zamindars raised the flag of revolt. Pariksitānarayan also did not miss the opportunity. He again attacked the Bâhârband portion of Kâmatâ and occupied it, to the embarrassment of his uncle Laksmînarayana. In the 'Gurulilâ' there are stories of repeated attacks by Pariksitâ of the kingdom.

Subadar Eslam Khan destroyed the power of the 'Bâra Bhuiyâs' of Bengal. He sent an ambassador to king

Eslam Khan and Laksmî-
narayana.

Laksmînarayan who sent many presents to and made friendship with the Subadar.

Laksmînarayan requested the Subadar to attack Pariksitâ, and they agreed that when the Subadar invaded the territory of Pariksitâ, king Laksmînarâyana should join him with his army and be given the kingdom of Pariksitâ (10).

(10) In the 'Bâdsâhanâmâ' there is nothing about a promise to make over the kingdom of Pariksitâ to Laksmînarâyana. This arrangement was made only between the Subadar and Laksmînarâyana, and it may be assumed that there was no understanding with the Bâdsâhi Durbar.

At the end of 1612 A. D. the Mughals attacked the kingdom of Parikṣita and conquered his well-protected fort at Dhubri.

Defeat of Parikṣita.

The Bâdsahi army took him in front and Lakṣmînârâyaṇa at the same time fell on him from the rear. After severe fighting Parikṣita was defeated and surrendered. In July 1613 A. D. the victory was complete, and the Mughal general made over Parikṣita's domain to Maharaja Lakṣmînârâyaṇa. (11) The Maharaja was deeply moved by the sudden death of Subadar Eslam Khan immediately after the conquest. He was also anxiously concerned as to what kind of man the new Subadar Kasem Khan would be and how far he would respect the promises made by Eslam Khan. The news of Parikṣita's living in style at Dacca increased his apprehensions. At this time Lakṣmînârâyaṇa was at Khutaghat (in district of Goalpara). Subadar Kâsem Khân with the object of bringing Lakṣmînârâyaṇa to his own Durber, sent Raghunatha king of Susang to him with a message—"The term of agreement settled between Eslam Khan and Lakṣmînârâyaṇa will be properly fulfilled. Further, more land will be included with his territory. There was a stipulation that the king would meet the Subadar at the end of the war but this could not be effected as Eslam Khan died suddenly. I (Kâsem Khan) have been appointed in his post. Now it is fit for the king to meet me and settle everything." (12)

(11) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibî, page 151 Kha.

At this time the kingdom of eastern Kâmarupa extended on the east to the Bharil river and Naogaon (Assam Burunjee manuscript Book VIII, page 41), on the north to Bhutan, on the west to the Sankos and Brahmaputra river, and on the south to the south-eastern border of the present district of Mymensing. The above boundaries are generally supported by accounts given in the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibî, Bâdsâhanâma and Fâtehâ-i-Ibrîâ.

(12) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibî, page 151 Kha,

The Maharaja was relieved of anxiety on receiving the message through Raghunatha and decided to proceed to Dacca to meet Kâsem Khân. In the middle of 1614 A. D. he made arrangements for the government of his country by his officers and started for Dacca. There were various Mughul officers and after the departure of the Maharaja from Kâmarupa, the Mughul officer Dewan Mir Safi introduced many changes and began oppression. In August 1614 A. D. Maharaja Laksmînârâyana reached Dacca and met Kâsem Khan. At first the Subedar treated him with proper courtesy but on the second day he assumed a different demeanour, ordered the Maharaja to be kept in 'Nazarband' (surveillance) and appointed Abdur Rahman Pattani as his supervisor. He was to be kept under the same kind of surveillance as Musâ Khân the son of Isâ Khân had been kept, under orders of Eslam Khan. (13) The Maharaja continued to visit the Durbar under these conditions. His dream of the kingdom of Kâmarupa was over, and he could now measure the real meaning of the assurances given by the Subedar through Raja Raghunâtha. Some days after this, he was sent to Agra.

The royal family was overwhelmed with grief when the news reached Kâmatâpur. In various places there was a movement to retaliate for the treachery of the Subedar. Raja Madhusudan the grandson of the uncle of Laksmînarâyana openly took

(13) Bâhârîstan-i-Ghâibi, page 152 Kha.

"(152 B) Dastan 3. Rajas Laksmî Nârâyan and Parikshit brought to the Viceregal Court and thrown into prison." A New History of Bengal in Jahangir's time, page 6.

In the local Vansâvalis and Assam Burunjees, an account of the visit of Mahârâj Laksmînârâyana to Delhi is given, but there is no suggestion of his being under duress.

up arms and conquering Karāibāri (on the south-east of Rangpur) camped there with his army. ^(13-a) This was the signal for revolt in many parts of the country especially in east Kāmarupa. In the middle of 1615 A. D. an influential man of Khutāghāt named Naba declared himself Raja and entering the kingdom of Kāmatā began to live in the Jaigir of Raikat Mānikyadeva. At this time Laksmīnārāyana's son was managing the Kāmatā kingdom, and he was requested by General Mirza Sāleh who was pursuing Naba to arrest Naba. Laksmīnārāyana was still at Dacca, and Mirza diplomatically reminded the prince about this. Perforce the prince issued strict orders to the Raikat to forward Naba immediately after arresting him. The Raikat did so, and Naba arrived before the prince in a cage. Thereafter the revolt weakened. ⁽¹⁴⁾

When Subedar Kāsem Khān was removed from his office, Ibrāhim Khān Fatejang came to Dacca in his place. Ibrāhim requested emperor Jehangir to release both the kings Laksmīnārāyana and Pariksitānārāyana. The emperor was displeased with and anxious regarding the unrest in Kāmarupa but he considered the prayer of Ibrahim Khan to be reasonable, and called Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana to his Durbar ⁽¹⁵⁾.

(13-a) Bāhārīstan-i-ghāibi, age p 228 Kha. (It appears that the writer has erred in writing the name of Madhusudan's father as 'Jasketu'. In the colophon of the manuscript of Bhāgvatsāra translated by Raja Ramchandra the great-grand-son of Madhusudan the father of Madhusudan has been given as 'Vyāsketu'. Vyāsketu was the son of Narasinha the uncle of Laksmīnārāyana;

(14) Bāhārīstān-i-Ghāibi, page 174 Kha.

(15) The Rājopākhyāna has it that a Pundit named Mukunda Sārbabhauma thought himself insulted by Mahārāja Laksmīnārāyana and going to Delhi preferred a complaint before emperor Jahangir against the king. For this reason the Mughal soldiers attacked Cooch Behar under orders of the emperor. The king went to

In the twelfth year of the reign of the emperor (19th Safar Hijri 1027—25th February 1618 A. D.) Maharaja Laksmīnārāyaṇa met emperor Jahaogir on the banks of Māhi river about 17th miles from Ahmedabad. At his first interview the king offered five hundred mohurs as nazar to the emperor, and the emperor responded with a proper Khilāt and a dagger adorned with pearls and jewels, and later with four rings set with a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire and a karketan (a precious stone of copperish yellow colour) respectively. The emperor also presented the Maharaja with a sharp sword, a rosary of jewels and four pearls for Kundala (ear-rings), and later still, with an elephant, an Irāki and a Turkish horse as Khilāt.

The Maharaja was permitted to return to his own country.⁽¹⁶⁾ King Laksmīnārāyaṇa passed one year at Dacca and three at Agra. The emperor's attempt to establish good feelings between Laksmīnārāyaṇa and Parīksita was vitiated by the arrogance of Parīksita.⁽¹⁷⁾

Maharaja Laksmīnārāyaṇa came to Dacca and met the Subedar there. At this time Sheik Kāmāl the conqueror of Kāmarupa and governor of that country considered Laksmīnārāyaṇa's help essential in controlling the revolt, and he requested Laksmīnārāyaṇa to help him. The king agreed and Sheik stood surety to the emperor for the king for payment of the one lac of rupees

The work of Laksmīnārāyaṇa under the emperor.

Delhi with the object of seeing the emperor and in the course of his stay there promised the emperor that Nārāyaṇi coins would be coined at half their size (Narakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya V). That these facts are not true, is established by contemporary sources, and the Durrung Vansāvalis.

(16) Bāharistān-i-Ghāibī, page 234 Kha. Tozak-i-Jāhāngiri (Urdu), pages 160, 162 and 166. In the work " Kāmrupar Burunjee " also (page 10) the presenting of one Irāki horse and a sword to Laksmīnārāyaṇa by the emperor has been recorded. An excellent sword bearing the name of emperor Akbar and the year Hijri 1000 (1591-92 A. D.) is now preserved in the Toshakhānā in the palace at Cooch Behar, but many letters of the inscription on it have become defaced.

(17) Kamrupar Burunjee, page 10.

due as Peskash. (9) Laksmînârâyana and his army proceeded to Hâjo with Sheik Kâmâl, and aided the Mughal generals in checking the revolt in Kâmarupa. The Mughal army became engaged in battles throughout Kâmarupa, but allied with Raja Madhusudhan, his son Pasupati, Lambodar and Râmasinha the son of Sûrya Gosain, was victorious. (19) In the "Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi" composed by the Mughal General Shetâb Khan who was present in the campaign, many deeds of valour in the field by Raja Madhusudan and his son Raja Pasupati, are recounted. There is evidence of warm friendship between Shetâb Khân, Sheikh Kâmâl and Satrâjit the Raja of Bhusanâ and Maharâja Laksmî-nârâyana.

Balinârâyana the brother of Pariksit took up arms against the emperor of Delhi, and Pratâpsinha the Âhom king aided him. The Âhom king attempted to induce Laksmînârâyana to his side, but did not succeed. For his part Laksmî-nârâyana sought to establish amity between the Âhom king and the Mughal power, and was promised by the Mughals that as a reward for this work, he would be given the kingdom of Kâmarupa again. Accordingly in 1626 A. D. he sent his officer

Attempt at a treaty with the
Âhom king.

The emperor told Pariksit.—

" Said (the emperor) : you will surely follow the essence of my words. Make obeisance to your youngest uncle. "

" The king said ' He is my own uncle but I do not make obeisance with inimical feeling '. Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 100,

(Laksmînârâyana was the youngest uncle of Pariksit)

(18) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 234 Kha.

It is written in the Bângâlâr Sârnâjik Itihâs (page 125) that peskash of Laksmînârâyana was 80,000 Nârâyani coins.

(19) In the Bâhâristân the name of the son of Raja Madhusudan has been given as ' Visnupati ' in some places and ' Pasupati ' in others. Page 265 Kha, In the colophon of the manuscript of Bhâgavatsâra, the name is ' Pasupati '.

Virupākṣa Kārji to Assam to conclude a treaty, but the Kārji was imprisoned there and the mission proved abortive.⁽²⁰⁾

Sāha Jāhān the son of emperor Jehangir rebelled against his father in 1621, and tried to seize the throne. He was defeated in battle, but escaped. At the end of 1623 A. D. he attacked Bengal and the country came under his rule, Ibrahim Khan the Subedar of Bengal being defeated and killed in a battle with him (1624 A. D.). At that time Shetāb Khān was a leading Mughal officer in Kāmarupa and with other officers he associated himself with the victorious prince. From Maldaha Sāha Jāhān conveyed to Maharaja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa the news of his victory by a Firman and requested him to act under the advice and guidance of Shetab Khan. This Firman was delivered to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa at Hājo.⁽²¹⁾ After Sāha Jāhān left Bengal, Maharaja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa again took the side of the emperor of Delhi and he remained in Hājo and engaged on the emperor's behalf up to 1626 A. D. He died in 1627 A. D.

Maharaja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, was not endowed like his father and grandfather with all the qualities befitting a king.

In bodily strength and mental ability he was inferior to his adversaries Raghu-devanārāyaṇa and Parikṣitanārāyaṇa.

Unable to meet Parikṣita in open battle, he resorted to

In the Bāhārīstān we find a reference to Sarbā Gosāin the uncle of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (Page 265 Ka), but among the 18 or 19 sons of Bisvasinha in the Vansāvalis, there is one Sūrya Gosāin. It is inferred that 'Sūrya' has been transformed into 'Sarbā' by a Persian writer. (There would only be the difference of a Noktā (point) between the spellings of these two words).

(20) Assam Burunjee, manuscript, Book VIII, page 50; Burunjee from Khunlang and Khunlai, Vol. I, page 539; Rudrasinher Burunjee, page 109.

(21) Bāhārīstān-i-Ghāibī, Pages 298 Ka—299 Kha. But in Stewart's History, it has been stated that Sāha Jāhān ruled the Subā of Bengal from 1622 to 1625 A. D.

subterfuge the consequences of which he had immediately to suffer. The 'Gurulilā' says that Maharaja Laksmīnārāyaṇa considered fighting with a relation a great sin, but contemporary history does not support this convenient explanation, (22). According to some

The cause of quarrel with his relatives.

historians, owing to his seeking the protection of the Mughals, his relatives friends and feudatory chiefs rose against him (23). It has to be remembered however that feuds between relatives had dated from the time of Maharaja Naranārāyaṇa and Raghudeva, and Laksmīnārāyaṇa was compelled to seek the help of the emperor against Raghudeva (24).

During the reign of Mahārāja Laksmīnārāyaṇa the Christian missionary Stephen Cacella and his fellow worker John Cabral travelled to the kingdom of Kāmataḥ.

Stephen Cacella.

From Hoogli they went by boat through Dacca and Sripur to Pāṇḍu within Kāmarupa. In a letter dated the 4th October 1627 A. D. written by Cacella it has been stated that accompanied by Raja Satrājīt of Bhusanā they met Mahārāja Laksmīnārāyaṇ (Liquinarane) at Hājo in September 1626 A. D. The object of their visit was to obtain information regarding the route to Bhutan. Laksmīnārāyaṇa was then living in his own palace at Hājo. The three courtyards of that palace were protected by very strong

(22) Dāmodaradeva was a contemporary of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyaṇa 'Gurulilā' was composed by Rāmāy a disciple of his disciple.

(23) The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 234.

"This conduct gave offence to his relations and neighbouring princes; they united against him; and compelled him to take refuge in his fort, whence he wrote to the Governor of Bengal (Man Singha) requesting him to send a force to his relief."

The History of Bengal, Section VI.

(24) Ākbarnāmā, page 716.

doors. The two visitors passed through the courtyards one by one, and met Laksmînârâyana in a garden. The king received them with due honour. At that time 'Gâbur Sâha' ('Gaburra') the son of Laksmînârâyana was governing Behar ('Biar'). (25) The king advised

Government by prince
Gâbur Sâha.

the missionaries to go first to Behar and thence to proceed to Bhutân through Rângâmâti (Runate). They left Hâjo on the 8th October with letters of introduction from Laksmînârâyana and Satrâjit, and reached Behar on the 21st of that month. (26) In those days the town of 'Behar' was situated on the banks

Capital at that time.

of a river; but as the town was being denuded by heavy floods, a new capital was in process of building at 'Colambarim' on a tributary of this river. (27) Some weeks before the coming

(25) Early Jesuit travellers in Central Assia, 1603—1721, pages 126, 127, 131. Stephen Cacella was a Portuguese Jesuit. Letters written by him are preserved in the custody of the executive committee of the order. They were written in the Portuguese language. Mr. C. Wessells collected them in English, and reproduced them in the above work (1924). Stephen Cacella called the prince Gâbur Sâha ('Gaburra'). Gâbur means 'young' and 'Sâha' king, i.e. 'Yuvarâja.' The use of 'Gâbur Dewan' and 'Gâbur Nazir' in a similar sense is not unknown in Cooch Behar.

(26) "On August 3, 1626, we left Golim (Hugli) and arrived at Dacca on the 12th. We set out again on September 5th and on the 26th of the same month we reached Azo and Pando, where we stayed for a few days with Raja Satargit. From Azo we moved, on October 8, to Biar, which we entered on the 21st." (Page 123).

"Satargit proposed that we should consult Liquinarane, king of Cocho, at Azo, who as ruler of the country knew more of it, and was well acquainted with that people, (Bhutias) who came down into his country by several gates." (Page 125).

(27) It is inferred that owing to the pronunciation peculiar to the Portuguese or through mistake of the copyist, Hugli has become Golim in the letter of Cacella. Similarly Rângâmâti has become Runate, and Bhutan Bhotânta or Bhotâng is rendered Potente. (Pages 123, 126, 130 and 131). Colambarim also is a corruption of some place-name. Mr. C. Wessells has presumed the modern town of Cooch Behar to be the 'Behar' of that time and Kalabarir Ghât to the south-west of the present capital to be Colambarim. (Page 130). In the Râjopâkhyâna (Narakhanda,

of the missionaries to 'Behar', Gâbur Sâha had gone to the new capital, and the missionaries met him there. They were attacked with fever and were compelled to wait in Behar until January 1627 A. D. when there was rain (and snow fell in Bhutan). On the eve of his departure for Potente, Cacella again saw Gâbur Sâha who presented him with a horse and gave a letter of introduction addressed to the Governor of Rângâmâti (Runate). He also gave them a letter addressed to the people of Bhutan. The missionaries started for Bhutan on the 2nd February. (28)

A little while after their leaving Behar, Maharaja Laksmî-nârâyan died. Cacella has written that Laksmî-nârâyana was the king of the Koch country. Hâjo was its capital and king Laksmî-nârâyana resided there. The Mughal Nawab

Adhyâya V) it has been recorded that there were 18 houses of 18 sons of Laksmî-nârâyana in village Âtharakotâ to the north-west of Kalâbâri. In the account given by Cacella, Colambarim was situated on a tributary of the river on which the town of Benar was situated. Whatever the location of the capital 'Behar' at that time, (and as already mentioned) it was situated in the present Kâmatâpur (Gosânimâri). If we accept Gosânimâri as the then capital, we can deduce the situation of Colambarim. In the old papers dated 1783 A. D. of the case (Lokenath Nandi Plaintiff versus Khagendranarayan Nazir Defendant) preserved in the office of the Collector of Rungpur, it is written that at the beginning of the 18th century the capital of Cooch Behar was transferred from Bârâmkhânâ to its present site. There is a village named Bârâmkhânâ six miles to the north-west of the town of Cooch Behar and there is a bed of a dried-up river near it. This is 15 or 16 miles to the north of Kâmatâpur.

The villages called 'Nagar' within ten miles of the north, west and south of Kâmatâpur were all on the banks of rivers, e. g. 429 Nagar Gopalganj, 438 Nagar Dâkâliganj, 458 Nagar Subhâganj, 467 Nagar Singimari, 465 Nagar Nefra, 492 Nagar Lalbazar, 504 Nagar Sitâi, 527 Nagar Gidâri, Nagar Daikhowâ etc. There are ruins of a Garh on the banks of the river Burâ Dharla near Nagar Subhâganj.

(28) The letter of Cacella reads that on the 10th April they met Dharmarâj (Droma Rajah) of Bhutan (Potente) in a place named Cambirasi within Bhutan. This Dharmarâja was 33 years old and was a king as a Lâma (Lamba). He was more educated and learned than the eight chief Lamas in his kingdom. Pages 123, 138.

to whom the king paid tribute also lived in Hâjo. The Mughal Commander-in-Chief Satrâjit was at Pându.⁽²⁹⁾

The Bhutiyâs came to the plains through different Duars (Dvâr, mountain path or pass). These were situated at the borders of the Koch country of Laksmînârâyana.⁽³⁰⁾ Cacella has also described the country. The town of Biar "is situated on the river (situada junto a ganga).

Condition of the country. The low buildings, which are very much like those of the other kingdoms of Bengal, are not striking. The town is populous and plentifully provided both with the products of the country and those which come from Patana (Patna), Rajmol (Rajmahal) and Gouru (Gauda). There are many bazaars. Biar is famous for its fruit, (which are better than I have seen in India), and especially for oranges of every kind."⁽³¹⁾

(29) A portion of the letter dated the 4th October 1927 written by Cacella from Cambirasi within Bhutan, runs—

"Azo is the most important town and the capital of the kingdom of Cocho, a large country, very populous and rich. It used to be the dwelling place of Liquinarane, king of Cocho, who is now dead, and the Nababo of Mogor, to whom the country pays tribute, also resides there. We passed the town and arrived at Pando, where lives Satarjit, Rajah of Busna, the Pagan commander-in-chief of Mogor against the Assanes." Page 123.

(30) Among the eighteen Duars (entrances) to the kingdom of Bhutan, five in the west were situated on the border of the then kingdom of Kâmatâ. The other Duars were to its east viz., on the northern border of the kingdom under Pariksitâ. In the account of Cacella, we do not find reference to two kingdoms but only to a large 'Koch kingdom' full of men and wealth. (Page 123). Rângâmâti (Runate) was at the extreme border of the Koch kingdom towards Bhutan. (Page 130). John Cabral who accompanied Cacella has mentioned only one country viz., the 'Koch country'. (Page 159). The missionaries stayed in the country for four months. The events mentioned in the Bâhâristan viz., the gift of the kingdom occupied by Pariksit to Laksmînârâyan and the latter's living in Hâjo, are supported by the missionaries' accounts'.

(31) Page 128.

During the reign of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana Raghudeva-nârâyana again asserted his independence in eastern Kâmarupa and Kamalnârâyana (Gohâi Kamal) the uncle of Laksmînârâyana was practically an independent Governor at Khâspur in Kâchhâr. The Âhom king had already declared his independence. Then when Mughul rule was established in Kâmarupa, Laksmînârâyana's influence in the territory to the east of the Brahmaputra and the Sankos rivers, ceased.

During the reign the tributary chiefs of Dimruâ, Kâchhâr and Jaintia and the Âhom Râjâs were fighting among themselves. Jasomânîk the Raja of Jaintia came in vain to Maharaja Laksmînârâyana for help. Most of the territory conquered by Maharaja Naranârâyana during the struggle between the Mughals and Pathans, passed out of the raj. According to Stephen Cacella, Rângâmâti (Runate) was at that time at the farthest northern extremity of the kingdom. He wrote in 1627 A. D. that some years before, an uncle of the Koch king went during his travels to Bhutan and was imprisoned there.—It can be presumed from this that during the last part of the reign of Laksmînârâyana, he had no authority in Bhutan.

The Akbarnâmâ says that the kingdom of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana extended on the east to the Brahmaputra river, on the north to Tibet and the hills of Assam, on the west to Tirhut and on the south to Ghorâglât. It was four hundred miles in length and from eighty to two hundred miles in breadth.

Laksmînârâyana according to the same authority had 4000 cavalry, two lacs of infantry, seven hundred elephants

and a thousand boats of war. In Stewart's history also this description has been repeated without variation except that the number of infantry has been given as one lac in stead of two.

The Dâmodaracharita tells us that during the time of Laksmînârâyana the people ate fowls, ducks and pigs. People of high and low status lived in the kingdom. Brahmin Pundits, officers with the titles Barua, Karmi (Kârji), castes like potters, barbers, washer-men, goldsmiths, and singers, players of musical instruments, actors etc. formed the mixed population of the capital. The Yogini Tantra (Uttara Khanda, Patala IX Verse 16) refers to the diet of the people in Kâmarupa, the flesh of ducks, pigeons, tortoises and boars, and warns those who give up eating these animals, that they will come to grief.—Stephen Cacella remarked the export of male and female slaves to Bhutan.

Mâdhavadeva and Dâmodaradeva the Vaisnava reformers left their native country because of the oppression of the Âhom king and when they reached the kingdom of Kâmata, Maharaja Lakshmî-nârâyana received them with favour and offered them shelter. Inspired by the king's encouragement, they wrote many works. It is said that he declared the religion preached by Mâdhavadeva to be the royal religion inimical to the followers of other doctrines. (32). Thus animal sacrifice was prohibited for a time in State worship.

(32) In the coleophon of the Nâma-mâlîka it is written.—

"Victory to Laksmînârâyan who is the formost of all great kings, whose pure fame has covered the whole of this earth, who full of kindness recently removed all other religions, and punishing the wicked, made all the people take shelter of Hari."

Some have concluded that 'Nârâyan' at the end of the names of the kings was added owing to the influence of Vaisnava religion. (A History of Mughal North-east Frontier Policy, page 23). But this view is unsupportable.

Mādhavadeva translated the work *Nāmamālīkā* at the request of Virupākṣa Kārji the minister of the king. A Sanskrit work by Purusottama Gajapati the king of Orissa, had been introduced by Sankaradeva. In Cooch Behar State Library, the manuscripts of the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, *Srīkrisner Janmarahasya* and *Adikāṇḍa* written by Mādhavadeva, have been preserved. About this time a metrical translation of the *Srimadbhagavadgītā* was composed by Govinda Misra under the orders of Dāmodaradeva. In Saka 1538 (1616 A. D.) Siddhāntabāgisa under the direction of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa compiled the *Sivarātrikaumudī*, *Mantradikṣā-kaumudī*, *Sankrānti-kaumudī*, *Ekādasi-kaumudī* and *Grahan-kaumudī*.

While returning from Agra, Maharaja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa discovered the *Lolārkakunda* in Benares and he established a *Lolārkesvara Siva* there. (33). Mahārāja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is reputed to have reintroduced the worship of *Jalpesvar Siva* which had been discontinued, but as he died suddenly, he could not construct a temple. (34).

In a silver coin dated 1555 A. D. inscribed with the name of Maharaja Naranārāyaṇa he had described himself as "a bee to the lotus feet of Siva" (*Siva-charana-kamala-madhukarasya*), and in the inscription (dated 1565 A. D.) on the doors of the temple of Kāmākhyā he styled himself "worshipper of the feet of Kāmākhyā" (*"Kāmākhyā-charanārchaka"*). (Every devoted Hindu has a particular deity as his *Istadeva* or *Istadevi*).

(33) Vansāvalī of Ripunjaya. *Lolārka* is a celebrated *Sungod* of India. This old *kunda* (well) is dedicated in his name. There is a tradition that bathing in the water of the well, cures leprosy.

Later on Maharaja Sibendranārāyaṇ again repaired this well and erected a memorial tablet with an inscription (1250 B. S.).

(34) Vansāvalī of Ripunjaya. According to another *velw* *Sukladhvaja* being so ordered in a dream went with Kumara Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and discovered the *Linga* of Siva in *Jalpesvar* and constructed a temple there. *Vansāvalī* written by Durgadāś, page 63,

Maharaja Laksmînârâyana married Damayanti Debi the grand-daughter of Mâdhavadeva. (35). It is written in the

Children of Laksmînârâ-
yana.

Râjopâkhyâna that of the eighteen sons of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana, Birnârâyana was born of the Mahârâni (queen-consort).

Among the princes, Brajanârâyana, Bhimanârâyana and Mahî-nârâyana were powerful, and well-known to the people. When the Maharaja went to Delhi, Brajanârâyana and Bhimnârâyana were his companions. They died during the life-time of their father.

The place where the eighteen houses were built for the eighteen sons of the king, is now known as Âtharakotâ. Little is known of the daughters of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana. A proposal of marriage was settled between one of them and the Âhom king but this did not materialise as the Maharaja died before the marriage could take place. There is a tradition that another daughter married Yasomânîk the Râjâ of Jaintia. (36).

In Asar saka 1518 (1596 A. D.) during the reign of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana there was a terrible earthquake, and in the course of the upheaval, hot water, sand, ashes etc., were thrown out from the ground.

(35) Satsampradâyer Kathâ, page 47. Mâdhavadeva was a bachelor, so Damayanti Debi was not his real grand-daughter.

(36) In the Âhom Burunjee (page 94) there is mention of a sister named Sankala (Shaokala) of the Koch king. In 1584 A. D. there was a proposal for her marriage with the Âhom king and gifts were exchanged. The Burunjee does not say whether the marriage was fulfilled.

It is said that Yasomânîk the Jaintia king, at the time of marrying a daughter of Laksmînârâyan, imported an image of Kâli into his own kingdom. (History of Assam, page 263). The East India Company occupied the kingdom of Jaintia (1835 A. D.) largely with a view to suppressing the practice of human sacrifice to Jayantesvari Kâli. The goddesses Jayantesvari is one of goddesses of a Pitha among the fifty-one Pithas described in the Tantras. e. g.,—

“Visnu threw the left Janghâ (the portion of the leg from the sole to the knee) in Jayantâ. The goddess there is Jayanta and the Bhairava (Siva) is Kramadîsvara.”

Pithamâlâ as described by Bhâratchandra.

MAHARAJA BIRNARAYANA.

*Râsaka 118—123 ; Saka 1549—1554 ; 1034—1039 B. S. ;
1627—1632 A. D.*

Immediately after the death of his father, Kumâra Birnârâyana ascended the throne and at his installation, the Raikat held the royal umbrella over his head. Reference has been made to a marriage which was settled between a sister of Mahârâja Birnârâyan and the Âhom king. In August or September 1632 A. D. the Âhom king sent a messenger with various presents to Maharaja Birnârâyana to take away the betrothed princess, but the new Maharaja was not prepared to give his sister in marriage to the Âhom king. Virupâksa Karji seized the opportunity to gain favour with the Âhom king and married his own daughter Laksmipriyâ to the king, and his grand-daughter Hemaprabhâ to the son of the king. The Mughal officers Abdus Sâlâm and Satrâjit were associated with these marriage festivities, and offered presents. (37)

Maharaja Birnârâyana died about 1632 A. D. He was a great patron of learning and established schools in various parts of his kingdom. Facilities for the education of the princes and the sons of Brahmins and officers were made available, and he himself supervised this development.

Under his orders a Brahmin named Kavisekhar composed the work "Kirâtparva" a manuscript of which is still preserved in the State Library in Cooch Behar. Maharaj Birnârâyan established the image of Chaturbhuj in village Bheladangar near Cooch Behar.

(37) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai Vol. I, pages 548-550.

During the reign the missionary Stephen Cacella returned (1629 A. D.) to Kāmatāpura from Bhutan and in September of that year again went to Bhutan accompanied by a fellow-worker Manual Diaz.

It is written in the Rājopākhyāna that the capital was removed by Maharaja Birnārāyana to Âtharakotā. A Mandal presented him with a beautiful palace Âtharakotā and Mandalābās. and he sometimes resided in this 'Mandalābās'. He had many queens and he passed much of his time in the inner apartments. In consequence perhaps he has been described in the Rājopākhyāna as a sensual king.—During his life-time he nominated Kumar Prānnārāyana as his heir. (38)

MAHARAJA PRANNARAYANA.

*Rājsaka 123 -156; Sakabda 1554—1587;
1039-1072 B. S. 1632-1665 A. D.*

After the death of his father, Kumar Prānnārāyana was duly installed as king. During the ceremony, the Raikat held the umbrella over the head of the king and presented him with nazar. Seals and new coins were prepared bearing the name of the new Mahārāja (39) and the funeral rites of the late king were performed according to family custom under the new ruler's direction.

(38) Thus in the Adiparva written by a contemporary author Sreenāth Brahman.—

Birnārāyan Deva is like the Udaygiri (the hill from which the sun rises). Prānnarayana Deva made his appearance from him." Page 113.

(39) One Amalnama dated Rājsaka 137 bearing a seal with the name of Maharaja Prānnārāyana on it, is preserved among the old papers of the State Council, Cooch Behar.

The Rājopākhyāna records that during the reign of Mahārāja Prānnārāyana there was no external or internal unrest in his kingdom; but it is proved from the Burunjees of Assam, histories written in Persian, and other contemporary manuscripts that the reign was marked by various forms of disturbance owing to attacks from outside and the enmity of relatives. Soltan Muhammad Suja the then Subedar of Bengal revised the settlement papers of Raja Tcdarmal. The 'Sarkar Kochbihar' was divided into 246 Pergannas and 'Sarkar Bāngālbhum' into 2 Pergannas (Bāhārband and Bhitārband), and these territories were considered as within the Mughal empire.

After Pariksitānārāyana, his brother Balinārāyana was repeatedly unsuccessful in his efforts to recover the lost dominion of his father with the help of the Âhom king. He died in 1638 A. D. Chandra-nārāyana the son of Pariksitā at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor but after some time he renewed attempts to regain his father's kingdom. About this time the king of Âhom sent an officer named Ratnakandali to Cooch Behar to request Maharaja Prānnārāyana to join in a proposal whereby the kingdom of Kāmarupa would be partitioned between Cooch Behar and the Âhom raj after driving out the Mahomedans. Maharaja Prānnārāyana however, after consulting with his minister Ramchandra Karji, rejected the proposal. Then Satrājīt the Thānādār of Pāndu engaged in various plots against the emperor, and when Subedar

The "Prānnārāyana Bhūp" seal is written in Devanāgarī character. The seal on a deed of gift dated 135 Rājsaka is different. It cannot be ascertained whether there was any writing inscribed on it. But it is inferred that this was the famous 'Sinha Chāp' seal. The deed of gift referred to was written in the Sanskrit language and in Bengali (Tirhutī or Maithilī) characters as used in manuscripts.

Islām Khan was informed, he sent a large army and war-boats under the command of his brother Mir Jayenuddin and Muhammad Jāmāl the Fouzdar of Srihatta against Chandranārāyan and the Âhom king. (40)

Maharaja Prānnārāyana joined the army of the emperor in the Assam campaign. He pushed up to the Brahmaputra and established his camp at the mouth of the Bharli (to the east of Tezpur) but defeated in an engagement with the

Expedition to Assam.

enemy, was forced to return to Gauhati (1638 A. D.). After the war had terminated, Maharaja Prānnārāyana hoped to establish friendly relations with the Âhom king and sent Gokulchandra with a 'Kolpatra' (private letter) to Assam. The Ahom king replied in an "ordinary" letter sent through his messenger Bhabānanda. As this behaviour of the Âhom

Ill-feeling with the Âhom king.

king was regarded as disrespectful, his messenger was repudiated in the Durbar at Cooch Behar. Even after this, an attempt was made to remove misunderstanding through the mediation of Banamālī Gosāi of Madhupur Dhām (within the kingdom of Cooch Behar) but this proved fruitless, and the royal messenger of Cooch Behar was openly insulted in the Court of the Âhom king.

Nor did the friendship established through Maharaja Mānsinha between Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana and the then

(40) According to the view of some later historians the Mughal army, after repelling Ahoms, occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar in 1638 A. D., but owing to lack of supplies, they were forced to retire on Dacca. (Riaz-us-salātin, Bengali Translation, page 195; History of Bengal, page 278). This account is not found in any Burunjee of Assam. On the other hand, Maharaja Prānnārāyan has been assumed the ally of Mir Jayenuddin. Even before this incident Prānnārāyana assisted Mir Jayenuddin against Chandranārāyana. In the Sāhajahānnāma, there is a detailed description of the conquest of Koch Hājo (Kāmarupa or lower Assam) but there is no mention of conquering the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

Raja of Dinajpur, endure. Cooch Behar forces attacked the kingdom of Dinajpur from time to time and looted the people there. Sukdeva the then Râjâ of Dinajpur saved himself by escape.

In 1657 A. D. the old emperor Sâhjâhân fell seriously ill and sharp conflict broke out between his sons regarding the succession to the throne of the empire.

The condition of the Durbar of Delhi.

As a result, India from Bengal to Afganistan and from Guzrat to Daksinâ-path, was practically without a sovereign ruler. Sâhajâdâ Soltân Muhammad Suja the second son of the emperor who was the then Subedar of Bengal moved towards the capital, but enroute he suffered complete defeat. During this revolutionary period Bengal was without protection for more than three years. When Mir Lotfulla as Mughal Fouzdar of Kâmarupa (Koch Hijo) demanded the Bâdsâhi peskash or tribute from Prânnârâyana, the king not only refused but drove away the messenger with insult. Durlabh the son of one Uttama was the Governor of Kâmarupa under the Fouzdar, and Prânnârâyana was displeased with him for adding the suffix 'Nârâyana' to his name in imitation of the descendants of Maharaja Visvasinha. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Durlabh ordering him to expel the Musalmans. Durlabh however refused to act against the emperor. Therefore Maharaja Prânnârâyana sent

Attacking the Mughal kingdom.

his minister Bhabanath Karji with an army to attack the country under Durlabh and to occupy it. Durlabh and Harnarayan took shelter in the Âhom kingdom. Thus the greater portion of Kâmarupa (Koch Hâjo) again fell to the ruler of Cooch Behar without much effort. When the Fouzdar Mir Lotfulla requested the Maharaja to evacuate the territory of the emperor, the Maharaja ignored the demand. In retaliation for this insult the son of the Fouzdar marched against

the Maharaja, but the Mughal army was defeated and the Fouzdar himself was forced to retire on the fort of Gauhati, and later, on account of threatening Âhom forces, to escape towards Dacca (1658 A. D.).

The Ahom king made Durlabhnârâyana the Governor of a portion of the division of Beltala, and when Cooch Behar Maharaja requested the Âhom king to surrender Durlabh to him the Âhom king refused. Some time after this Bhabanath the minister of the king of Cooch Behar occupied Hâjo. Maharaja Prânnârâyana sent an envoy named Chakrapâni Khândâdharâ to the Âhom king with a proposal that the territory to the north of the Brahmaputra (Uttarkûla) should be under him and that to the south (Daksinakûla) should be taken to be within the Âhom raj. The Âhom king openly rebuffed Chakrapâni, and the Âhom soldiers entered Kâmarupa under the Mughals.

In 1659 A. D. there was a battle lasting for a week between Bara Fukan the Âhom General and Bhabanâth Kârji. Bhabla Barua and two other Âhom generals being killed, the Âhoms took refuge in a fort. When their reinforcements arrived, the struggle was renewed and Aniruddha the son of Bhabanath was killed. At last the army of Cooch Behar lost ground and retired towards Vijaypur. The Âhom soldiers pursued to the banks of the Manâs river and captured some cannon, guns and horses. Bhabanath Kârji returned to Cooch Behar with Bara Dewânia, Chandranârâyana and Sri Ramkumar remaining at Châpâguri.

Meanwhile Jainârâyana the son of Chandranârâyana and grandson of Pariksitânârâyana returned from Bengal to Kâmarupa and sought the protection of the Âhom king. The king gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and bestowed

the kingdom of Kâmarupa upon him with Ghilâvijaypur as his capital. Jainârâyana endeavoured to settle the quarrel between the Âhom raj and the Cooch Behar, but was unsuccessful. His mediation led to his being insulted by Bara Fukan the Commander-in-Chief of the Âhom army, and he was compelled to escape leaving Ghilâvijaypur in the possession of Âhom soldiers (1659 A. D.).

Bhabanath and Bara Dewânia raised a new army and launched another expedition with fresh vigour. They attacked the Ahom army on the banks of the Manâs river. Maharâja Prânnârâyana himself reached Dhubri at the same time with his army. The brother of the Fouzdar had come to Dhubri but fled when he learnt of the advance of the Cooch Behar army. There was a fierce battle in Dhubri between the Âhom and Cooch Behar armies. The Âhoms were victorious and captured a large number of Cooch Behar arms and war-boats, but they were unable to follow up their success as cattle-disease broke out in their army and their main body was forced to evacuate Dhubri. The Âhoms retained part of the army in Dhubri and established a Thâna on the banks of the Manâs river. Badli Fukan, Jagat, Uttam Rai, Durlabhnârâyana and others proceeded to Vijaypur. Mahidhvajanârâyana the son of Dharma was sent to rule Vijaypur, but finding himself unable to reach that place, he returned to Durrung.

Though baffled in the Assam war, Maharaja Prânnârâyana was not daunted. He attacked Ghorâghât (on the east of the district of Dinajpur) one of the centres of Mughal power, and conquered Dacca the capital of Bengal (1661 A. D.).

The escape of the Fouzdar.

Conquest of Dacca.

By this time the victorious Aurungzeb sat on the imperial throne. The master of the Mughal empire assumed the name 'Alamgir Bâdsâh'. His newly appointed Subedar, Mohammad Mir Jumla Nabab Moazzam Khan Khân Khânân, reached Dacca and immediately invaded Cooch Behar. The king had to leave his capital and take shelter in a hilly place and his capital fell without resistance into the hands of the Nabab (1661 A. D.). Afterwards, when the victorious Mir Jumla Moazzam Khân marched eastwards from Cooch Behar with the object of conquering Assam, the king easily drove out the Musalmans and regained his kingdom.

Of all the invasions of Cooch Behar by Musalman soldiers, this was the most important, and caused the greatest damage to the country. The Râjopâkhyâna is silent about it. A detailed account has been recorded in the Târikh-i-Âsâm or Fatehâ-i-Ibriâ composed during the invasion of Mir Jumla Moazzam Khan, and in the Alamgirnâmâ which describes the life and rule of the emperor Aurangzeb. In the Gurulilâ, covering the life of Dâmodardeva and composed about the same time, and also in almost all the Burunjees of Assam, an account has been given.

Nabab Sâyetâ Khan Amir Ul Omra the Subedar who succeed Mir Jumla reached Rajmahal in March 1664 A. D. and when he expressed his determination to conquer Cooch Behar, Maharaja Prân-nârâyana sent a proposal to the Nabab admitting fealty and offering 5½ lacs of coin as guarantee preserving the safety of the kingdom. The Nabab accepted these terms and as soon as the indemnity reached him, removed the Bâdâhi army from the borders of the kingdom. The

Sâyetâ Khan.

"tribute" reached the Durbar of the emperor on the 6th December 1665 A. D. ⁽⁴¹⁾

In the manuscripts of old Assam Burunjee it is found that before the time of Maharaja Prānnārāyana a treaty had been concluded between the Âhom king and Cooch Behar. As a result the king of Cooch Behar received the kingdoms of Durrung and Beltalâ, in token whereof he used to present elephants to the Âhom king. There were attempts on behalf of the emperor of Delhi to catch wild elephant in these two areas, but the king of Cooch Behar did not agree. Afterwards, when the kingdom of Kāmarupa was conquered by the army of the emperor, the Mughal officers began to catch elephant there. The then Âhom king was informed of this by the persons acting on behalf of Cooch Behar but he advised them to keep silent, advice which the king of Cooch Behar did not accept. His opposition to the Musalmans in the matter, proved ineffective.

Maharaja Prānnārāyana again sent Rāmcharan as an ambassador to the Âhom king to recall these facts, and to promote amity.

Chakradhvaj Sinha, the Ahom king was not aware of all the previous incidents and when he was apprised of them in detail, agreed to consider the proposal of Rāmcharan and said,—“We have fought with the Musalmans for a long time but you have done nothing. By the grace of God a chance has come to regain our kingdom. When the Musalmans defeated you, we sent messengers to you but you did not pay any heed to our words. Now you are left alone. We also had left the country

Friendship with the Âhom king.

(41) History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 218. Probably this indemnity or guarantee was changed into 'tribute' by the historians of the Mughal Dabar.

owing to attacks by the enemy. I wish to see Prānnārāyan established in his kingdom." Ramcharan, much gratified by these words, returned to Cooch Behar and the Âhom king sent Gopalcharan with him with instructions. (42)

Maharaja Prānnārāyan died in 1665 A. D. The Rājopākhyāna reports that when the king fell ill, a false rumour of his death was circulated and reached
Death of the king. Kumar Mahinārāyan, another son of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan, who came to Cooch Behar and killed the ministers Kaviratna and Kavibhusan. The sick king called Mahinārāyan to the inner apartments and severely reprimanded him for this act. On the third day the king died, and the four sons of Mahinārāyan, Jagatnārāyan, Darpanārāyan, Yajnanārāyan and Chandranārāyan, began to fight each other for the throne. Mahinārāyan provided the solution by placing Kumar Modnārāyan the second son of the late king on the gadi, and he himself held the umbrella at the installation.

There were three sons of Maharaja Prānnārāyan, Visnunārāyan, Modnārāyan and Vasudevnārāyan. (43) Visnunārāyan believed in the Mahomedan religion. For
Visununarayan. this reason, his father was displeased with him and kept him imprisoned. During the attack on and conquest of the capital of Cooch Behar by

(42) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Book III, pages 10, 15-16.

It appears that this was in April 1664 A. D. There was friendship between Maharaja Chakradhvaj Sinha and the king of Cooch Behar. History of Aurungzeb, Vol. III, page 211.

(43) The Rājopākhyāna gives Visnunārāyan as the eldest son, but he died during the lifetime of his father (Narakhanda, Adhyāya VII). In the genealogical table printed in the report of Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, Visnunārāyan has been accounted the second son. In the manuscripts of the 'Sangitsankar' also Visnunārāyan has been mentioned as the second son (page 9). Later Mahendranārāyan the grandson of Visnunārāyan became king of Cooch Behar.

Nabab Mir Jumlá, Visnunârâyan escaped, sought the protection of the Nabab and was formally converted to Mahomedanism.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Rûpamati Devi the sister of Maharaja Prânnârâyan married the Ksatriya king Pratâpmalla of the Malla dynasty of Nepal.

Rûpamati Devi.

A record of this is preserved in an inscription (dated 1649 A. D) on a stone in a temple of Visnu on the west of the courtyard of the palace in Katmandu. It is learnt therefrom that princess Rûpamati Devi was the queen-consort of king Pratâpamalla. Râjamati, the daughter of the king of Karnâta was another favourite queen. In Nepal Samvat 785 queen Rûpamati herself consecrated a temple of Ugratârâ in Anantapur. An inscription about this is still extant.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Maharaja Prannârâyan had great personality. To Târikh-i-Âsâm a contemporary work, appraised his public conduct as befitting a highly-placed person, but observed that he was addicted to pleasure and spent money immoderately. He was always engaged in drinking and listening to the songs and watching the dances of beautiful women, and so it was that he

Character of the king.

(44) Alamgirnâmâ, page 680; Târikh-i-Asâm. Introduction page 13.

Mr. Stewart has written that Visnunârâyan, ambitious to become king, tried to deliver his father to the enemy (page 326); but we have no proof to support this statement.

(45) Some of the verses from the inscription in the temple of Visnu in Nepal which are of importance in this connection have been received through the courtesy of the Nepal Durbar and the British Ambassador of that place, and a translation is given below :—

"There is the city of Bihar the best of all capitals, full of gold and containing big elephants and beautiful women, like Amarâvati (the heavenly city). It was greater than the Kamalâ of Visnu. (It was the capital) of Naranârâyan who conquered all enemies and was like Indra. 6.

From him (was born) Laksmînârâyan and from him Vîranârâyan. Rûpamati was his (Vîranârâyan's) daughter and Prânnârâyan his son. 7.

paid little attention to administrative duties.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Nevertheless the Rājopākhyāna says that in six seasons, the king looked after his administration for five, passing the Spring season in pleasures in a garden among beautiful women.⁽⁴⁷⁾

This chaste Rāpamati full of virtues, having golden hue with a mind directed to everything good, walked like an elephant in rut and was the veritable Rukmini beloved by and the wife dear as his own soul of king Sree Pratāpa (who was the seat of all good qualities), dear as the daughter of the ocean (Laksmī) to the protector of the world (Visnu). 8.

Rājamati who came from Karnāta country, who is full of frolics, whose breasts are like golden pitchers, who is the abode of love, who is adorned with ornaments of gold, whose waist is that of a lion, whose body is exceedingly beautiful; who was versed in all arts was the wife enjoyed by king Pratāpa like the wife of Visnu. 9.

On Thursday, in Harshana Yoga, in the constellation of Anurādhā, in Sukla Sasthi Tithi in Falgun in Samvat 769 (1649 A. D.).

On an auspicious Friday on which there was Siva Yoga and the constellation Chitrā, in Suklapaksa in Āsar Nepal Sambat 785, the queen to remove all sin established Ugratārā in beautiful Anantapura, gladdening the eyes of the people. 1.

She who is the beautiful wife of king Pratāpa and a fit consort for him, who is the charming and incomparable daughter of the king of Bengal who has defeated powerful enemies, who is known as Anantapriyā, who for her beauty, virtue and lineage is known to the three worlds, established this temple beloved by Gods and human beings in an auspicious moment. 2."

This temple of Ugratārā was constructed in 1663 A. D. In the second verse quoted above, queen Rāpamati has been mentioned as the daughter of the king of Bengal. Did the court poet of Nepal mean Bīnārāyan the father of Maharaja Prānuārāyan (the brother of Rāpamati) who conquered Dacca in 1661 A. D.

The Malla dynasty of kings of Nepal is accredited with having sprung from Ramchandra of the solar dynasty. History of Nepal, page 218. Pratāpmalla the king of Nepal ruled from 1639 to 1649 A. D. Jayprakāsamalla the last king of the Malla dynasty was defeated in 1768 A. D. by Raja Prithvīnārāyan Śāha of the Gorkhā dynasty.

(45) Tārikh-i-Āsām, Introduction, page 14. In the Tārikh-i-Āsām the same name of the king has been rendered 'Pem-narayan.' In some works we find the name 'Bīm-nārāyan.' It may be that in the hands of a Persian writer, 'Prān' has been transformed into 'Pem' or 'Bīm.' History of Aurangazeb, Vol. III, page 175.

Wine is prohibited by the Mahomedan religion. It is not prohibited according to the Hindu Śāstras to Ksatriya kings. History bears evidence that this king did not neglect his duties.

(47) In modern times, rulers of all countries take leave of their administrative work at times and for periods determined according to their pleasure, and engage in shooting or

The seed of education sown in the kingdom by Maharaja Birnarayan was cared for by Maharaja Prānnārāyan, and gradually it grew into a tree yielding good fruit. The royal court was adorned with Pundits. All officers and courtiers of the king spoke in Sanskrit and there was a royal Pandit Sabhā known as the 'Pancharatna' (five jewels *i. e.* five learned men). It is said that under orders of Maharaja Prānnārāyan, Kaviratana wrote a Sanskrit history of the royal dynasty, entitled "Rajakhandam." Under the same inspiration, Srinath Brahmin translated the Mahābhārata in verse and composed a Kāvya entitled 'Draupdir Svayamvara.' An incomplete manuscript of a Kāvya entitled 'Visvasinha Charitam' in Sanskrit by Srināth, has been discovered. The manuscripts of Ādiparva, Dronaparva and Draupadir Svayamvara are preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library. Dvija Rāmesvara composed a metrical version of the Mahābhārata and his son Krisna Misra wrote Prahād Charita. Virāt Parva and Karna Parva (of the Mahabharata) were translated by the poet Visārada. Rām Rāy the author of the Gurulila depicting the life of Dāmodara, was also alive at this time. He lived at 'Rām Bāyer Kot.'

Maharaj Prānnārāyan was well-versed in Sanskrit grammar and literature. He was proficient in the Smritis. He also acquired skill in composing poems, and in singing and playing musical instruments. In a treatise on music composed by him the reader derives a good knowledge of Rāgs and Rāginis,

The king's erudition and knowledge of the arts.

travel. This was not done by the Hindu kings of ancient India. In those good old days certain months (from Bāsanti Panchami to Madan Chaturdasi) in the spring season were appointed for the enjoyment of king as well as his subjects, and every one took leave of his duties during this Spring festival. It is possible that Maharaja Prānnārāyan re-introduced this old practice,

Tâla-Mâna etc.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Charmed by the royal erudition, Jagannath a Pundit of Mahârâstra, wrote a Kâvyâ entitled 'Prânâbharanam.' Under the Maharaja's request, Jaykrishna Bhattacharya wrote a commentary on Prayogratnamâlâ grammar known as the 'Prabhâprakâsika.'⁽⁴⁹⁾

Banamâli Gosâi of Madhupur was the Guru of Maharaj Prannârâyan. Jayadhvaj Sinha the Âhom king also invited this Gosain to his kingdom and took 'Saran' from him (i. e. became his disciple).⁽⁵⁰⁾ Maharaj Prannârâyan performed the ceremony of Tulâpurusha Dâna (weighing himself against coins or gold, silver etc, and distributing these among the poor) on the banks of the Ganges with great ceremony.⁽⁵¹⁾

(48) Srinath Brâhmin has written regarding Maharaja Prannârâyan.—

"The Maharaja is the preceptor of Kâvyâ and music. He is the Kalpataru (the tree fulfilling all desires) to all poor people." (Âdi-parva, page 12). "He rains the nectar of poetry at all times. He is well-versed in all the arts" (Ibid, page 113). "He has composed a treatise of music in a beautiful manner. He encourages all learned men and removes the apprehensions of all people who seek his protection." (Dronaparva, page 14).

(49) Jaykrishna Bhattacharya has written at the beginning of this commentary :—

"Let that king Sri Prân-nârâyan whose body is purified by grains of dust from the lotus feet of Sri Govinda, be victorious. 3.

Sri Sri Prâna-deva the greatest of kings whose imagination gives birth to poetry which dropping in delight makes honey inferior in sweetness, whose learning is a reproach to the lord of words (Brihaspati), who is endowed with incomparable qualities, who has acquired all knowledge like an Âmalaka held in hand, and shines like Kâma. 4.

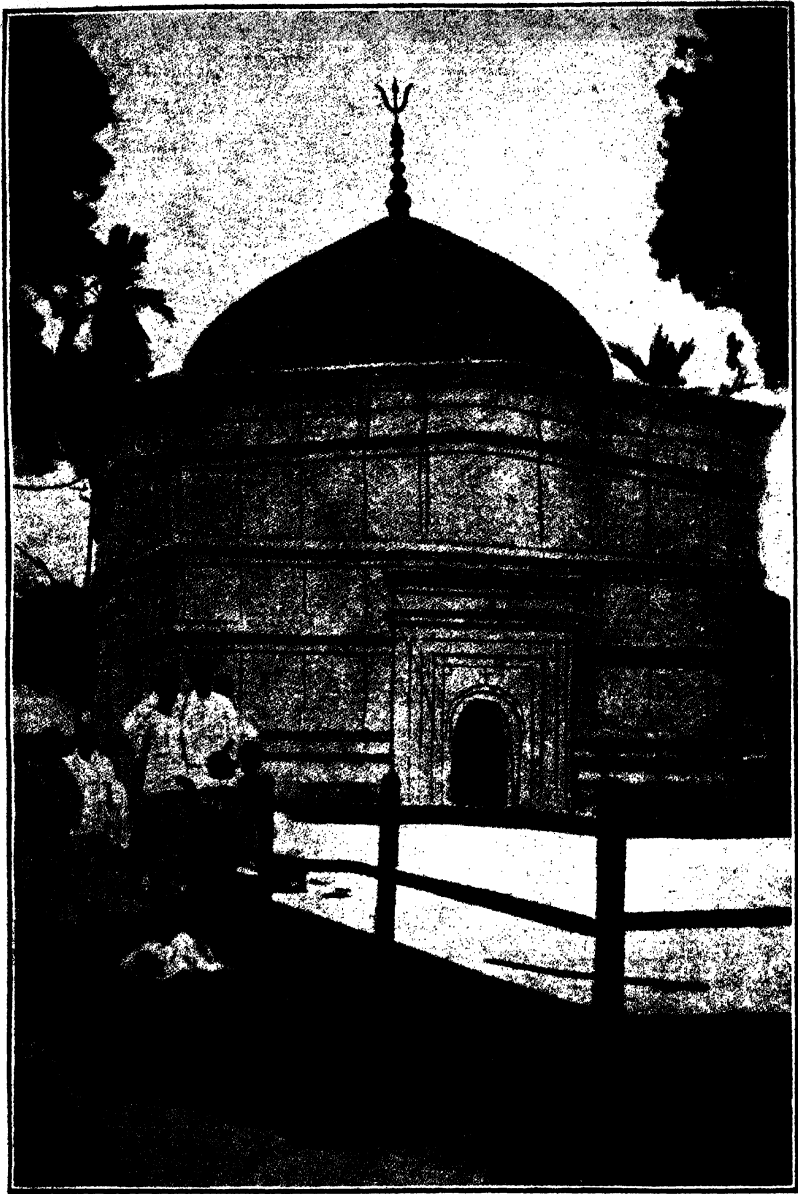
Under the pleasant orders of this king who is like a Kalpataru (wishing tree) to all men possessed of virtues, and who is the ocean of fortitude, beauty, power, gift and pure fame; 5.

Jaykrishna is expounding Ratnamâlâ for the understanding of boys, leaving aside great controversial matters. 6."

(5) Sree Sree Vanamâli Deva Charitra, pages 52, 59.

(51) "Receiving wealth from whose gifts at Tulâpurusa, the wives of the poor wore golden bracelets."

Drona-Parva translated by Srinâth, page 1.



The Temple of Banerwar. To face Page 205

Once, during an eclipse of the moon he granted some land as Brahmottar to a Brahmin, a Bhattachārya, named Siromanī. The deed of gift is written mainly in Sanskrit and is still preserved in the State Mahafezkhānā. A copy is reproduced in this work.⁽⁵⁾ It could not be correctly deciphered as it was written in the style of ordinary clerks and mohurirs in old Maithili and Assamese characters.

Maharaja Prānnārāyan granted lands for the worship of the image Bodesvari, (established in Bhitargarh in the district of Jalpaiguri). He constructed or repaired the temples of Sivas Sandesvar and Banesvar. He established the images of Chaturbhuj in Madhupur, Madanmohan in Srirāmpur, Chaturbhuj in Kāgajkuta, Banamāli in Banamālipur and

(5) See Appendix for the original. This important deed of gift is preserved in Settlement File No. 825 in the Mahautchary Mahafezkhana of Cooch Behar.

SINHACHĀP.

(Signature written hurriedly, and illegible).

SRI VISNAVE ▽

KING PRĀNNĀRĀYAN ▽

"Om, Svasti. Sree Sree Prānnārāyan, the Indra of the world, the ruler of Kāmātā whose fame has risen like the moon from the churning of ocean of his enemies, by his arms like the Mandara hill.

This is the order to Sri Narahari Bhāndār Thākūr, Sri Rāmkrishna, and Sri Rāmānāth Mazumdar. During the eclipse of the moon, one village is bestowed in gift by my own hand Sree Ma.....To this Bhattacharya named Siromani, the king gives this..... Brahmottara.....This village is to be given by you and persons in charge of the Duftar.....No one should ever realise (taxes like).....He should enjoy without any fear the fishery rights.....etc. The kings who will be born of my family will eat cow and pigs if this village given in Brahmottar is taken away.

The situation of the village. Fifteen Bishes will be given in Ghughumari in Behar concerning Raghu Kārji and one Bish will be given in front of the house of Kansa in the waste domestic land of the Kaltas (a caste of Assam). And one village 1 is given. 18th Falgun 135."

On the other side of the deed "Of Sri Kavi Karnapur Khāsua."



The Temple of Kamalesvari (Gostolpur). To face Page 200.



The Temple of Kāmatasvari (Gosāminari). To face Page 206

[illegible]

trees.”⁽⁵⁴⁾ The same writer has also written.—“The soldiers of the kingdom of Cooch Behar use poisoned arrows, swords and guns and it is learnt that the people are expert in incantations and can cure ulcers by sprinkling enchanted water. They know medicines for ulcers, both for internal and external application. In comparison with other places of eastern India, the climate, land, vegetables and dwelling houses of the people are superior. Oranges, mangoes and black pepper are grown in large quantities. If properly administered, the income from this country would amount to eight or nine lacs of rupees. Gold and silver coins known as ‘Nârâyani’ coins are current in this country. There are two tribes named ‘Koch’ and ‘Mech’. The king has sprung from the Koch tribe.”

Condition of the country.

During the reign of Maharaj Prânnârâyan (1665 A. D.) there was a serious famine owing to failure of rain. On the 7th February 1663 A. D. the tremors of a great earthquake were felt for about half an hour.

Famine and earthquake.

Narahari Bhândârthâkur, Râmkrisna Mazumdâr, Ramânâth Mazumdâr, Kavi Karnapûr Khâsnis etc., were officers holding high posts during the time of Maharaj Prânnârâyan. Reference has already been made to the royal messengers Ramcharan and Gokulchandra, ministers Bhabanâth Kârji and Râmchandra

Officers.

(54). The then situation of the capital cannot be inferred to have been anywhere except Kâmatâpur.

Sreenâth Brahmin a contemporary has written :—

“King Prân the lord of Kâmatâ in Behar is like Yama in battle to his adversaries.” Adi Parva, page 146.

Victory to king Modnârâyan who is the Indra of Kâmatâpura the land of gold.” Dron Parva, page “946”.

the vast valley of Himālayas from Uttarabihār (north Behar i. e., Tirhut) to Assam, has been marked as Rajwara.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In 1596 A. D. Maharaj Laksmīnārāyan acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor of Delhi. He made great efforts to free himself from this obligation but never entirely succeeded.

(58). "The whole Himalaya from northern Behar to Assam is called in Vanden Brouck's map—T. Ryk Van Rajiawara." Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 33.

In this map the name 'Cos Bhaar' is written. Even now the State of Cooch Behar is called 'Rājwār' and the neighbouring districts under the British administration, 'Moghlān'.

the vast valley of Himālayas from Uttarabihār (north Behar i. e., Tirhut) to Assam, has been marked as Rajwara.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In 1596 A. D. Maharaj Laksmīnārāyan acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor of Delhi. He made great efforts to free himself from this obligation but never entirely succeeded.

(58). "The whole Himalaya from northern Behar to Assam is called in Vanden Brouck's map—T. Ryk Van Rajiawara." Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 33.

In this map the name 'Cos Bhaar' is written. Even now the State of Cooch Behar is called 'Rājwār' and the neighbouring districts under the British administration, 'Moglan'.

CHAPTER XI.

MAHARAJA MODNARAYAN.

*Râjasaka 156—171; Sakâbca 1587—1602; 1072—1087 B. S.;
1665—1680 A. D.*

Kumar Modnârâyan ascended the throne of his father in 1665 A. D., but his sovereignty was undermined from the beginning by the great influence of Kumar Mahinârâyan, whom he was obliged to appoint to the post of Chhatra-nazir. Thereby the power of Kumar Mohinârâyan and his sons was further increased, and the royal control over the country was so nominal that even the lives and property of royal officers were threatened.

After Saka 1588 (1666 A.D.) Ramcharan and Bhakatcharan the Cooch Behar emissaries were sent to Assam, with the object of establishing friendship with the Âhom king. They were received there with honour but on their way back, were killed by Gâro subjects of the Pânbariâ Raja in territory under the emperor of Delhi. Later, Nanda and Bhîm visited the Âhom king on behalf of the Cooch Behar raj and they also were well received.⁽¹⁾

In 1668 A. D., (or according to another view, 1666 A. D.), Raja Ramsinha of Amber who was a general of the emperor of Delhi, arrived in Cooch Behar to raise an expedition against Assam. The Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur was with him. Ramsinha proceeded

(1) Burunjee of Rudrasinha, pages 210—211.

The name of the king who sent these messengers is not on record, but from the date of their mission, it is presumed that it was Maharaja Modnârâyan.

towards Rāngamāti with 15000 Dhāli (shield bearers) and Kāndī soldiers (armed with bow and arrow) from Cooch Behar. Cooch Behar officers, Kabikisore Barua, Sarbesvar Barua, Manmatha Barua and Ghanasvama Bakshi—led this army. They effected a junction with the Mughal forces and fought the Āhoms in the severe battle of Sinduri-ghopā.

Sending of forces to-Assam.

To counteract the excessive strength of the Chhātra Nazir Mahinārāyan, Maharaj Modnārāyan gradually brought the army under his control and sentenced to death some of the officers who sided with Mahinārāyan and banished others. This policy culminated in open war. Jagatnārāyan the eldest son of Mahinārāyan who had created much unrest within the kingdom, was killed under orders of the king,⁽²⁾ and at last, Mahinārāyan also was sentenced to death. The other sons of Mahinārāyan fought with the king with the help of Devaraja of Bhutan, but without success. At last, the unrest somewhat subsided by the appointment of Yajnanārāyan the son of Mahinārāyan as

Subversive activity of Mahinārāyan.

(2) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 19, 20, 169.

Regarding Jagatnārāyan, Dvija Paramānanda Tarkalankāra has written in the Vana Parva (1797 A. D.).—

"Purifying his body in open fight, the hero ascended the city of the Gods".
page 4.

But Dvija Kavirāj a contemporary has left a different account of the relations between Kumar Jagatnārāyan and Maharaja Modnārāyan in his work the 'Drona Parva'.—

"(The king) served Jagan-Nārāyan Deva thinking the latter as his own, as Nandi serves Siva". Page "१५०".

"Jagannārāyan Deva is uncle by relationship. He was as attached to him as Kumud (the water-lily) is to the moon." Page 12.



The temple of Jaleswara. To face Page 212



The temple of Jalpavara. To face Page 212

Maharaja Modnârâyan appointed a Kayasth Kavikishore (*alias* Harikishore) as Dewan. During the reign a newly arrived Brahmin named Rupchandra Mazumdar entered State service, and his talent secured for him the post of Mustofi. Afterwards he was appointed to the revenue department.⁽⁵⁾ Indranarayan Chakravarti was the Châklâdâr (Râjsaka 166) of Chakle Kâkina, Gaurinandan Barkâyastha the Kârji, Visvanâth Sarmâ the Pâtra, and Kâsinath the Khâsnis. Besides, there were officers holding the posts of Karji, Daptariâ, Satkâyasth, Nazir, Subâ, Senâpati, Raikat and Medhi.

The population of the kingdom at that time was estimated at ten lacs.⁽⁶⁾ Maharaja Modnârâyan ascertained by survey (Piâl) the area of the land occupied by his subjects (Rajsaka 165).⁽⁷⁾

(5) The descendants of Rupchandra with the title Mustofi, are now living in village Gobrachharâ, Dinhatâ to the south of Cooch Behar.

(6) Vansâvali written by Durgadas, page 77. In this Vansâvali the number of soldiers has been given as one lac.

(7) An original deed of gift of land granted by Maharaja Modnârâyan has been preserved in the Maleutchery Mahâfezkhânâ of Cooch Behar. It was written (on the 5th Magh, Rajsaka 165) on cloth. The writing is gradually disappearing and becoming illegible. It is addressed to Indranârâyan Chakravarti the then Châklâdâr of Châkle Kâkina. It reads,—

“Let there be good to ‘Pratadi’.....Maharaja Sree Sree Modnârâyan Deva the ruler of Kâmatâ who like the morning sun is visible with his prowess”.

By this deed of gift, Brahmoṭtar was granted in the following taluks within Bilât Gitaldaha in Châkle Kâkina,—

Bânginagar, Bhogebharâ, Satir Pâr, Khari Bhândâr, Arjunkhâtâ, Buksulâr Pâr, Châmrâr Pâr, Bhelâguri, Akulkhâtâ and Gorajân.

The deed is stated as ‘Sinhachâp Âjnâ’ (ordered by Sinlachâp seal); so the seal at the head of the document should be taken as the celebrated Sinlachâp seal.

The practice of writing manuscripts on cloth is old. It was prevalent also among the Ahom tribe. An Account of Assam, page ii.

We have related how Raja Ramsinha the general of the emperor of Delhi enlisted the aid of Cooch Behar soldiers (1668 A. D.) to attack Assam. The exact significance of this action is not apparent. It is true that Maharaja Prānnārāyan was a tributary king under the emperor of Delhi, and, like other tributary kings, it was his part to join battle with the forces of the emperor, but there is no record that on this occasion the king of Cooch Behar or any of the princes went with Raja Ramsinha to invade Assam. Remembering that the Mughal generals Bhabāni Das, Ebādat Khan and Jabardast Khan attacked Cooch Behar in 1685, 1687 and 1695 A. D. respectively, it may be surmised that had the kingdom been a real fief of the emperor, these incursions would never have taken place. Moreover, it is plainly written in the account of the administration of Nabab Alivardi Khan and the four Subedars preceding him, that before Nabab Murshid Kuli Khan (1704 A. D.) the kingdom of Cooch Behar was completely independent and did not acknowledge obedience to the emperor.⁽⁸⁾ Considering all probabilities it seems likely that even when Raja Ramsinha came, the king of Cooch Behar assisted him because he was related to him, rather than in performance of any feudal obligation to the emperor.

Maharaja Modnārāyan died in 1680 A. D. He was of quiet temperament and a saintly personage.⁽⁹⁾ Once when he was going to bathe in the Ganges, Musalman soldiers waylaid him but were unable, so we are told, to harm him.—As he had

Character of the king.

(8) English translation by Mr. Gladwin (1788 A. D.).—

"Before the time of Moorsbed Kuley Khan, the Rajahs of Tipperah, Coatch Bahar, and Assam preserved an entire independence. They refused all oedience to the Court of Delhy, used the imperial chetr, and coined money in their own names." A Narrative of Bengal, pages 27—28.

(9) Dwija Kabirāja, a contemporary has written in the Drona Parva.—

"Victory to Modnārāyan the celebrated king in whom the least fault of Kali Yuga does not appear. He regards the wives of others, the reviling of others and the properties of others as worse than ordure." Page 129.

had news of the advance of the Raikats with armed force but before their escape they looted the sacred and historic royal insignia of Maharaja Visvasinha, the royal umbrella, the sceptre, the throne, the sword and khanjar (large dagger) presented by the goddess Bhagabati and the kankan (armlet), threw them into a mountain cave and retired in a body to their own country. The two Raikats had a new umbrella, sceptre and throne prepared, and placing Vasudevanârâyan on the throne, held the umbrella over him. Coins were struck in the name of the new king and a new Sinhachâp seal was constructed. The family custom of conducting the funeral rites of the deceased king under the orders of the new king could not this time be followed.

When the Raikat brothers left the capital, Yajnanârâyan re-asserted himself and the Bhutiyas again advanced to assist him. The king's authority was gradually

Death of the king.

rendered powerless, and he was defeated in a skirmish and captured and killed under the orders of Yajnanârâyan. The Mahârâni and Kumar Mahindranârâyan escaped with the royal insignia. As a result the State army practically dissolved and its officers were scattered. Seizing the opportunity Yajnanârâyan ascended the throne and declared himself 'king'. Eight days of serious internal disorder followed.

Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva learnt in due course of the murder of the king and within twenty-four hours, they and their soldiers reached the banks of the Mansai river. The scattered royal army and the ministers joined them there. Immediately after they crossed the river severe fighting ensued between Yajnanârâyan and the Raikats, thousands being killed and wounded on both sides. At last Yajnanârâyan was overwhelmed and escaped to the hills. As Maharaja Vasudevanârâyan died without issue, and at this time Kumar

Mahindranārāyan grandson of Visvanārāyan and great grandson of Maharaja Brānnārāyan, was alive, the two Raikats selected him as king and placed him on the throne. Once again, new coins and seal were issued. Thereafter the two Raikats returned home, leaving some troops in the capital to protect the king.

MAHARAJA MAHINDRANĀRAYAN.

*Rājaka 173—184; Sakābda 1604—1616; 1083—1100 B.S.;
1682—1693 A. D.*

Still very young, Kumar Mahindranārāyan was called to a kingdom where there was neither peace nor any regular administration, and where Kumar Yajnanārāyan was in constant opposition and even collected an army and unsuccessfully attacked the king.

About 1685 Bhabāni Das the Naib Subedar (Assistant Governor) of Bengal invaded Cooch Behar, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the kingdom. The officers in charge of the Chākās to the south of the State disavowed their loyalty to the king and some joined the Fouzdar of Ghorāghāt, acknowledged obedience to the Mughal Subedar Ibrahim Khan and promised to pay a nominal tribute.⁽¹¹⁾

The Devaraj of Bhutan was accustomed at times to send presents to the Cooch Behar Durbar, but did not render any form of fealty. He was prepared to offer military aid when so desired.

(11) The Rājopākhyāna says that at this time the Raikat of Bodhanagar and the Kumar of Pānga acknowledged the Mughals (Harakhanda, Adhyāya 10).

After some time, the ministers consulted together and attempted to establish peaceful internal conditions by appointing Kumar Yajnanârâyan again as Chhatra Nazir. Yajnanârâyan agreed and was duly appointed.⁽¹²⁾ The two Raikat brothers were not unnaturally displeased at this arrangement and their hostility developed into open warfare. Then Maharaja Mahindranârâyan died, though according to another view the Raikats killed him and attempted to seize the kingdom.⁽¹³⁾

The youthful Maharaja Mahindranârâyan was physically well-endowed ; in religion he was a devout Vaisnava. He was a vegetarian and ate Havisyâna. He performed the Japa in the name of and sang the praise of Hari. He did not display much inclination towards administrative affairs.⁽¹⁴⁾ Sometimes the king lived on the banks of the Ghargharia river. Ratikanta

Character of the king.

(12) The Râjopâkhyâna states that Yajnanârâyan died in 182 Râjsaka (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 10) but this cannot be accepted, for a deed of gift of land dated 185 Râjsaka and made by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan Kumar and Balarâma Khâsnis, has been discovered.

(13) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 170.

A deed of gift of a land dated Râjsaka 188 and made by Bhujadeva Kumar, Chhatra Nazir Mahtjinnârâyan Kumar (?) and Bhabâninâth Khâsnis on behalf of the king, has been discovered. In the report of Mercer and Chauvet there is mention of a grant of land in Cooch Behar by Bhujadeva. (Page 83).

(14) The Râjopâkhyâna says that Maharaja Mahindranârâyan became king when he was only five years old. (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 10). But a contemporary writer Dvija Râma Kavirâja has written in the Bhîsma Parva,—“Who has well-formed, hard and fat arms. Who bears the burden of a kingdom being in his twentieth year.” Page 38 (1). Ripunjaya in the Vansâvali recorded,—“The name of this king has not been mentioned in other Vansâvalis. It is found in the translation of the Bhîsma Parva by Râma Sarasvatî.” It is written in the Vanaparva by Paramânanda (1797 A. D.),—“Afterwards Mahindranârâyan (was) the king of the earth. He was a devout Vaisnava, was virtuous and punished the wicked. He was a vegetarian. He ate Havisya. He recited the name and praise of Hari. He had no other work than Japa and worship”. Page 4.

Misra was his Gura (177 Rajsaka). He had several ministers like Bisvanâth Mustofi the son of Rup-chandra Mustofi. The following were the posts under the administration,—Chhatra Nazir, Raikat, Khâsnis, Khâsnavis, Medhi, Daptariâ, Mazumdâr, Dâkuâ, Bhândâr Thâkur, Garmahali, Garmahali Dewan, Bhitarkatak Dewan, and Hisâbia etc.

Three copies of manuscripts of the Visma Parva (of the Mahâbhârata) translated by Dvija Râma Kabirâja or Râma Sarasvati are preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library.

After the death of Mahindranârâyan there was no living descendant of Maharaja Birnârâyan. Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan was the son of Kumar Mahinârâyan the brother of Maharaja Birnârâyan, and he again declared himself 'king' on the ground that he was the oldest of the near Sapindas of the deceased king. He had cultivated the friendship of the Pâthân chiefs of Bengal who were opposed to the Mughals. Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva regarded Yajnanârâyan as a rebel, and resumed the struggle against him. Fighting became intense between 1700 to 1702 A. D. and the Raikats were killed in battle. Yajnanârâyan also died near Pâtgram,⁽¹⁵⁾ and Kumar Rûpnârâyan succeeded.

(15) In the copy of the decree in the Chaklâjât case in 1778 A. D. it is written that during the time of Fouzdar Âli Kuli Khân (1107—1118 B. S. = 1700—1711 A. D.) Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva were killed in battle with 'Raja' Yajnanârâyan, and after the death of Yajnanârâyan, Rupnârâyan became king.

According to another view Raikat Bhujadeva was killed in a battle with the Nazir.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 96.

The Râjopâkhyana has the version that at the beginning of the reign of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan, Raikat Jagadeva died and Bhujadeva was ill. During the reign of this king, Yajnanârâyan died and Santanârâyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir, and

Mahinārāyan had four sons. Two sons of the eldest Jagat nārāyan named Rupnārāyan and Visvanārāyan, and three sons of the second son Darpanārāyan named Satyanārāyan, Sântanārāyan and Kandanārāyan, were living. Kumars Rupnārāyan, Satyanārāyan and Sântanārāyan were the main support of their uncle Yajnanārāyan. It was due to their energy and valour, that the kingdom of Cooch Behar again came under the control of the line of Visvasinha after being freed from the grasp of the line of Sisvasinha. The record of Sântanārāyan's devotion should be

Devotion of Sântanārāyan.

considered a famous episode in the history of Cooch Behar.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is said that he went to Purnea and there attracted the attention of the Fauzdar by killing a tiger with his own hands. When Sântanārāyan became known as a descendant of the ruling family of Cooch Behar, the Fauzdar befriended him and promised to help

Rupnārāyan and Visvanārāyan were appointed Senāpatis. After the death of Maharaja Mahendranārāyan, Rupnārāyan became king with the consent of all (Narakhanda, Adhyāya 10 and 11). There is a contradiction of this account in the report of Mercer and Chauvet (Vol. II, pages 19—20, 166—171), in which it is said that the two Raikats and Yajnanārāyan were alive in the time of Maharaja Mahendranārāyan and Sântanārāyan recovered the kingdom from the two Raikats. (Vol. II, pages 49, 51, 170, 171).

Devīa Paramānanda wrote regarding Maharaja Rupnārāyan in the colophon of the Vanaparva (1797 A. D.).—

"With him the two, Satya and Sântanārāyan go to the war with delight. Killing the enemy, they recovered their kingdom as formerly the Pāndavas did the same". Page 4.

(16) "Shanto Narayan employed the power and influence he had acquired by the expulsion of the Roycuts in favour of the lineal successor, instead of assuming the Rāj himself or bestowing it on one of his brothers."

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 181.

Thirty or forty years after this was written, Munshi Jaynāth Ghosh wrote in the Rājapāthyāna,—"Sântanārāyan wanted to become king, but the soldiers did not agree. He was the Mansabdar in the Mansab of Nazir i. e. head of the department of the Nazir." Narakhanda, Adhyāya 11.

him with an armed force. Santanârâyan's force, allied with that of the Fouzdar, fought the two Raikats, and Raikat Bhundara was killed.⁽¹⁷⁾

MAHARAJA RÛPNÂRÂYAN.

Râjsaku 195—205 ; *Sakâbda* 1626—1636 : 1111—1121 *B. S.* ;
1704—1714 *A. D.*

Kumar Rûpnârâyan ascended the throne of Cooch Behar with general approval in about 1704 A. D. In pursuance of a previous arrangement, the new king appointed Kumar Santanârâyan as Chhatra Nazir, Kumar Satyanârâyan as Dewan, and Kumar Kundanârâyan as Subâ.⁽¹⁸⁾ New coin and seals were prepared, and the Chhatra Nazir offered Nazar to the king in the new coin and held the umbrella over his head. It was settled that as payment for their services the Nazir and the Dewan would respectively receive 5 Annas 17½ Gandas and one anna shares of the State lands. After internal peace had been restored, the Nazir made his head-quarters at Balarâmpur named after the deity Balarâma, and the Dewan in Bârâmkhânâ.

Maharaja Rûpnârâyan kept former ministers in their respective posts, but it was from this time that the Khâsnavis began to perform the duties of chief minister. The Nazir and Dewan were not personally associated with the administration of the kingdom, but appointed the officers. They lived

The Chief Minister.

(17) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 96. According to Mr. Glazier and Major Jenkins, Maharaja Rupnârâyan was aided by Musalmans. The same version occurs in Mr. Becket's report.

(18) The descendants of Kumar Kundanârâyan are now living in Jalgir Chilahânâ.

permanently outside the capital where they had only temporary residences.

Immediately, Maharaja Rûpnârâyan became engaged in war with the Fouzdar of Rungpur. Previously the Raikat, Kumar Yajnanârâyan and the Fouzdar had fought among themselves for the kingdom of Cooch Behar and after the death of the two Raikats, the fight was continued between the Fouzdar and the Maharaja who sought to recover places within the kingdom of Cooch Behar where the Mughal power had been established. Had the officers of his Chaklas been honest and loyal, the result of the long war might have been different.

War with the Fouzdar.

At this time the policy followed by the Mughal emperors was changed, and they were no longer satisfied with Nazar or presents and nominal acknowledgment of obedience. Their provincial Subadars were instructed to increase the revenue from newly conquered Châklâs or Sarkârs as much as possible.

The war brought some success to the Cooch Behar ruler. New Fouzdars who came to Rungpur found themselves unable to establish full control over their territories. That control had been weakened in the war with the two Raikats. But the rebel Pâthân Sardars of Bengal who sided with Cooch Behar, were gradually being exterminated in the course of continual war with the armies of the emperor.—At last a treaty was concluded whereby the Nabab gave up the three Chaklâs of Boda, Patgram and Purvabhâg and the three Chaklâs of Karjir Hât, Kâkinâ and Fatepur were included in the imperial dominions. This treaty was not ratified however by the Mughal authorities, and the Fouzdar responsible was dismissed. A new Fouzdar was appointed

Treaty.

who defeated the Maharaja, and resumed the Châklâs of Boda, Pâtgram and Pûrvabhâg. The terms of the treaty were changed (1713 A. D.).—Maharaja Rûpnârâyan died in 1714 A. D.⁽¹⁹⁾

At the conclusion of this treaty, a proposal was mooted to give the Châklâs of Boda, Pâtgram and Pûrvabhâg to Nazir Sântanârâyan. The emperor and the Maharaja assented, but Sântanârâyan who loved his brother and was devoted to his country did not agree. He was unwilling to be under an obligation to the emperor in exchange for the independence of part of his own country. Instead, an *Ijara* (lease) of Châklâs Boda, Pâtgram and Pûrvabhâg was taken on behalf of the Maharaja in the name of his Nazir, but as it was thought derogatory on the part of an independent king to take a lease in his own name in the sherista of the emperor, it was taken in the name of Nazir Sântanârâyan.

Sântanârâyan's independence.

(19) It is written in the copy of the decree of the case regarding Châklâs (1778 A. D.) that Sheik Iar Muhammad came with a large army and granted 'Barâbari miyed' (permanent agreement) to the Maharaja. An account of a fight between the latter's son and the Fouzdar is also given. 'Barâbari' is an Arabic word. Its meaning is 'equal', 'accompanying'. Miyed (Miyâd) is also an Arabic word meaning 'two promising between themselves', 'the place of promise', 'the time of promise', 'ascertainment of time' etc. It is inferred that the treaty with Iar Muhammad was of a permanent nature. It is also written in the decree, "The Naib Âmlâhâl (officers) filed a petition on behalf of the Bâdsâh that the settlement should be taken in the name of Nazir Deo. The king may make Masura (change) upon a second Sarhad (final settlement), and the army of the emperor will be greater in number than in the Subâ of Rungpur. Assent was given to this." The meaning of this is not apparent.

It is said in the Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs regarding Maharaja Rûpnârâyan,—"The number of soldiers of the Bhup Bahadur was made half by the Mughals." (Page 79). In this Vansâvali, the looting of the kingdom by the Mughal soldiers and the escape of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan, have been described." Page 78.

Gadādharaśin̄ha the Ahom king engaged several ^{Amhis} experts in survey, from Cooch Behar, to ascertain the area of his own kingdom. The next king Rudraśin̄ha invited

Architect Ghanasyāma. Ghanasyāma an architect who lived in Cooch Behar and erected beautiful palaces in the towns of Sivasāgar and Charāi Deo in Assam. (20)

The four sons of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan were Kumar Upendra nārāyan, Kharganārāyan, Visnunārāyan and Narendranārāyan.

Investiture of Yuvarāj. Visnunārāyan and Narendranārāyan had died in infancy. Maharaja Rūpnārāyan invested his eldest son Kumar Upendranārāyan as Yuvaraj.

It is evident that there was system of settlement and survey of lands during his rule, (21) the Chittah in this connection being maintained by the Dewan.

Both before and during the reign of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan there were officers such as the Balarāma Khāsnavis (185 Rājśaka

State officers.

= 1694 A. D.) Mahādeva Ray Khāsnavis (194—196 Rājśaka), Haradeva Ray (201—204 Rājśaka) and Chakrapāni Jāmdaria (202 Rājśaka), employed in the chief administrative posts. Kalikāprasad Mustofi the son of Visvanāth Mustofi was appointed to the post of his father. Maharaja Rūpnārāyan placed his own brother Visvanārāyan Kumar in charge of the Falker Mehal. Siddhanta Siromani Bhattācharya was the Rājgaru and a grant of land was made to him during an eclipse of the sun (196 Rājśaka).

(20) History of Assam, page 171.

Ghanasyāma was accused of having collected information regarding the internal affairs of the kingdom while staying in Assam and was killed for this.

(21) The documents dated 185 and 194 Rājśaka concerning this are preserved among old papers in the Mintachery Mahāteshkhana (now the Revenue Minister's office) of Cooch Behar.

By the advice of a Sannyāsi, Maharaja Rūpnārāyan transferred his capital from Ātharakotā (according to another view, Bārāmkhānā) to village Gurīāhātī (the present town of Cooch Behar)

Transfer of capital.
on the banks of the Torsa. The principal Brahmins and other castes also came to the new town.⁽²²⁾ The king continued to live at times at Torsār Pār and Basantapur. It is said that he was inspired by a dream to establish the image of "Pāt-dehada".⁽²³⁾

Maharaja Rūpnārāyan was of kindly and wise disposition, and a handsome man. He had deep religious interests and was versed in the Shāstras. His intelligence and capacity for work, commanded respect.

Personality of Rūpnārāyan.
Much of his reign was passed on the battle-field with Chhatra Nazir Sāntanārāyan whose loyalty and valour recalled, in the minds of the people, the qualities of Śukla-dhvaja.

The destruction caused by the family feuds which had divided the royal family of Cooch Behar after the death of Maharaja Prānnārāyan, was far greater than formerly. In a civil war lasting for about half a century, the kingdom of Cooch Behar was ill-equipped to face the swords of the conquering Mughal. Under such conditions began the rule of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan. Considering all circumstances it might have been regarded as impolitic to fight the great Mughal power, but Maharaja Rūpnārāyan was

(22) The Panchagrāmi Brahmins of Cooch Behar live in five villages named Khāgrābārī, Tākāgāch, Gurīāhātī, Moynāguri and Kāminirghāt.

(23) This king is also said to have established the image of Madanmohan, but it has been suggested in the account of the reign of Maharaja Naranārāyan that this is not true.

not so persuaded and devoted his life to the cause of his country's independence. By energetic measures, he ended the internal feud. In the external war, however, protecting his kingdom from the enemy outside he was deprived of one of the best and largest of his territories, (Kākina, Kārjir Hāt and Fatehpur Chāklā).

The kingdom which had been established under Maharaja Visvasinha became more than 3200 square miles in area as a result of the enterprise of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan.⁽²⁴⁾ Had not the Maharaja and his co-adjutor the Chhatra Nazir Santanārāyan appeared at this critical juncture, it is problematical what would have happened to the kingdom. After the conclusion of the treaty, friendship was established between Cooch Behar and the Nabab of Bengal and the Maharaja sent an Ukil (ambassador) to the Durbar of Nabab Murshid Kuli Khan.⁽²⁵⁾

(24) The present State of Cooch Behar and the portion of Jalpaiguri district known as 'Paschima Duar' were within the aforesaid area.

(25) "As soon as the Rajah of Assam received advice of the appointment of Moorshed Kuley Khan to the joint offices of Soobahder and dewan, he sent Budellee Bhookun (Phookan) to him as ambassador,.....His example was followed by the Rajah of Coatch Bahar, who also sent an ambassador with a nuzzir and peishkush." A Narrative of Bengal, page 33.

(Din Mahammad was an ambassador of the king in the Durbar of Nabab but when disturbances began in Cooch Behar, he was compelled to leave Murshidabad for want of funds. The writer of this present work belongs to the fifth generation of the family of Din Muhammad).

Possibly the aforesaid nazar and peskash were given in connection with the zemindary of the king under the Mughal dominion, comprising the three Chaklas of Boda, Patgram and Purvabag. "Rajah Rupnārāyan of Cooch Behar held three pergannas as Zemindar under Mughalraj; hence the peishkush (tribute). Ed." A Narrative of Bengal, footnote page 33.

MAHARAJA UPENDRANÂRÂYAN.

*Râisaka 205—254; Sakâbda 1636—1685; 1121—1170 B.S.,
1714—1763 A.D.*

Kumar Upendranârâyan succeeded his father in 1714 A. D., supported by both the Chhatra Nazir and the Dewan. The Chhatra Nazir held the umbrella over his head. The customary coins and seals were struck in the new king's name and he gave orders for the administration to be carried on as before.

Under Maharaja Râpnârâyan the southern boundary of the kingdom of Bhutan was fixed at the hills, but now the Bhutiyas began to raid to the plains and to loot the northern part of the kingdom. The Maharaja and the Nazir Deo engaged them in battle but were unable effectively to prevent the raids.

The friendship between Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Murshid Kuli Khan the Nabab of Bengal, ⁽²⁶⁾ did not endure under the next Nabab, Sujâuddin. As Maharaja Upendranârâyan was childless, he adopted Kumar Dinanârâyan the son of Dewan Deo Satyanârâyan and gave him certain powers of administration. With these Dinanârâyan was not satisfied and attempted to extort a written authority from the king naming him as heir to the throne. ⁽²⁷⁾ This of course the king would not do, more especially as a Sannyâsi had prophesied that a son would be born to the king. The breach widened and eventually Dinanârâyan sought the protection of Saiyad Ahmed the Fouzdar of

(26) Murshidâbâder Itihâs, page 357.

(27) In the Râjopâkhyâna it is said that at the root of this attempt of Dinanârâyan, was the instigation of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 12). But this is not probable perhaps for the appointment of Rudranârâyan in the post of the Chhatra Nazir was long after this.

Rungpur.⁽²⁸⁾ The Mughal Fouzdar was an opportunist and agreed to send forces against the king to help Dinanârâyan.

The king accompanied by the Nazir advanced to give battle. Dewan Deo Satyanârâyan (the father of Dinanârâyan) had deserted the king, and Khâsnavis Mahâdeva Rây had fled.⁽²⁹⁾ Gaurinandan Mustofi was appointed as Khâsnavis and when the Mughal soldiers penetrated Cooch Behar he accompanied the king to Jhâr Sinhesvar to the south of Mekliganj. Then when Sântanârâyan with his army was defeated the remaining Cooch Behar soldiers broke in all directions. Nazir Sântanârâyan was now an old man. Defeated in battle, he retired towards Rângâmâti (in the district of Goalpara) and thereafter the kingdom fell into the hands of the Fouzdar who made Dinanârâyan ruler of Cooch Behar (Râjasaka 226 = 1736 A. D.).⁽³⁰⁾

Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Gauriprasad Baksi were not, however, wholly despondent. They stimulated resistance to the

(28) It is written regarding Dinanârâyan in the Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs,— "He mentioned his sorrow to the Bâdsâh. He took 'Khânâ' (meal) of his own will. The emperor of Delhi being pleased with the behaviour of the Kumar, gave him five thousand soldiers to fight a battle." Page 80.

The taking of 'Khânâ' (or in other words embracing Mahomedanism) may be probable but it is doubtful whether he went to Delhi. However he may have gone to Murshidabad the capital of the Nabab. At this time, the Fouzdar of Rungpur took the assistance of the Nabab for the attack on Cooch Behar.

"He (the Fouzdar) obtained forces from Shuja Khan, and employed them against the rajahs of Coatch Bahar and Dinajpoor, who confiding in their riches and strength, wanted to make themselves independent." A Narrative of Bengal, page 83.

(29) Mahâdeva Rây was Khâsnavis during the time of Maharaja Râpnârâyan. His descendants are the Zemindars of Tapa in Rungpur.

(30) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 169; Eastern India, Vol III, pages 419—420; Vansâvali by Durgâdâs, page 112.

new regime in various ways and at last loyal officers collected a new army. A treaty was concluded with the Debrâj of Bhutân who promised aid, and the terms were communicated to the Nazir in Rângâmâti who also began to collect forces. Gauriprasâd Baksi displayed great energy in preparing for the campaign of liberation. The Fouzdar was simultaneously attacked from the west by an army led by the king and Gauriprasad Baksi, from the north by the Bhutiyas of Devrâj and from the east by the Nazir with his own army. In a bloody struggle a large number of Mughal soldiers were killed, the Fouzdar was defeated and escaped towards Rungpur (1737—1738 A. D.). The discomfited Dînanârâyan later died in exile.

As this victory was mainly achieved through the efficiency of Gauriprasâd Baksi, the king appointed him Khâsnavis in place of Gaurinandan and honoured him with Khilât, Nâkârâ, Nisân (flag) etc. befitting the post. Gauriprasâd's younger brother Bhabâniprasâd Baksi was appointed Commander-in-Chief.⁽³¹⁾ It was suspected that Dewan Deo Satyanârâyan had intrigued with Dînanârâyan. He was dismissed from office, and his Jaigir was confiscated. The king's youngest brother Kumar Kharganârâyan was appointed Dewan (Râjsaka 223). Now old and disgraced Satyanârâyan lived at Seoraguri under the supervision of the Chhatra Nazir. His descendants still live there. Kântanârâyan the son of Satyanârâyan had been the 'Subâ'. The king dismissed him also and appointed Harinârâyan the son of Kundanârâyan in his place.⁽³²⁾

(31) The descendants of Bhabaniprasad are now Zemindars of Lâchâpta (Nâodânga) in the district of Rungpur, to the south of Cooch Behar.

(32) The descendants of Kântanârâyan are living in village Khatimâri in Dinbata. The dates of the reign of Dînanârâyan will be discussed in the last Chapter.

The influence of the Bhutiyas increased with the king's dependence upon them in fighting with Mughals, and so long as they were useful the king could not displease them.

Friendship prevailed between Maharaja Upendranârâyan and the Raja of Dinajpur. Imitating the action of their forefathers they exchanged turbans as a mark of mutual esteem.⁽³³⁾

Previously the Brahmins of the Vaidik Sreni of Kâmarup were the royal Gurus. In their place, Maharaja Upendranârâyan took a Brahmin of the Râdhiya Sreni named Satânanda Gosvâmi of village Sâdi Khân in Murshidâbâd as Râj-Guru. He often lived at the capital. After the death he was succeeded by Râmânanda Gosvâmi his son.

About 1153 B. S. (1746 A. D.) the Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan died at the reputed age of 96. He had a Kâmât (Golâbhari or farm) at Balarâmpur, and lived there after becoming Chhatra Nazir. Being without issue, he adopted Kumar Lalitnârâyan the son of Kumar Visvanârâyan and grandson of Kumar Jagatnârâyan. Lalitnârâyan was at first appointed Gâbur Nazir (junior Nazir) and after the death of Sântanârâyan became Chhatra Nazir. Sântanârâyan established Sandesvar Siva and the image of Dariâ Balâi.

Maharaja Upendranârâyan had two queens. The elder, known as Bara Aye Devati, was a lady of determined character. There was a dancing girl named Lâl Bâi and when the king associated with her in

(33) In the Râjopâkhyâna, the name of Prânnâth occurs as a Raja of Dinajpur. (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 12). After the death of Raja Prânnâth in 1722 A. D. his son Raja Râmnâth was the Raja from 1722 to 1760 A. D.

Dhaliabari,⁽³⁴⁾ the Bara Aye Devati was so chagrined that she prohibited the king from entering her apartments, and a faithful Duârnî (door-keeper) named Châmpâ carried out the order.

The younger queen bore the king a son, Devendranârâyan. Now old he had lived at times in Basantapur but died in 1763

A. D. at the palace of Dhaliabari.⁽³⁵⁾ The Bara Aye Devati Mahârâni hastened there accompanied by Gauriprasâd Bakshi,

Gaurinandan Mustofi and the Commander-in-Chief Bhabâniprasâd. The Chhatra Nazir Lalitnârâyan Kumar also went there. They consulted together and brought the young prince Devendranârâyan to the palace in Cooch Behar and duly performed his installation (1763 A. D.).

There was a 'Dhâlâ Jabda' (survey of the whole country) during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan.⁽³⁶⁾ The following were the officers employed in chief posts

State officers.

in the administration.—Hardeva Ray Khâsnavis (205—211 Râjsaka), Jaydeva Durbar Khan (212 Râjsaka), Raghupati Ray (212—217 Râjsaka), Chakrapâni Jamdâria (223 Râjsaka), Hiresvara Kârji (228 Râjsaka), Jagadisa Kârji (230 Râjsaka), Rasik Ray (231 Râjsaka),

(34) It is said that the town of Lâlbâzâr was named after this Lâi Bâi. A detailed account regarding this has already been given, (Note 8 Chapter III).

(35) We learn from the Râjopâkhyâna that during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, the Sinhachâp seal was stolen and the seal with "Sri" inscribed on it was prepared and used instead. This account has been proved false by the discovery of an old document bearing the 'Sri' seal and dated 188 Râjsaka (1697 A. D.).

(36) Dhâlâ Jabd is referred to in old documents dated 237, 238 and 242 Râjsaka. 'Jabd' is an Arabic word meaning "proper preservation of account of anything after ascertaining its real nature".

Debiprasād Sarmā (239 Rājśaka), Ratneswar Kārji, Jibesvar Kārji (245 Rājśaka), and Balesvar Kārji (250 Rājśaka).⁽³⁷⁾

During the time of Maharajās Rāpnārāyan and Upendra-nārāyan, the following were the several posts.—Sardār, Jamādār, Laskar, Sardār Paik, Bāher Kotāl, Garmahali, Aswār, Chithir Kāyastha, Bara Kāyastha, Bara Kāyasth Kārji, Kārji, Senāpati, Kārji Durbar Khan, Isar Bara Kāyasth, Naib, Ukil, Bakshi, Desiya Bakshi, Sikdār, Dewān Khāsnavis, Khās Dewāniā, Hisabnavis, Wakkanavis, Nikāsanavis, Pātwarī, Basuniyā, Tehsildār, Daptariā, Bhitar Daptariā, Pujāri, Kīrtanīya, Pātra, Bhāndār, Thākur, Chaudhuri, Majumdār, Āmin, Muhuri, Gomasta, Dalāi etc.

During the reign of Maharaja Upendranārāyan, Srīnātha Brahmin of Kāmatānagar translated the Mahābhārata into verse.

His Virātparva has been discovered.

Literature.

Under the orders of Kumar Kharganārāyan brother of the king, Narayana Dvija translated the Nāradiya Purāna into verse which is preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library.

During the reign of Maharaja Upendranārāyan there was (11th October 1737 A. D.) a terrible earthquake widely felt in

Earthquake.

the country. In Calcutta many brick-built buildings of the East India Company were destroyed. The whole of Bengal and Chittagong again experienced an earthquake on the 2nd April, 1762 A. D.—There is no written account, however, as to how far the force of these earthquakes was felt in Cooch Behar.

(37) Ratneswar Kārji was the son-in-law of Maharaja Rāpnārāyan. He was the Bara Kāyasth (chief writer) and Senāpati.

MAHARAJA DEVENDRANÂRÂYAN.

*Râjsaka 254—256; Sakâbda 1685—1687; 1170—1172 B.S.;
1763—1765 A. D.*

In 1763 A. D. the boy king Devendranârâyan was installed seated on the 'Châk Bâlis' in the lap of Chhatra Nazir Lalit-nârâyan. The Dharmâdhyaksa placed the 'Râjtika' on his forehead. (38) The Waqqa (order) for cremating the body of the late king was written and the eldest queen (Bara Aye Devati) ascended the funeral pyre of her husband. Thereafter Maharaja Devendranarayan performed the Srâdh in the capital of Cooch Behar according to the proper rites laid down in the Shâstras.

The minister Gaurinandan Mustofi, Ganriprasâd Bakshir Khâsnavis, Haresvar Kârji Khâs Dewaniâ etc. began to administer the kingdom on behalf of the minor king under instructions from the Mahârâni (the mother of the king). Gaurinath Isore a daughter's son of Maharaja Râpnârâyan entered the service of the State when he was 17 or 18 years old and subsequently became Bara Kâyasth and Senâpati.

At this time the influence of the Bhutiyas increased. One of their representatives was at Cooch Behar with some soldiers, and it was necessary to take his assent in certain matters of administration. The Subâ of Buxa Duar came every year to Chekâkhâtâ with the chief Bhutiya officers to present Nazar

The influence of Bhutiya's.

(38) The Râjopâkhyâna says that at the time of installation, Maharaja Devendranârâyan was four years old. (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 13). The witnesses on behalf of the Nazir stated before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that the King was 17 or 18 months old when installed. The priest gave him some food to prevent his crying. (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II., page 35, 48). The king sat on the lap of the Nazir. The witnesses on behalf of the king did not mention the age of the king but said that when Abhayânârâyan was made Nazir, the king walked and sat on the seat unaided. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II., page 83.

to the king. They offered horses, Kochin and Debānga cloths, svetamālā, bhotmālā, musk, white chowries, walnuts, bhot ghee, bhot plums etc. The king also proceeded there accompanied by the Nazir and the Dewan, and presents worth double those brought by the Bhutiyās, were given as Inām (Khilāt). In addition, the hill-men were regaled with a feast which included a large quantity of ham and wine.

During the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan, Nazir Lalit nârâyan died without issue and at that time Abhayānârâyan and

Investiture of the Nazir.

Rudranârâyan two sons of Kumar Hema-nârâyan the eldest son of the Nazir's father, were living. Under orders of the

Maharani, the mother of the king, Kumar Abhayānârâyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir on behalf of the minor king, and in the forenoon one day, a Durbar was held in Rangamandir. Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan sat with the infant king in this Durbar. Kumar Abhayānârâyan was brought before the king and offered five Mohurs and a Turkish horse as Nazir. Under instructions from the Maharani, Dewan Deo asked the infant king to pass orders for offering siropā to the new Nazir. The king repeated the words of the Dewan, and Jadunandan Bhândâr Thākūr presented Kumar Abhayānârâyan with a Khelāt consisting of a garment, turban, cloth and a Turkish horse. In addition, Dankā, flag and Ârāni were given to indicate the status of the Nazir. Devidatta Waqqānavis wrote the Sunnud appointing the Nazir and placed it before the king. The Bhândâr Thākūr placed it on

Nazir Abhayānârâyan.

the turban of the Nazir. The Nazir issued from the Durbar, announced the news of his investiture by beating the Dankā and went to the temple of Madanmohon. The Maharani (mother of the king) was present at the back of the Rangamandir at the time of investiture of the Nazir and the newly appointed Nazir went to her and made obeisance.

Abhayanârâyan died eight months after he was appointed Nazir, and his youngest brother Râdranârâyan succeeded him. (39)

His investiture was performed with the same procedure as was adopted in the case of Abhayanârâyan, and an afternoon Durbar was held in the courtyard of the Madanmohan temple. Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan died during the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan and his eldest son Kumar Râmnârâyan was appointed to the post.

On the 12th August 1765 A. D. the Hon'ble East India Company was entrusted under a Firman issued by Sâha Âlam the emperor of Delhi, with the realisation of the revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Accordingly, the revenue of Châklâs Boda, Pâtgram and Purvabhâg in Mughal territory, was paid to the Company.

After a reign of two years the boy king Devendranârâyan was assassinated. As Durgâdâs has written, the Râjguru Râmananda Gosvâmi became engaged in intrigue against the king, and the Maharani passed orders for his expulsion from the capital. The Gosvâmi went to the Nazir Deo at Balarâmpur and planned revenge. He inspired a plot to kill the king and oust the boy's mother by making the Nazir who gave him shelter, king.

(39) The Râjopâkhyâna says that Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan and Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan made Kumar Debendranârâyan king in 1170 B. S. (Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 12). Twenty-five years after, Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet heard from eye-witnesses that Debendranârâyan became king when Lalitnârâyan was Chhatra Nazir. Manirâm Sarmâ a witness on behalf of Khagendranârâyan said that at that time Dewan Kharganârâyan himself attempted to become king, but Chhatra Nazir Lalitnârâyan protested "None can become king when the son of the king is living". There was likelihood of a fight between them but actually it did not take place.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 36.

Opportunity was not lost in selecting an instrument,—a Brahmin called Rati Sarmâ. A follower of Rāmānanda, this person knew his way about the palace and the normal movements of the king. One afternoon, to the south-east of the palace, on the bank of the tank known as Padmapuskarini, potters were digging a well and nearby the boy king was playing. As Rati Sarmâ approached, the king saluated him and asked the reason for his visit. Rati Sarmâ feigned thirst and asked for some drinking water. Then when one of the two attendants left to bring the water, Rati Sarmâ unsheathed a hidden sword, dashed towards the boy and struck off his head. Presumably in order to seek some form of divine sanction to this most dastardly of crimes, the assassin gathered up the head, ran to a nearby temple and placing it before the image of the goddess, sat there in Dhyāna (meditation). Those who witnessed the deed, were at first dumbfounded, but then pursued the assassin and cut him to pieces in the temple.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(40) The Vansāvali written by Durgādās, page 81.

The information furnished to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet on behalf of the king and mainly recorded under advice from Rājguru Sarvānanda Gosvāmi, was that Rati Sarmâ was not a co-villager or paid servant of Rāmānanda Gosvāmi but merely stayed in the latter's house. He killed the king on the way to the palace from the house of Gaurinātha Isore. At that time Ramananda Gosvāmi was at Balarampur, etc.

Rati Sarmâ also killed a boy named Pusanath who was one of the Khidmatgārs. Gaurinandan Mustofi tried to prevent the killing of Rati Sarmâ in order to find out the cause of the assassination, but the excited people paid no attention to him. The men of Gaurinatha killed Rati Sarmâ.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol II, page 20.

About a century later, Major Jenkins recorded that this assassination took place at the instigation of Rāmānanda Gosvāmi.

Major Jenkins' Report, page 32.

When news of the assassination of Maharaja Devendranârâyan spread in the town, the people ran widely towards the palace. There the distracted Maharani was crying over the headless body of her son in her lap. Principal officers like Mahâmantri Gaurinandan Mustofi and Khâsnavis Gauriprasâd Bakshi were standing at a respectful distance in silent grief. The idea of an enquiry into the murder lapsed, the minds of all being obsessed with the horror of what had taken place. It was some time later that officers removed the Maharani. Her grief intensified when Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan came to the palace.

It was thought that the presence of the Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan was essential to determine the important question of the succession. Sachinandan Mustofi was

Beginning of a family feud.

immediately despatched to him and the Nazir when he was apprised of the terrible news at first displayed his sorrow. After consulting with his relatives he decided that "as the line of Maharaja Upendranârâyan has become extinct, it is fit that the charge of the kingdom should be taken over by my descendants." There were two sons of the late Chhatra Nazir Abhayânârâyan, Bhagavantânârâyan and Khagendranârâyan. The right leg of Bhagavanta was defective, and it was considered that he was therefore unfit to become a king. The younger Khagendranârâyan though a boy had many qualifications which befitted him, and Nazir Rudranârâyan determined he should be the next ruler. Accordingly he advanced on Cooch Behar with four or five thousand soldiers. Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan was very angry when he was informed of the Nazir's intentions and sent word to the Nazir that so long as Maharaja Upendranârâyan's brother's son was alive, no one else had right to the throne. He added that if the Nazir associated himself in so unworthy an act, war would be inevitable. The Dewan Deo suited action to his words and began to assemble a force. He combined his own with the king's bodyguard, but even then he

had not a quarter of the Nazir's forces. Under the latter's orders, the town was besieged.

The ministers Gaurinâth Barakâyasth Kârji, Gaurinandan Mustofi, Gauriprasâd Bakshi and others consulted together. They went to Dewan Deo Râmnârâyan and then to the Nazir. When all of them were seated, the Nazir told the ministers,—“There is no son of Maharaja Upendranârâyan ; so I am resolved to make Khagendranârâyan king. What do you say ?” Gaurinath Kârji who though young, was of good family and markedly intelligent replied, “You are the chief of the descendants of Maharaja Visvasinha and the patron of them all. You have passed your life and acquired fame as a leader. The last stage of your life has arrived. No one has power to undo what you may do, but I say this. Rati Sarmâ lived in Balarampur for a long time. He suddenly came to the capital and assassinated the boy king. If now you deprive the brother's sons of Maharaja Upendranârâyan (of the kingship) and make your brother's son king, the people will say forever—‘The Nazir Deo Rudranârâyan came to lust for the kingdom and assassinated the boy king through Rati Sarmâ’. So will they be your enemies”. Rudranârâyan highly praised the intelligence of this reply and renounced his proposal. The danger had been averted by the presence of mind of Gaurinâtha.

Discussion then fell to considering who among the brother's sons of Maharaja Upendranârâyan (the sons of Dewan Kharganârâyan), should be king. Kharganârâyan had five sons, Râmnârâyan, Rajendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan, Surendranârâyan and Baikunthanârâyan, popularly known as Ram, Krisna, Gopal, Govinda and Jadumani respectively. The eldest Kumar Râmnârâyan had previously accepted the post of the Dewan and was held to be unfit since he was already a servant of the king. The second, Kumar Rajendranârâyan had “a sore in his finger” and

Selection of a king.

was also declared unfit. The third Kumar, Dhairyendranârâyan, was selected, and the Maharani also, proposed Kumar Dhairyendranârâyan. The ministers informed Dewan Râmnârâyan, who though he himself had ambitions, realised the opposition there would be against him, and assented to the decision of the ministers.

CHAPTER XII.

MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANÂRÂYAN.

Rajaka 256—261; Sakabda 1692; 1172—1177 B. S.;
1765—1770 A. D.

In 1765 A. D. Kumar Dhairyendranârâyan was installed with popular approval. During the installation the Chhatra Nâzir Rudranârâyan held the umbrella; and according to the practice followed in the past, new coins were struck and presented by the Nazir, the Dewan and others. During the installation, Kumar Khagendranârâyan the youngest son of the former Nâzir Kumar Abhaynârâyan, and brother's son of Kumar Rudranârâyan, was appointed Gâbur Nâzir and the Siropâ and Sunnud were presented to him.

The Chhatra Nâzir began to collect revenue of Zila Mathabhanga and Zila Gitaldaha personally on the pretext that military expenditure had to be met. The
Officers. brothers Gauriprasad Khasnavis and
Bhabaniprasad Senapati were dead and
as Rameswar the son of Gauriprasad and Visnuprasad the son
of Bhabaniprasad were both minors, they were not placed in
any post. Gaurinandan Mustofi was given the high post of
Khasnavis. His brother Sachinandan Mustofi was a great
favourite and much was done under his advice.

When news of the assassination reached the Devarāja of Bhutan, he was enraged. On enquiry it had transpired that Rati Sarma the assassin was a resident of the village in which Rāmānanda lived and it was by Rāmānanda himself that he had been brought to Cooch Behar. Moreover the sword with which the king was killed was the personal property of Rāmānanda Gosvāmi. The Devarāja therefore considered Rāmānanda Gosvāmi as the real author of a despicable crime and sent a body of troops to arrest him. The Bhutiyā soldiers came to Balarampur and seized the Gosvāmi. Tying his hands behind his back they hung him like a beast on a bamboo and took him in this fashion to their capital town Punākhyā (or Punākḥā). There Rāmānanda was executed, and when news of this reached his cousin Sarbānanda Gosvāmi, the latter proceeded to Cooch Behar and after giving spiritual initiation to the king by mantras was appointed to the influential post of Rājguru. ⁽¹⁾

The execution of Gosvāmi Rāmānanda marked a further change in the policy of Bhutan. Devarāja repudiated the supremacy of Dharmarāja and declared his own independence (1767 A. D.). Already before this, Devarāja or Devayadhur (Debyoddhā) had entertained ambitions of a dominion over plains of Cooch Behar. After the assassination of the Cooch Behar king, Pensu Toma had been sent with soldiers as Devayadhur's representative and he began to interfere unduly

(1) The party of the Nazir said before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Sarbānanda Gosvāmi was the youngest brother of Rāmānanda. The king's party said that Rāmānanda was distantly related to Sarbānanda. (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 15, 20).—Dayāmayi Debya the wife of Krishna-chandra Gosvāmi who was the grandson of Āsānanda (the brother of Sarbānanda) filed a petition before the Agent in Gauhati in 1843 A. D. In it was mentioned that Satānanda the father of Rāmānanda was the eldest brother of Panchānanda the father of Sarbānanda.

in affairs of administration, until eventually his consent became indispensable. Then when Devayadhur crossed the boundary to fulfil his plan of aggrandisement, the Raikat of Baikunthapur joined him. The result of this expedition was that Jalpesvar, Mandâs etc. were occupied by the Bhutiyâs, though the territories of Laksmipur, Santarâbâri, Marâghât, Bholka etc. remained within the Cooch Behar raj.

In 1767 A. D. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan married Kâmatesvari Devi the sister of Rupchandra Bara Kayastha Karji, and at the same time five other

Nazir Khagendranârâyan.

beautiful and accomplished maidens including Bhubanesvari Devi. A year after the combined marriage festivities, the Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan died, and the king appointed the Gâbur Nazir Khagendranârâyan (the nephew of Rudranârâyan) as Chhatra Nâzir. Kumar Khagendranârâyan did not come to Cooch Behar however to take over charge, but deputed

Chhatra Nazir.

Kumar Samarsinha and Bandirâm Jamadar to appear in the royal Durbar to receive the Naziri Sunnud and Siropâ and bring them to Balarampur. While Kumar Khagendranârâyan had genius and influence, there was a streak of cruelty in his character.

The Maharani gave birth to a son in 1768 A. D. and he was named Dharendranârâyan.

Under Dewan Deo Kumar Ramnârâyan, the ministers Gaurinandan Mustofi and the queen's brother Rupchandra Bara Kayasth Karji carried on the administration. Dewan Deo was ambitious by nature and his power and influence were gradually extended throughout the kingdom. When however this authority began to concern itself with purely family matters

Authority of Ramnârâyan.

of the royal household the king became apprehensive that his own powers were being curtailed. Thus the Dewan Deo took it upon himself to select Geleng Karji as a bridegroom for the youngest sister of the king, and disregarding the king's opposition the arrangements proceeded, and the marriage took place, to the king's great discomfiture.

In Rajsaka 260 (1769 A. D.) the Devayadhur of Bhutan attacked Vijaypur. ⁽²⁾ In pursuance of the terms of the

treaty previously concluded, Bhutan invited the king of Cooch Behar to participate in this enterprise. Dewan Deo

Kumar Râmnârâyan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Cooch Behar army was ordered to join the Bhutiyâs, and the combined army proved victorious. As a result the conquered territory was occupied by the Devayadhur and the plunder in money and jewels fell into the hands of Dewan Râmnârâyan who delivered only a small portion of the loot to the king and himself misappropriated the rest. This was one of the various causes leading to a rupture between the king and his Dewan.

The king was not unaware that Dewan Deo Râmnârâyan had harboured designs on the throne itself and that these had been baffled. The king was naturally embittered against the Dewan, and a climax was reached when he felt it unwise to give the Dewan any further latitude and he dismissed him, appointing his younger brother Surendranârâyan in the post. The king did not underestimate the influence of Râmnârâyan and the probability of his becoming engaged in a

Feud between king and Dewan.

(2) Vijaypur was near Morang territory to the north of Purnea. Later on the Gorkhâ king of Nepal conquered it.

Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 150, 161, 165.

The country of Sikkim is also called 'Vijaypur Sikkim'. History of Nepal, page 232.

revolt or a plot. Orders were therefore issued to hold the dismissed Dewan a prisoner and to confiscate all his jaigira. Kumar Râmnârâyan however anticipated this action and escaped to Bhutan. With the help of Devayadhur of Bhutan, he even succeeded in reestablishing himself in his post ⁽³⁾. Thereafter and in the face of this humiliation, the king's anger knew no bounds, and his trusted but evil counsellors, Sachinandan, Mustofi, Râm Thâkur, Kâlâ Pujari and Kâlâ Khândâdharâ were always ready with their provocative advice.— "Râmnarayan Deo is the authority. Whatever he wishes, is done. You are merely a king in name, a figurehead. As long as the Dewan is alive, your reign is unreal" ⁽⁴⁾. Information true, half true or false was daily conveyed to the king of the increasing power of the Dewan and the loss of royal prestige. At last his advisers insinuated into his mind the idea of murdering Râmnârâyan and the idea hatched into a plot the plans for which were eagerly laid. The king was ready to pollute his own hands with the blood of his elder brother. Dewan Râmnârâyan was informed of the "illness of the king", and on the afternoon of the same day reached the door of the palace accompanied by his guard. Senâpati Gandharva Sinha met him and said "The Maharaja is unwell. It is not fit for you to advance with so many men." As these words seemed to him not unreasonable, the Dewan Deo left the guard outside and passed through the first door with only six or seven attendants. At the second door, the durwan said "The Maharaja is ill. He has prohibited you bringing more than one or two men with you"; and so the Dewan advanced with only two attendants. The king was in a chamber "on the northern bank of a tank." Some armed attendants Ram Thakur, Kâlâ Pujari, Kâlâ Khândâdharâ and others were with him. As the Dewan

(3) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 15, 21.

(4) Râjopâkhyâna. Narakhandâ, Adhyaya 14.

reached the steps near the door he was told,—“There is no order for any one but you to enter”. He entered alone, still without suspicion of any danger. He was surprised to see the king sitting on his seat and apparently enjoying the best of health. Even then, it may be, he did not apprehend his position. He sat down on a seat in front of the king. In accordance with the ancient custom of Ksatriyas or Râjputs, the descendants of Visvasinha, he had come armed. Straightway the king said, “Dâdâ (elder brother), let me see your sword”, and the Dewan Deo at once and without suspicion unsheathed his sword and handed it to his younger brother who affected curiosity and examined both sides of the blade with attention. Suddenly the sword fell with great force seriously wounding the Dewan in the hand. Utterly surprised the unfortunate victim made vain efforts to hold the hilt of the sword with his left hand, and appealed again and again, “Maharaj! What is my fault?” Wounded and helpless he ran out through the western door but his guard was not there and as soon as he reached the courtyard, Kâlâ and others of the conspirators cut him down with stick and sword. The faithful guard, when they heard what was afoot, advanced, but Senâpati Gandharva Sinha frustrated their efforts.

It was thus in 260 Rajsaka (1176 B. S. or 1769 A. D.) that Maharaja Dhairyaendranârâyan murdered his elder brother. The Bhutiya representative Pensu Toma took no action but he collected the names of the king's advisers, and left for Bhutan. The king again appointed Kumar Surendranârâyan as Dewan. Khasnavis Gaurinandan Mustofi owing to old age or because he was so shocked by the murder of the Dewan, gave up his post. The administration was conducted with the advice of his younger brother Sachinandan Mustofi. Kumar Rajendranârâyan the elder brother of the king had been greatly attached to the murdered Dewan Râmnârâyan. Thinking it unsafe to reside

in the capital, he went to Balarampur, and advised by Nazir Khagendranârâyan, he reported what had happened, to Devayadhur. Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvami came to Cooch Behar with Kâsinath Lahiri ⁽⁵⁾ and reproached the king for his evil deed.

When the news reached the Devayadhur in Bhutan, he presumed that the king had either lost his senses or Dewan Râmnârâyan had been disposed of because
 The plan of Devayadhur. he had associated with and received favour from the Bhutân râj. The Devayadhur determined to depose Maharaja Dhairvendranârâyan to make way for his brother Kumar Rajendranârâyan. He first sought the approval of the Lama of Tibet and tried to bring the authorities at Lhasa to share his views ⁽⁶⁾.

Under the Devayadhur's orders a Bhutiyâ force marched to Buxa Duar. Information was sent to Cooch Behar regarding the annual feast to be held in Chekâkhâtâ in accordance with previous practice. It was specially requested,—“This time the Maharaj and the Dewan Deo may be personally present in the feast”. In Cooch Behar the real import of this invitation was realised. The king sent a reply that he was unwell, and that the Khasnavis and other high officers would be present on his behalf and manage the feast well. The Bhutiyâ officers however were not satisfied with this reply and pressed for the personal presence of the Maharaja at the feast. Replies and counter-replies were exchanged. At last Gaurinandan Mustofi went to the Bhutiyâs to ascertain their real intentions. The old minister was completely bluffed by the Bhutiyas and concluded that their invitation to the king was inspired only by their courtesy and simplicity. Then when Pensu Toma himself

(5) The descendants of Kâsinath Lahiri are the Zemindars of Naldanga in Rangpur.

(6) Narrative of the Bogle Mission, pages 135, 202.

came to Cooch Behar and took an oath in the name of Mahâkal the king's doubts were removed, and although Kâsinath Lahiri and Sarbânanda Gosvami were against the king's visit to Chekâkhâtâ and made many remonstrances against it they were disregarded. On the appointed day, the king journeyed to Chekâkhâtâ accompanied by the Nazir Deo, the Dewan Deo and other principal officers. Both parties encamped on prearranged sites. The Bhutiyâs placed their own guard in the rear of the king's tent. The Nazir Deo, surrounded by his own soldiers, pitched his tent a little way off, and paid no heed to the Bhutiyâs' objection to his arrangements.

Night passed, and early in the morning the Bhutiya general informed the king that he would have to go to Buxa. The king received this order in silence and without protests. Immediately two horses

The king and the Dewan Deo made prisoners.

were brought before the king and the Dewan, and the general told them gravely that willing or not they would have to mount. Simultaneously all persons who had been connected with the murder of the Dewan,—Sachinandan Mustofi, Râm Thâkur, Kâlâ Pujari, Kâlâ Khândâdharâ, Pati Jhâridharâ and others—were seized and sent to Buxa. After two days in Buxa, the prisoners were moved to the city of Punâkhyâ, the capital of Bhutân where the prisoners other than the king and the Dewan were fettered and thrown into prison. Three or four handfuls of coarse dirty rice, salt and sutki (dried fish or flesh) formed their daily ration. The king and the Dewan were confined under surveillance in comparatively better conditions.

The Bhutiyas had escorted the king and the Dewan from Chekâkhâtâ with great expedition. By the time Nazir Khagendranârâyan the Commander-in-Chief of the king's army went to the king's tent, the prisoners had left. It was their lasting disgrace that the Nazir Deo and Jnândas Sardar made

no attempt to protect the king although they were present on the spot with armed force at their disposal. Gaurinandan Mustof who had been present in Chekakhâtâ, left overwhelmed with shame.

While Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan was kept prisoner in Bhutan, the Bhutiya chiefs brought Kumar Râjendranârâyan to Cooch Behar and made him king. Selection of a new king. Pensu Toma remained in Cooch Behar with soldiers to support the new regime.

When news of the king's captivity had reached the Maharani, she fainted. In her grief she secluded herself in the inner apartments of the palace with Kumar Dharendranârâyan.

During this reign a serious famine afflicted the whole of Bengal. As it happened in 1176 B. S. it came to be known in the history of Bengal and traditions of the people as "Chhüyâtтарer Manvantar" ("the famine of 76"). Cooch Behar suffered from scarcity but no detailed description of conditions has survived. We know however that Armenian and French marchants opened a depôt for collecting grain at Kursâ on the southern boundary of Cooch Behar. The grains grown near Kursâ was normally exported to Rungpur and Mr. Gross the then Supervisor of Rungpur sent a letter of request to the king that this might not be stopped.

In old papers is found an account of the Dhâlâ Jabd (settlement of the whole country) in the kingdom of Cooch Behar in 257 Rajsaka. In 1176 B. S. (1769 A. D.) the boundary between Cooch Behar and the territory of the Company was fixed. Some taluks of Gitaldhaha and Batris Hâjâri pargannas were separated from Châkle Kâkinâ and included in Cooch Behar.⁽⁷⁾

Determination of the boundary of the kingdom.

(7) "Sambhuvansa Charita" of Kâkinâ, page 12,

MAHARAJA RAJENDRANÂRAYAN.

Rājapāṭi 261—262 ; *Sakāḍā* 1692—1693 ;

1177—1178 B. S. ; 1770—1772 A. D.

Kumar Rajendranârâyan was set on the royal throne by the Bhutiyâs, and not in accordance with the family custom. Further, Maharaja Dhiryendranârâyan was living. For these reasons neither his subjects and ministers were disposed to regard him as supposititious.⁽⁸⁾ None of the former ministers joined the administration, Gaurinandin Mustofi purposely remaining absent. The new king appointed Bijendranârâyan the son of the murdered Dewan Ramnârâyan as Dewan, Hereswar Karji as Khâs Dewania, and Jadunandan Bhândâr Thakur to the Mâlkhânâ. Pensu Toma, the Bhutiyâ representative was supreme and the royal officers obeyed his orders.

The Bhutiyâ control rendered it more and more difficult for the Nazir to maintain his authority, and gradually bickering arose between him and the Bhutiyâs. Both king and Nazir had become contemptible in the eyes of the people because they tolerated the overweening bearing of the Bhutiyâs. It became difficult to transmit important information to the king and still more to meet the most necessary expenditure of the royal family. The income from the small 'Khâmârkhatâ' and 'Andaran' lands of the Maharani was utilised for the household and for Satyabhâmâ Devi the mother of the king.

(8) It is not mentioned in the Rājopâkhyâna that the umbrella was held by the Nazir at the installation. It is inferred that actually this was not done. The witnesses on behalf of Nasir Khagendranârâyan before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet revealed that Rajendranârâyan became king with the assent of the Bhutiyâs and of Nasir Khagendranârâyan. (Mercer and Chauvet Report, Vol. II, pages 37, 44). Presumably the custom of holding the umbrella at the installation was within the matters for enquiry by the Commissioners; otherwise it is doubtful whether evidence on this point would have been given on behalf of Khagendranârâyan.

After two years, the marriage of the new king took place. The customary letters of invitation were sent to many guests including Nazir Khagendranârâyaṇa. The Devayadhur being invited and having received the usual offerings, made various presents through a Jinkâp (officer). Kâsinath Lahiri, Sarbânanda Gosvami, Kumar Baikunthanârâyaṇ and other Kumars, Kârjis and Isores were present at the marriage and offered presents. This marriage was celebrated in Chaitra 1178 B. S. (262 Râjsaka or 1772 A. D.).

The king was attacked with fever on the fifth day after his marriage. On the after-noon of the day when Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyaṇ came to the capital after learning of the illness, the king died. He came to be called 'Lakhâi Râja' by the people.* He had ruled only for two years and some months.

Death of the king.

His untimely death was the occasion of fresh unrest owing to the uncertainty of the succession. Pensu Toma having informed Devayadhur of the death of the king, aided the brother of the late king, Kumar Baikunthanârâyaṇ, to raise Kumar Bijendranârâyaṇ the son of Dewan Ramnârâyaṇ to the throne. Raikat Darpadeva lent his support to this scheme, for though the ambitions of the previous Raikats had been frustrated, the later Raikats were no less desirous of political power, and were always on the quiver for an opportunity

Differences regarding the
succession.

Considering all the circumstances, it does not appear probable that Nazir Khagendranârâyaṇ consented to the installation of Rajendranârâyaṇ. The king of Bhutan had no authority to select a king of Cooch Behar. When Rajendranârâyaṇ became king, the rightful king Dhairvendranârâyaṇ was alive.

*Lakhâi or Laksmindra is the hero of the popular story of Behula who died on his wedding night after being bitten by a snake. (Tr.)

to exercise it. Already they had encroached upon a portion of Cooch Behar territory, with the help of the Bhutiyās.⁽⁹⁾

At this time the royal insignia were kept in the Madanmohan temple, and Pensu Toma maintained guards there. Hareswar Karji and Jadunandan Bhandar Thakur were the Superintendents. At the queen's inspiration, Dhairyendranârâyan, Kâsinath Lahiri and Sarbânanda Gosvami went to request Nazir Khagendranârâyan to make Kumar Dharendranârâyan the son of the captive Raja, king. The Nazir did not approve of Kumar Bijendranârâyan and accepting the advice of Lahiri and Gosvami he agreed on Kumar Dharendranârâyan. His soldiers drove away the Bhutiyās and occupied the capital. Hareswar Karji and Jadunandan Bhandar Thakur were removed.

MAHARAJA DHARENDRANARAYAN.

Rajsaka 263—265, Sakâbda 1694—1696; 1179—1881 B. S.; 1772—1775 A.D.

Chhâtra Nazir Khagendranârâyan took Kumar Dharendranârâyan in his arms to the Rangamandir and duly installed him as king.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Nazir held the umbrella. Coin and seals were struck in the name of the new king and the Nazir offered nazar in new coin. Under orders of the king, the last rites and the Srâdh ceremonies of the late king were performed.

Like Rajendranârâyan, Dharendranârâyan failed to command full respect. Khasnavis Kâsinath Lahiri and Rajguru Sarbânanda Gosvami had told Nazir Khagendranârâyan,—“If you do not make Dharendranârâyan Kâchua king at this juncture, the kingdom will be under the Bhutiyās. You also will not be able to live in quiet”. For obvious reasons, Dharendranârâyan

(9). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I., pages 11, 12.

(10). This installation took place in Chaitra 1178 B. S. (1773 A. D.).

was referred to by some as a 'temporary king', and as 'Nath Raj'a'.⁽¹¹⁾

Maharani Kāmatesvari took over the administration on behalf of the minor king. She was greatly attached to Rajguru

Sarbānanda Gosvāmi.

Sarbānanda Gosvāmi, whose authority in administrative affairs, soon became evident.

Under orders of the Maharani, Kasi Nath Lahiri had been appointed Khasnavis. But these arrangements displeased Nazir Khagendranārāyan who himself sought a place in the administration. He considered it most unsuitable for the Gosvāmi to be closely connected with public affairs.

Pensu Toma, after being driven away by the Nazir, reported to the Devayadhur who became very angry and sent three

Attack by the Bhutiyās.

'Kāhans' (3840) of Bhutia soldiers through the Buxa Duar pass to attack

Cooch Behar. The Nazir also had

organised an army under his eldest brother Kumar Bhagavanta-nārāyan who was an officer of ability and valour. Though one of his legs was defective, he was a skilful leader of cavalry. As the Bhutiyā forces advanced, Bhagavantanārāyan pushed forward towards them and at Chekākhatā a battle was fought in which the Bhutiyā army was routed and retreated towards Buxa Duar. The Bhutiyā losses in this battle were very heavy. Undaunted, the Devayadhur raised a great army

The unity of the Raikata.

from places all over Bhutan. A nephew of the Devayadhur (a Jimpe) was nominated Commander-in-Chief, and

was given orders to proceed with eight or ten thousand

(11). "During which time Dherindra Narayan's (Dhairjendranārāyan's) eldest son, Nārāyan, after which being released by the favour of the English, on his son the Raja's dying, he was reinstated". Report of Konongows to East India Company, dated the 5th February, 1784.

"Assuming the whole sovereign authority and styling his (Dhairjendra Nārāyan's) son Nath Rajah." Government Select Records, Vol. I, page 544.

well-equipped soldiers to the plains. (12) In this war, Rajat Darpadeva allied himself with the Bhutiyās.

Though individually the Bhutiyās were natural fighters, they were not capable of standing up against disciplined troops. There were "riflemen" among them but they were not experts. The normal Bhutiya soldier carried a wooden pole with a pointed end. This served both as a weapon as well as a tent-pole.

When the Nazir was apprised of the great preparations of the Bhutiyās, he sent the boy king, the Maharani and the members of the royal family to Balarampur. He had no more than three thousand soldiers and of these three to four hundred were engaged in guarding the palace and the treasury. Gosvami and Khasnavis had gone to Rungpur to recruit soldiers, and these arrived with Jemadar Rupan Sing. Thus there was a total force of some four thousand soldiers about five hundred of whom were raw recruits. Moreover although the force was variously armed with swords, bows and arrows, spears and guns, it had no training in handling these weapons to the best advantage. There were cannon, a small body of cavalry and some trained elephants. Under the command of Chhatra Nazir Khagendranārāyan, Kumar Bhagavantānārāyan led the army in the field and was joined by Sarbānanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri. The force was placed in various dispositions on the northern border to hold up the Bhutiyās but this proved bad strategy as these isolated

(12). Narrative of the Bogle Mission, page 147.

In the Rājopākhyāna, the name of the Commander-in-Chief of Bhutiya soldiers was 'Jimpe' and the number of their soldiers 16 Kāhans (20,400). (Vasubandhu Adhyāya 17). But this is not correct. The letter-carrier and the commander of the worship of the Devarāj was called 'Jimpe'. Embassy to Tibet, page 10.

units were gradually defeated in detail by the Bhutiyās. Eventually when the combined forces were engaged, the Nazir rallying all his resources, he was defeated and his four thousand soldiers were routed.

The Nazir, Gosvami and Lahiri first made for Balarampur, and thence took the king and the members of the royal family to Panga. The king and his family were left there, the others proceeding to Rungpur, except the members of the

Bijendranārāyan.

Nazir's own family who were sent to Rāngāmāti. Meanwhile the Bhutiya Commander-in-Chief had invaded Cooch Behar and crowned Bijendranārāyan the son of the murdered Dewan Ramnārāyan. The second supposititious ruler was kept however at Chekākhatā, the climate of which did not suit him, and he died after a few days.

The victorious Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyās now consolidated his power by constructing forts in Gitaldaha, Bālādānga, Mowāmāri, Marāghāt and Laksmipur for the protection of the capital. His army included men from north Bhutan. Tall and of yellow complexion, their language differed from that of the men from south Bhutan. They were also more brutal and more addicted to "wine and flesh".⁽¹²⁾

Rule of Bhutiyās.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyās adopted the Rangamandir in the palace as his headquarters, to which one approach only was kept open, 'Bis Painji' (poisoned bamboo stakes) being driven into the ground on all sides of the palace. Between the great simul trees around the palace,

(12). It is said that the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyās confined male and female subjects of Cooch Behar like goats and sheep, and when there was a dearth of these animals, human beings were eaten. Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adhyāya 17.

There is however no proof that the men of Bhutan or Tibet were cannibals.

wooden posts and bamboos were erected as a kind of rampart.

Raikat Darpadeva and the Devayadhur were not satisfied merely by conquering the kingdom. They sought the permanent exile of the king. The Devayadhur despatched two thousand Bhutiyâ soldiers via Bijni Duar against the

Policy of the Devayadhur and the Raikat.

Nazir. The Raja of Bijni was asked to join forces with this army, but this move was frustrated by the Collector of Rungpur. At this juncture the Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan came to an important decision in consultation with Sarbânanda Goswami and Kasinâth Lahiri. The East India Company was requested to intervene. The Company agreed. It has to be remembered that the independence of Cooch Behar had been recovered from the Mughals a century before, and during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan the influence of the Bhutiyâs had been established, yet no one regarded Cooch Behar as a fief of Bhutan. Rather was it felt that the independence of the kingdom was bartered to the East India Company in exchange for military aid.

The Company had already concerned itself with the presence of armed Bhutiyâs on the border of its territory. Discussion

Treaty with the Company. of the terms of a treaty between the Company and the Nazir now took place through the Circuit Committee of

Rungpur. The Nazir proposed inter alia that the right of coinage should not be interfered with and that the royal authority should be re-established over the Raikat of Baikunthapur. The Revenue Board did not at that time reach any decision on these points but decided the other terms

Coming of the Company's soldiers.

forming the treaty on the 4th December 1772 A. D. While the terms were being considered and before they were regularly settled, and pending the

orders of the Revenue Council, Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur detailed at the end of 1772 A. D. 'a company of sepoy' under Captain Jones to Cooch Behar to protect the king.¹⁰ Lieutenant

Dickson and Mr. Durham were with this force. The English soldiers occupied

places like Gitaldaha, Dinahata, Baladanga, and Mowāmāri and reached Cooch Behar where there was severe fighting between the Company's soldiers and Bhutiyās. Lieutenant Dickson and Captain Jones were wounded and about a fourth of their soldiers was killed or wounded, but the English soldiers were victorious and the Bhutiyās were repulsed. On the 21st December 1772, the fort of Cooch Behar fell into the hands of the Company's force. The Captain wrote to the Governor that the complete expulsion of the Bhutiyās would necessitate reinforcement. On the 12th January 1773 A. D. Nazir Khagendranārāyan came to the capital with the boy king, to interview Mr. Purling. Under Mr. Purling's advice the Nazir dismissed the Sannyāsīs serving under him.

When the fort of Cooch Behar had been occupied by the Company, Raikat Darpadeva was cut off from the Bhutiyās and Captain Jones proceeded to deal with him.

Expedit of the Raikat.

Captain Jones marched from Mowāmāri through Lalbazar to Patgram. On the 22th January 1773 he wrote to the Governor from Patgram

(11) "I have therefore now sent a company of sepoy's to Nazir Deo to remain with him and protect him until I hear from you which I hope will suit with your approbation".

Letter from the Collector of Rungpore to the Council of Revenue, dated 31st November 1772. — Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

"Immediately upon an application from the Behar people for assistance, despatched a battalion of the Company's Sepoy's to repel the invaders". Narratives of the Bogie Mission, page 136.

that there were five or six thousand men under Darpadeva and he had heard that Rahimganj and the country to the west of it had been deserted.⁽¹⁵⁾ Darpadeva had established a "Thana" at Banindangi. On the 28th January there was a battle and the Company's soldiers inflicted severe losses on Darpadeva's forces which fled either towards Bhoihât or across the Tista river or to the west.

In the operations against Darpadeva, Captain Thomas had been located at Santosganj (?). On the 30th January Captain

Occupation of Rahimganj. Jones wrote to the Governor from Changrabandha—,"I now propose taking

possession tomorrow of the Fort of Rohimgunge, from whence if the situation of Beyhar with regard to the Boutans of which Mr. Purling will advise me, does not render it dangerous—I shall proceed to cross the river to Gilpygory, a principal Fort belonging to Durrup Deo where I learn he is inciting the Faquirs to make another stand".⁽¹⁶⁾ Captain Jones advanced, crossed the Tista river and had arrived near Baikunthapur in the middle of February. He had two cannon and a howitzer with him. Darpadeva had taken a position in jungle country with about 1500 "Hindustani" soldiers. As the force under Captain Jones was not thought sufficient, a battalion from Dinajpur was ordered to engage the Sannyasis on the borders of Purnea and Tirhut. Another force under Captain Stuart was sent to check the oppression of the Sanuyasis. Officers of other adjacent districts including Patna were directed to furnish reinforcements. Passing

(15). "Durrup Deo, whose forces are joined with the sunasses and under hope of whose reward they have yet stood, is at Luckipoor one of the passes into the hills of Boutan, Rohimgunje and the country to the westward I hear is deserted. The strength of the enemy is by most accounts said to amount to five or six thousand men". Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

(16). Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

through Sannyāsikâtâ and Devgâo, Captain Jones conquered Dâlingkote.

While Captain Jones was engaging Darpadeva, Mr. Purling with the object of subduing the northern part of Cooch Behar directed Lieutenant Dickson on the 15th February to occupy Chekâkhâtâ and if necessary, other places in that area. Mr. Purling accompanied this expedition. The Bhutiyâs however had already evacuated Chekâkhâtâ when they learnt of the advance of the English troops. A body of Sannyasis which had been in a portion east of Chekâkhâtâ, also retired before the Company's soldiers. Lieutenant Dickson attacked Buxa Duar and after hard fighting took it and burnt the Bhutiâ Mâchangs (houses built on poles). Much war material and two good three-pounder guns fell into the hands of the English.

Occupation of Buxa.

After this battle, the English contemplated advancing on Laksmi Duar, but on the day following the capture of Buxa, an English sergeant was ambushed near a spring of water. The Bhutiyâs took up various positions on the forested hills near Buxa and during the night completely surrounded the Company's force. In these circumstances Mr. Purling passed orders for the force to leave in silence *via* the pass. But during this movement, a Subedar at the rear of the column fired shots at the enemy and at once the English force was in a tight corner. The Bhutiyâs had stacked stones on the peaks of hills overlooking the narrow pass, and now, excited by the firing, they rolled the stones down upon the English soldiers. In the report of Lieutenant Dickson to the Governor, it is said that they retired with extreme difficulty and fourteen soldiers were entombed by stones. It is added that the Subedar was imprisoned for disobedience of orders.

Defeat at Buxa.

When the English force had returned to Chekâkhâtâ, Mr. Purling addressed the Bhutan authorities pointing out the consequences of war, and requesting the return of the Maharaja failing which he would attack Tâsisudan the capital of Bhutan. The Dharmarâja of Bhutan sent a letter to Mr. Purling through a servant of the Cooch Behar Maharaja expressing his desire for a treaty. This man gave out that the Bhutiyâs were very afraid and had asked help from the Raja of Fari who had refused, and advised the return of the king to Cooch Behar.

While Mr. Purling was at Chekâkhâtâ considering the terms of a treaty with the Bhutiyâs, he was attacked one night at 2 A. M. by four thousand Bhutiyâ soldiers. He had only 226 sepoy. Lieutenant, Dickson, Lieutenant Taylor, Captain Martin, Mr. Baker and Mr. Knowles were with him. During the night and for some hours on the following day, the English party fought desperately, 200 of their sepoy being killed and Lieutenant Taylor wounded. At last, with much difficulty, they saved the situation and conveyed the news to the Governor. Later, the English force again occupied Chekâkhâtâ.

After the Bhutiyâs were completely expelled from the plains, the fortunes of the Devayadhur changed. The Dharmarâja published a proclamation dismissing him. The newly-appointed Devaraj petitioned the Company, through the medium of the Tibetan authorities, for a treaty. At this time the Lama of Tibet exercised a great influence over Bhutan, and proposing himself as an intermediary in the negotiations, Tisu Lama sent a messenger to the Governor Warren Hastings with a letter which was discussed in the

Council. A treaty was concluded between the Devarāj and the Company on the 25th April 1774 A. D.

In consequence the new Devarāj released Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan, and loading him with many presents including eight Tibetan horses, Bhutiya cloth known as Kochin and Devānga, sent him with the Dewan and his companions to Chekākhatā through the pass of Buxa.⁽¹⁷⁾ Dharmarāj was greatly displeased at the action of the Devayadhur.⁽¹⁸⁾ At the end of the war however, Mr. Bogle an officer of the Company went to Bhutan, and the Devarāj specially requested him to restore the previous friendship between Cooch Behar and Bhutan.⁽¹⁹⁾

Informed of the return of the Maharaja, the Nazir and other principal officers went to Chekākhatā to receive him. The Maharaja was bitter about the treaty concluded with the Company and reproached the Nazir.—“Bābā Nazir! why did you give the kingdom to the Company? The kingdom having the emblem of the elephant and its own coinage, has been

(17). The place where the king first took rice on his return is now known as 'Rājā-Bhāt-Khāwā'. The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 247.

Chekākhatā was situated near Rājā-Bhāt-Khāwā. It may be that the name of Rājā-Bhāt-Khāwā owed its origin to the annual feast of the kings of Bhutan and Cooch Behar in Chekākhatā. It is said that when the king lived in Bhutan, he had sons by a Bhutiya woman (Vansāvali written by Durgādās, page 84). The great-grandson of this king the late Kumar Gajendranārāyan, Bar-at-law, told the writer of this work that at times, the sons of Maharaja Dhairjendranārāyan by the Bhutiya woman used to visit Cooch Behar. Once during a festival when they were attending a display of fire-works from the back of an elephant, the elephant suddenly took fright and deposited its passengers on the ground. Thinking that this was a plot to kill them, they went away to Buxa that very night and never again came to Cooch Behar.

(18). The letter dated the 29th Asar 267 Rajsaka written by the Dharmaraj to Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan.

(19). Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 189.

given by God. How can one be a Chhatradhārī king if he pays tribute to another?" The Nazir replied,—“I have agreed to the Lālbandi (light tribute) with the Company to free you from the hands of the enemy.” The king —“What was ordained in my fate has happened. Out of the descendants of Visvasinha, in the absence of one, another would have become king. I was a self-established king. How can I now acknowledge obedience to another?” The king said no more. On his return there were many festivities and auspicious celebrations in the capital. Sarbānanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri had him shaved and requested him to sit on the royal throne and manage the affairs of the kingdom regularly. But he would not agree, and said ‘Bābā Dharendranārāyan has become king. Let him rule the kingdom.’ The Maharaja began to isolate himself and become absorbed with religious matters.

It appears that once he met Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur. He rarely saw Sachinandan Mustofi, Ram Thakur or Kālā Pujāri. The Dharmarāj of Bhutan wrote him a letter advising him to pay attention to the administration.

Before Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan's return, a *Hastbud* of Cooch Behar had been prepared by officers of the Company in pursuance of the terms of the treaty. This *Hustbud* of the revenue was drawn up by Mr. Purling in 1180 B. S. (1778 A. D.) and shows that the revenue units and their revenue were thus fixed:—

Name of Division	Real revenue.	Miscellaneous collections (Abwab).	Total.
Under the Maharaja:—			
	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.
Zillah Baladanga ...	8,028 6 5 3	7,912 13 16 1	15,941 4 20 0
„ Bakālmari ...	4,672 11 19 0	6,828 14 8 1	11,501 15 7 1
„ (Bakālmari) ...	...	...	...
„ Sitai ...	5,444 10 13 1	8,366 14 2 3	13,811 14 15 4
„ Pinjāri Jhār ...	11,725 7 6 0	6,430 6 7 3	18,155 13 13 3
„ Lakhisar ...	5,329 10 13 2	1,562 5 5 3	6,891 15 18 5

Name of Division.	Real revenue.	Miscellaneous collections (Abwab).	Total.
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Under the Maharaja :—

	Rs.	A.	G.	K.	Rs.	A.	G.	K.	Rs.	A.	G.	K.
Abuâr Pâthâr ...	2,437	14	2	0	1,080	5	2	2	3,518	3	4	2
Mohanpur ...	5,991	5	18	2	.....				5,991	5	18	2
Teldhâr ...	5,596	12	0	1	192	9	0	1	5,789	5	0	2
Laksmipur ...	5,157	0	17	1	130	14	12	0	5,287	15	8	1
Bihar ...	399	5	10	3	10,424	8	7	0	10,823	13	17	3
TOTAL ...	57,784	5	6	1	42,979	0	2	2	1,00,764	0	8	3

Under the Nazir :—

Dakurhât ...	15,910	1	17	0	5,400	11	4	0	21,310	13	1	0
Gitaldaha ...	24,976	14	13	1	7,508	14	10	3	32,485	13	4	0
Rampur ...	6,668	10	15	1	1,794	1	1	3	8,462	11	7	0
Chakla Purbabhag ...	14,404	3	0	3	8,823	14	18	2	23,228	1	19	1
Bahimgunj ...	54,471	2	0	3	11,093	5	8	3	65,564	7	9	2
TOTAL ...	1,16,411	0	7	0	34,62	15	3		1 51 031	15	10	3

Under the Dewan :—

Pâtchharâ ...	10,831	14	17	3	2,132	13	12	1	12,964	12	10	0
Revenue of land newly cultivated in 1181 ...	6,917	9	14	2	.....				6,917	9	14	2
GRAND TOTAL ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	271,678	6	4	0

Minus :—

Revenue of some land of Chakla Boda included in the revenue of the divisions of Dakurhat and Gitaldaha ...

2,865

Revenue from rent-free lands such as

Jaigir, Brahmottar and Debutter ... 51,878 7 18 2

Expenditure for realisation in the mufussil 17,814 8 10 2

TOTAL ... 72,558 0 9 0

72,558 0 9 0

BALANCE ... 199,120 5 15 0

Of the aforesaid 1,99,120-5-15 Narayani coins, half, namely 99,560-2-17-2 (Narayani), was to be payable to the Company.

under the treaty and later this figure was fixed in perpetuity.⁽²⁰⁾ Like Chakla Boda, Chakla Purvabhag is in Cooch Behar Zemindary to the present day but its revenue as included in the Hastbud, has never been excluded from the calculation of the tribute.

The revenue of the personal properties of the Maharaja, the Dewan, the Nazir and other members of the royal family and other rent-free lands of this nature, was not included in the Hastbud. The collection of the revenue due to the Company was delegated to Sajwal Mansârâm, who, with an officer and some soldiers to assist him, was posted in Rahimgunj. When the Maharaja requested the removal of this officer, a surety was demanded for the dues of the Company and Hararam Sen stood surety on behalf of the Maharaja. The Sajwal (Tehsildar) and the soldiers of the Company then left Cooch Behar, and thereafter the responsibility for the tribute was with the Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri. The Company's Sajwal had further occasion to visit Cooch Behar in 1184 B. S.

In 1877 A. D. when Mr. Purling was at Rungpur, a proposal was made on behalf of the Maharaja to pay the tribute due to the Company in the current coin of the Company. Though there was a prospective loss of Rs. 7,600 in exchange, Mr. Purling submitted a report to the revenue Council commending this proposal. (After this he ordered Sajwal Krisnamohan to return from Cooch Behar).

In 1184 B. S. Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri was removed from that post and Syamchandra Ray was appointed in his place. In that year, Sristidhar Bhāiya who had again been appointed Sajwal, came to Cooch Behar and collected revenue up to Kartik 1186 B. S. In 1187 B. S. another Sajwal

Collection of revenue.

(20). The letter dated the 14th August 1800 written by the Government in the name of the Revenue Board.

was appointed. Though the Sajwals were under the Collector, signature of the Nayab Kâzi the officer of the Nawab appeared in the orders addressed to them. In 1188 and 1189 B. S. Dola Sing controlled the collection of revenue. In 1188 B. S. Hararam Sen had again offered surety, and collected the revenue through his own officers. In 1890 B. S. Kasinath Lahiri on behalf of the Maharaja, and the Sajwal of Mr. Goodlad on behalf of the Company, collected revenue. From 1191 B. S. the Maharaja's officer Kasinath Lahiri was the collector of revenue. The system lasted for ten years following the treaty and was obviously most unsatisfactory, the Sajwals of the Company collected the half of the revenue due to them, and the Maharaja's officers again appeared to realise the other half. When the officers of the Company sent money to Rungpur, the Khâsnavis or some officer of similar status signed the Chalan.

One day in 1181 B. S. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan set off on foot from his home, and suddenly announced that he was going on a pilgrimage and any one who wished to do so, might go with him. Kâlâ Pujâri, four or five Brahmins and seven or eight servants became the party, which started off despite the tears of the queen, and the advice of the Gosvami and the Khâsnavis. The Maharaja would not take with him horses, elephants or dólâs (palanquins) or tents, but his officers unknown to him, sent behind him armed men with horses, Dola and money. Actually the Maharaja would have none of these. He slept at night under a tree on a bed of skins (tiger or Khatâra deer) and walked by day.

After a journey of some days, he reached Dinajpur where his friend Baidyanath the Raja of Dinajpur met him with food and presents. The royal pilgrim would not accept these gifts, but at the request of his friend, he formally received them and

then distributed them among the poor. From Dinajpur he proceeded to the Banks of the Ganges, and after performing the ceremonies of Srâdh, Tarpan etc. in the holy river, stayed at Gayâ. He offered Pindas (oblations) to his ancestors in Gayâ Tirtha and granted considerable Brahmottar land to the Gayâ who acted as his Tirtha-guru (preceptor) in Gayâ Tirtha. The order granting the land, was sent to Cooch Behar addressed to Gosvami and Khâsnavis. Then the pilgrimage led to Benares and Prayâg (Allahabad) and thence back to Cooch Behar.—It was claimed for this pilgrimage that it purified the mind of the Maharaja.⁽²¹⁾

The Kutghâts (permit-houses) 'Mansab Ghât' and 'Mankar Chât' on the borders of Cooch Behar and Bhutan constituted frequent sources of dispute between the two countries. In 1175 A. D. the Collector Mr. Harwood investigated the question and settled that they were within Cooch Behar.

But a month after his return from his pilgrimage, Maharaja Dharendranârâyan was attacked with fever and died (1775 A. D.).

As he was the only son, leading personages like Gosvami exercised all their power of persuasion to make Dhairyendranârâyan agree to take charge of the administration. He was again placed on the throne, but Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan was not present at the installation.⁽²²⁾

(21). The Râjopâkhyâna says that this pilgrimage took place in 1164 B. S. (1777 A. D.) after the death of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan (Narabanda, Adhyâya 20) and before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet it was stated on behalf of the Maharaja that it was after the death of Dharendranârâyan. In the Vansavali by Durgadas there is a mention of a pilgrimage extending over two or half years (page 64).

(22). In the account given by Khagendranârâyan before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, it is recorded that he again made Dhairyendranârâyan agree.

The reign of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan had been disfigured by a corrupt administration under which justice was conspicuous by its absence. There was no protection for life or property of the people who were further harassed by the oppression of the Bhutiyas and the dacoities of Sannyâsis. The principal officers responsible were Rupchandra Parakâyansth Karji, Dewan Ramprasad Sarmâ and Sachinandan Mustofi.

During the reign of Dhairyendranârâyan, Dwija Rudradeva translated the Âranyakânda of the Râmâyana. The manuscript has been preserved in the State Library, Cooch Behar.

MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANARAYAN.

(SECOND REIGN).

Râjsaka 265—274: *Sakabda* 1696—1705;

1181—1190 B. S.; 1775—1783 A. D.

At the beginning of 1775 A. D. Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan again became the nominal Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

Authority of Sarbânanâ
Gosvami.

He was preoccupied with religion and displayed no interest in administration.

As before Maharani Kâratesvari asserted her influence in public affairs, and as the Maharaja paid no attention to matters placed before him for orders, it was she who decided them.⁽²³⁾ Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvami assumed the role of informal adviser to the Maharani and gradually acquired the authority in the administration which he had had during the time of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. Chhatra Nazir Khagendra-nârâyan had already given ample indication that he did not propose to support the Gosvâmi, and his intentions now came to be definitely expressed.

(23). Mercer and Chauvêt's Report, Vol. II, page 151,

When Dhairyendranârâyan again acceded to the Gadi there were three or four lacs of Nârâyani coins in the Company's treasury at Rungpur, and Mr. Harwood of Dinajpur therefore sent a letter to the Durbar forbidding more than one thousand Nârâyani coins to be struck each month. As this request was not fulfilled in practice, Mr. Harwood himself came to Cooch Behar and required Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Sarbânanda Gôsvami to execute a bond to carry out his orders.⁽²⁴⁾

After the death of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan, a Sunnud was granted to Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan by the Company for the Zemindary of the three Chaklas (Boda, Patgram and Purbabhâg) within "Sarkar Koch Bihar", the peskash being 50 mohurs.⁽²⁵⁾ The Chaklajut Zemindary was entrusted, in the name of Nazir Khagendranârâyan, to Dewan Ramchandra Ray and his son Syamchandra Ray. They personally misappropriated the profits and remitted very small amounts to the Nazir and practically nothing to the Maharaja. Fakirohand and Harinarayan were Chowdhuries (collectors of revenue) of Chakla Boda, Debiprasad of Chakla Patgram and Ali Mahammad of Chakla Purbabhag. Following the example of officers at Chaklas Kakina, Kajir Hât and Fatehpur, these Chowdhuries sought to become Zemindars themselves, and they filed suits before the Collector of Rungpur against the Nazir Deo and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar setting up a "claim of title". The Collector Mr. Purling decided in the case that the Chowdhuries and the Nazir were merely officers of the three Chaklas and the

(24). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 24.

(25). The Company granted this Sunnud on the 17th February 1776 A. D. in the 17th years of the reign of the emperor.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 293.

and owner was the Maharaja of Cooch Behar (1778 A. D.).²⁶ The decree however did not deter Syamchandria Ray from continuing for some time to misappropriate the profits of the **CHAKRA**.

Lokenath Nandi the Zemindar of Baharband Pergannah Rangpur filed a petition before the Board in 1779 A. D. claiming that certain Taluks in the possession of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar were within his Zemindary of Gaybari Pergannah. Mr. Purling first enquired into this case and later Mr. Goodlad. In 1783 A. D. Mr. Bogle began the actual proceedings which were not however concluded during the life of the Maharaja.

When peace was established after the war, the Nazir attempted to establish the former control of the Maharaja in the north of the kingdom, but without success. The Devrâja of Bhutan raised an objection based on the Bhutan treaty of 1774 A. D., and accordingly the decision of the Provincial Council of Dinajpur (28th May 1777 A. D.) was that the treaty constituted the final document determining the boundaries of Cooch Behar. By the same procedure, the Bhutiyâs offered their authority in other parts of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Eventually the area of the territory forming the State of Cooch Behar was whittled down to 1317 square miles.⁽²⁷⁾

²⁶ Letter No. 64, dated the 29th December, 1778, from the Revenue Department of E. I. Company to Mr. Charles Purling, Collector of Rangpore, Bengal District Records, Rangpore, page 61; Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 98, 97, 102.

²⁷ A copy of the decree in this case has been preserved among the old papers in the State Council, Cooch Behar.

(27). For details vide the Chapter 'Bhutan Duar'.

Maharaja Dharendranârâyan being the only son of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan and without a male heir there was considerable apprehension lest in the absence of natural heirs the raj might be usurped by Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan. Sarbânanda Gosvami advised the Maharaja to adopt a son.

Birth of an heir.

However in Falgun 270 Râjsaka (1702 Sakâbda or 1186 B. S.) a son was born to one of his wives, and all fears were removed. The babe was named Harendranârâyan. His birth was celebrated with great festivity and the good tidings were widely proclaimed by firing cannon. Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri came from Rungpur and performed the Annaprasna ceremony.

At this time Rungpur groaned under the oppression of Devi Sing who collected the revenue. Devi Sing's view was,—'It is a matter of great difficulty that in comparison with other places of Bengal

Devi Sing.

there is great distress and lack of food-stuffs among the peasants living near Rungpur. No property is found in their houses except during the harvest. At other times, they subsist with extreme difficulty. As a result of famine, a large number has died. One or two earthen vessels and a thatched hut form their only possessions and it is a matter of doubt whether by selling up a thousand of them, rupees ten can be realised".

The paper value of this report was not overrated by the subjects of Cooch Behar who were aware of the actual methods of

The revolt of subjects at Bengpat.

Devi Sing. At length, this patience ended, the subjects of Rungpur revolted against Devi Sing. In January 1783 A. D. the rebels openly massed in the north of Rungpur and chose Nuruddin as their Nawab and Dayâ Sil his Dewan. The murder of the Naib of the Zemindar of Tepa was the signal for the revolt.

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of pergannas Kakina, Fatehpur, Karjir Hat and Tapa to combine in killing Naibs and Gomastas whenever found. When Gaurmohan Chaudhuri, the Zemindar of Dimla opposed the insurgents, he also was killed. They invited the subjects of Cooch Behar and Dinajpur to array themselves under their so-called Nawab. They published an order forbidding payment of revenue, and organized "Dhing Kharchâ" (subscription for revolt) to carry on their movement. Devi Sing had to seek the protection of his great friend Mr. Goodlad the Collector who sent a body of soldiers to check the revolt with the result that a very large number of raiyats was wounded, killed or taken after engagements at Patgram and Moghalhât. (28)

On the 16th Agrahayan 1190 B. S. (December 1783 A. D.)

Death of the Maharaja.

Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyân died of dysentery. In a letter dated the 5th December 1783 A. D. to Calcutta, Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rungpur reported that the Maharaja had been ill for some days with dysentery and had died two days before.

It is told in the Rājopākhyāna that in 274 Rājsaka (1190 B. S.) Maharaja Dhairjendranârâyân fell ill and that despite Kaviraji treatment the illness gradually increased. One day in the month of Agrahayan, the Maharaja asked for the image of Madanmohan, and the prince, to be brought before him, and this was done. He directed an Osiatnāmâ (will) to be written in the following terms,—“My last day approaches. After my death prince Bâbâ Sree Sreeman Harendra-nârâyân shall become the ruler of Nij Bihar and the Châklâjât. And Surendranârâyân Dewan Konwar whom we favour will be

(28). The District of Rungpore, page 20; Murshidabad Kāhini, page 522; Sambhuvansa Charita, page 21.

employed as before. So long as the Bâbâ Râjâ is not capable of managing public affairs, Maharani Kâmatesvari will conduct them. On this document many prominent persons including Surendranârâyan Dewan Deo, and Baikunthanârâyan Konwar, set their seal and signature as witnesses". The Maharaja died in the afternoon of that day.

Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet made enquiries about the will (1788 A. D.). On behalf of the Maharaja it was claimed that it was destroyed during disturbances following the capture of the Maharaja, and no copy existed. However, Sivaprasad Mustafi the writer of the will deposed before the Commissioners that the will was executed on the 16th Agradhayan, two days before the death of the Maharaja. At the time he was sitting in bed supported by pillows. His mother Maharani Kâmatesvari, his sister, the mother of Kumar Harendranârâyan, Kumar Surendranârâyan and Rupchandra Bara Kâyasth Kârji the brother of the Maharani were sitting behind a *chick* (a curtain made with split bamboos). On this side of the *chick* there was no one except Sivaprasad Mustafi, Kalânath Dharmâdhyaksa and Bisnuprasad Bakshi. Mustafi was summoned inside the *chick*, wrote the will and handed it to the Maharaja. A female slave brought the seal under the Mahârâni's orders and the Maharaja sealed the will with his own hand. Kalânâth and Bisnuprasad gave corroborative evidence in the like manner. The evidence of these three witnesses did not disclose that Kumar Baikunthanârâyan and Surendranârâyan signed and sealed the will as witnesses. There was never any practice whereby documents executed by the Maharaja personally were witnessed by others, and that practice has not obtained to the present day.

Further evidence of these three eye-witnesses suggests that before the execution of the will, the Maharaja said to the

Maharani,—“Gosâin and Lahiri are not present. You are to make the boy Harendranârâyan the Maharaja and arrange for his education. Manage the affairs of the kingdom till he attains majority. Gosâin is my Guru. Let him do the work as before. Do not trust Khagendranârâyan”. The Maharaja subsequently told Dewan Surendranârâyan to “revere the Mahârâni like me”. After this the Mustoff was called inside the screen and wrote as desired by the Maharaja,—“Maharani Kâmatesvari will make the minor Harendranârâyan ruler, give him education and manage the affairs of kingdom till he attains majority. She will have special regard to the annual payment of tribute to the Company”. There was an endorsement,—“Sâksât hukum pramâna Rupchandra Bara Kayastha Kârji”, [i. e. Rupchandra Bara Kâyasht Kârji is present as proof of this personal order (of the Maharaja)]. The address is given as ‘Rajpur,’ (the palace) and the writer as Sivaprasad Sarma. Kalânâth deposed that at that time no letters were exchanged between the Maharaja and Nazir Khagendranârâyan.

An old copy of a will or Adespatra of Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan is preserved in the records of the State Council. This was addressed to Maharani Kâmatesvari. It was executed on the 11th Agradhayan 274 Rajsaka; ‘Sâksât hukum pramâna Rupchandra Barakâyastha Kârji’ and written by ‘Devidatta Das’. The “order” bears a seal of the Maharaja and the names of Satyabhâmâ Devi (his mother), Bhubanesvari Devi, Kumar Surendranârâyan, Kalânâth Misra, Umânâth Pujâri and Rati Tarkasdharâ as witnesses. The copy of this Âdesapatra reads,—“You have managed the kingdom during the time of Dharendra-nârâyan. Do this also during the time of Harendranârâyan. The royal seal will remain with you. Act according to the advice of Gosvâmi. Do not trust any one except Kumar Surendranârâyan and Rupchandra Kârji. Khagendranârâyan

is treacherous and Baikunthanârâyan acts against ~~the~~—
There are many discrepancies between this document
and the depositions of Sivaprasad, Bisnuprasad and
Kalânâth.

About a century later, Colonel Haughton wrote regarding
this will,—“Every one knew that Dhairyendranârâyan was
mad and he was called ‘Pâglâ Râjâ’. The view of Major
Jenkins was almost the same. He wrote in 1849 A. D.,—
“Long before his death, the mental powers of the king were
considerably diminished”. In a letter dated the 10th January
1801 A. D. from Mr. Ahmuty the Commissioner of Cooch
Behar to the Revenue Board, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan
was deemed “unfit and unable to carry on the work of
administration of his kingdom”. Whatever the arguments
as to the validity of this will, there was no difference of opinion
as to Kumar Harendranârâyan being the heir. In a report dated
the 25th Magh 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.) submitted by the
Canoongos of the Company, Laksminârâyan and Mahendra-
nârâyan Sinha, it is also stated,—“Harendranârâyan is the real
heir of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan.

When the Maharaja died, the advisers of Maharani
Kâmatesvari,—Sarbânanda Gosvâmi and Kasinath Lahiri—were
not in Cooch Behar as they were confined in Rungpur. Of
the other officers, Sachinandan Mustofi, Sivaprasad Mustofi,
Rupchandra Barakâyasth Karji, Bisnuprasâd Bakshi, Joygovinda
Lahiri, Dharmanarayan Mukhopadhyaya, Raghunath Bakshi,
Krisnânanda Bhândâr Thâkur and Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa
were present, and after consultation they placed the responsibility
for guarding Kumar Harendranârâyan, and the custody of the
royal umbrella and the royal sceptre, upon Jitan Sing the
Havildar of the Company.

When the news of the Maharaja's demise reached Chhatra, Nazir Khagendranârâyan at Balarampur, he immediately started for Cooch Behar with a force. The

Another family feud.

distant sound of his Dankâ reached the Capital Cooch Behar, and all persons in the Gosvami party fled. The Nazir arrived at the palace and passed orders for the installation of the new Maharaja, but he was ignored or regarded with suspicion. After being repeatedly summoned, Kumar Surendranârâyan went to him but Kumar Baikunthanârâyan refused. The Nazir passed the night in fruitless deliberation, and then returned to Balarampur.⁽²⁹⁾ Owing to his absence, the installation and the performance of the last rites of the late Maharaja, were held in suspension, for a Maharaja could not be installed without the Nazir's holding the umbrella, nor could the funeral rites take place except at the orders of the new Maharaja. It was to be expected therefore that the members of the royal family became increasingly anxious over the situation created by the departure of the Nazir. After much thought, Satyabhâmâ Aye Devati, the mother of the late Maharaja despatched Raghunath Bakshi to the Nazir at Balarampur, and Govinda Karji followed. They informed the Nazir inter alia of the desire of eleven queens to ascend the funeral pyre of their husband. The Nazir came to Cooch Behar on the next day.

The arrangements for installation were hurried forward. The Dewan Deo Kumar Surendranârâyan and the Chhoto Saheb (Kumar Baikunthanârâyan) came. Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa carried the boy prince Harendranârâyan and the Nazir himself took the prince in his arms and entered the Rangamandir.

Installation of Harendra
nârâyan.

(29) The Râjopâkhyâna says that Nazir Khagendranârâyan had taken his son Brendranârâyan with him for the purpose of making him ruler, but seeing the opposition of the officers of the king, he gave up the intention and tired to enter

The throne had been placed there. At four *dandas* of the night Kumar Harendranârâyan sat in the lap of the Nazir on the throne and reclined on the 'châk-balis'. Kalânâth Dharmâ-dhyakhsa placed the Râj-tikâ on the forehead of the Kumar and Bridhâ Bhândâri a turban on his head. Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan duly declared Harendranârâyan as 'king of Nij Behar and Châklâjât'. A new seal was prepared, and Krisnâ-nanda Bhândârthâkur, the Daroga of the mint, struck coin in the name of the new Maharaja.

The long established custom whereby at the time of installation the Nazir held the umbrella and the Dewan the sceptre, could not be observed as the Nazir was seated. He symbolized the custom by touching the umbrella. Kumar Baikunthânârâyan sat on the right and Dewan Surendranârâyan on the left side of the Maharaja. Surendranârâyan following the example of the Nazir, merely touched the sceptre. (30) During the installation, there was not a large gathering in the Rangamandir. The attendants carrying the royal insignia, some officers, the guard of the Company and the Company Havildar were present.

After the installation was over, the Nazir took his own son Kumar Birendranârâyan on his lap and declared as representative of the Maharaja that he (Birendranârâyan) was the Yuvarâja (crown-prince). (31) Under the order of the Nazir, Devidatta Wakkânavis wrote two Wakkâs, one with

The "Yuvarâja".

the inner Palace apartments with the object of seeing the prince. As the sepoy guarding the gate opposed his entry, he returned to Balarampur and on his way he made all the king's officers he met prisoners, and took them to Balarampur. Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 1.

(30) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 41-42.

There is a discrepancy between this account and that written in the Râjopâkhyana.

(31) In the letter dated the 29th March 1784 A. D. of Captain Williams the account of making Birendranârâyan Yuvaraj, is supported.

the order to perform the funeral rites of the late Maharaja and the other recognising Kumar Birendranârâyan as Yuvaraja. The Maharaja was made to touch the two Wakkâs with his hand and the royal seal was set on them. In the Wakkâs of that time however, Rupchandra Barakâyasth Kârji used to write 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' and Mustofi to put down the date and the year, but as they were absent, these two items of procedure were not observed.

During the installation the young Maharaja looked ill and peevish and when the Nazir placed him in the arms of the Dharmâdhyaksa, he told the latter that he would be held guilty if the boy died. Satyabhâmâ Devi the grandmother of the Maharaja, presented valuable cloths to the Nazir and on behalf of the Maharaja, a horse. At the cremation of the late Maharaja, eleven of his queens ascended the funeral pyre. For reasons which have been already indicated, the cremation was delayed until the third day after the death. (32)

During the last year of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan's reign Captain Turner went to Tibet as ambassador of the Company *Via* Cooch Behar and Bhutan. When he arrived at Cooch Behar in May 1783 A. D. it happened that the Maharaja was at Banesvar visiting the deity there. (33) The Dewan, the Bakshi and other officers arranged hospitality for the ambassador and the Nazir also sent a man to render assistance.

(32) It is clear that the family custom regarding cremation was strictly followed. The rulers of Cooch Behar did not observe Asaucha (period of impurity), even on the death of their Mahâguru. "Lokesâdhisthito râjâ nâsyâsaucham vidhtyate"—("The king is born from the parts of the eight Dikpâls. For this his Asaucha should not be prescribed.") Manusamhitâ. Adhyâya V., pages 90-97. During the srâdh of His late Highness Mahârâja Jitendranârâyan (1923 A. D.) the exemption was not observed. His son His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendranârâyan Bhup Bahadur personally performed the srâdh ceremony of his father.

(33) The Captain was requested to stay at Cooch Behar till the Maharaja's return but finding the place unhealthy, he did not agree. He has referred to the Maharaja as 'an infirm old man.' Embassy to Tibet, page 10.

During the reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, one Guru Chiranjib Chakravarti acquired the right to realise 'Dharmadander Kari' (money for expiation ceremonies) from the Hindu residents of certain taluks during Prâyaschitta (expiation). (267 Râjsaka).

During the reign, Kasinath Lahiri was head of the Revenue Department. He collected the several allotments of the Revenue,—5 annas 17 gandas and 2 krântis for the Maharaja, 9 annas 2 gandas and 2 krântis for the Nazir and 1 anna per rupee for the Dewan. He received Rs. 101 monthly from the Maharaja as well as from the Nazir, and Rs 30 from the Dewan, his total pay per mensem being Rs. 232 in Nârâyani coin. From 1181 to 1183 B. S. Jaygovinda Lahiri Khasnavis was the Naib (Assistant) of Kâsinath. In Râjsaka 273 (1782 A. D.) Jagannath Sarmâ was appointed Talâpâtra (assistant minister) to Kâsinath. His pay was Rs. 75. Ramprasad Sarma was the Dewan (263 Râjsaka), Dhireswar Karji Superintendent of Philkhana, and Raghunath and Bishnuprasad royal Bakshis. Krisnânanda was in charge of the Bhândâr, and Kalânâth was Dharmâdhyaksya. Under Maharajas Devendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan, Rajendranârâyan and Dharendranârâyan, there were officers holding the the following posts,—Chaudhuri, Karji, Makaddam, Canoongo, Amin, Senâpati, Bhândâr Thakur, Bhândâr Kâyet, Tarkasdharâ, Sârengi, Deuri, Pujari, Jâmdâria, and Khândâdharâ.

At this time there was only one court in Cooch Behar. Siva Prasad Mustofi was the judge. There was no system of realising costs of proceedings. When a petition was filed, it was placed before the Maharaja, the other party was summoned and the judge, with the Pundits, enquired into the case. Security was taken from both parties. The judge

The administration of justice.

called witnesses, and after taking their evidence, decided the case according to the Sâstras. The purport of decisions was subsequently placed before the Maharaja. The Kotwal who was responsible for the peace, had no judicial powers. He produced the charges in the criminal cases to be tried in the one court. No register of cases was maintained nor was there any system of fixing dates of hearings. The death sentence was not imposed from the time of the treaty with the Company until the end of the reign of Maharaja Dhairjendra-nârâyan. Generally trials were held in the palace and the public were admitted.

All papers regarding revenue and finance were preserved. (34) These show that when Maharaja Dhairjendra-nârâyan died he left a debt amounting to 50,000 French Arcot coins.

Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in their report of 1787 A. D. state that annually about 10,000 maunds of salt 2 to 3 thousand maunds of gur (treacle) and small quantity, of iron were imported into Cooch Behar.

Imports and exports. The merchants purchased in the different hâts about one lac maunds of tobacco, 10,000 maunds of mustard seed and some opium. These goods were collected at the "ports" of Mogalhât or Deviganj and exported by boat to Dacca or Mushidabad. (35)

The income and expenditure of Cooch Behar in Nârâyan coin were as follows.—

	INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
1181 B. S. (1774-75 A. D.)	1,98,763	1,97,831
1184 B. S.	1,03,022	97,104
1186 B. S.	1,62,547	1,62,231

(34) Mercer and Chauvet's report, Vol. II, pp. 149, 151.

(35) Even in the 16th century, opium was cultivated in Cooch Behar. "In the 16th century, opium is mentioned by Pyres (1516) as a production of the kingdom of Cous (Kuch Behar), in Bengal and of Malwa."

Encyclo. Brit. Vol. XX, page 130, Eleventh Edition.

Included in the income of these three years, the following sums are described as debts,—70,383; 39,811 and 18,556.

In this period slavery was customary in Cooch Behar, and there was a regular trade. Poor people mortgaged or sold themselves. Children were dressed up and sold in the hâts or bazars. (36) About

Slavery.

a hundred boys and girls were sent for sale to Bengal from Assam and Cooch Behar. Each girl fetched a price varying from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15, but a Koch boy could realize Rs. 25 and a Kalitâ boy Rs. 40. Children of the lower castes were sold to the Gâros. Some were exported to Burma through Assam. People of the neighbouring Bhot or Gâro tribe often abducted men and women from Mughal or Cooch Behar territory and made them slaves.

The condition of the people of Cooch Behar was bad compared with that of the inhabitants of the neighbouring Mughal country. Captain Turner, an

Condition of the people.

eyewitness wrote in 1783 A. D. that their few necessities of life indicated their pecuniary distress. Food was taken twice a day,—rice, vegetables, fish, salt, oil and chillies—and worth a penny. As Captain Turner proceeded to Bhutan he saw that the northern part of Cooch Behar was practically uninhabited and in comparison with the southern area, there was more fallow land and jungle.

Two powerful parties formed themselves under Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. Their rivalry threatened the country with further devastation, and the boy who was to succeed as Maharaja. Nazir Kumar Khagendranârâyan led one side and Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvâmi the other.

Party strife.

(36) Old papers in the State Council; Embassy to Tibet, page 11; Eastern India, Vol. III, page 681.

Each was ever ready to provoke or oppress the other. Neither was interested in the wants and complaints of the people. In the absence of any organised Government, a practice grew up whereby the revenue officers themselves paid the revenue in advance by purchasing the future produce of the land and in due time selling it at twice or thrice the revenue advanced. (37)

In addition, a sect of hypocrites calling themselves Sannyâsis ostensibly carried on business as money-lenders and merchants, as a disguise for robbery. They plundered their debtors and exacted excessive repayments of loans or took forcible possession of mortgaged property. One of them, Nârâyan Gir (Giri) Mohant, became very influential and a favourite of Rājguru Surbananda Gosvâmi. He was also accorded a place of honour in Durbars. (38) It was men of this type whom Gosvami produced as witnesses on behalf of the Maharaja before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.

The officers of the Company also began a money-lending business in Cooch Behar. In 1784 A. D. Captain Duncanson lent Rs. 14,901 to the Maharaja and was apparently dissatisfied with a return of Rs. 21,069 after one year. (39) The Company's

(37) Lt. Duncanson's letter, dated, the 21st August, 1788.

"For any length of time—the Minister, having the management of that country (Cooch Behar) which lay out of the way of market, purchased the ryot's grain and borrowed money to advance their rents, and when the rivers are open, disposed of it at two hundred per cent profit." Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 74.

(38) Nârâyan Gir lent money to Gaurninath Isore on a mortgage of land in taluks Rājārbāri and Sitalkhuchi, but surrendered his interest when he learnt that land was Brahmottar of the Gosvâmi. The Nādābi (surrender) deed marked with the seal of Nârâyan Gir and dated the 10th Kartik, 259 Rajsaka, is preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the State Council. On the 19th Aswin 259 Rajsaka, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan granted a Brahmottar to Narayan Gir.

(39) In his letter dated the 21st August 1788 A. D. Captain Duncanson did not admit receiving this amount.

sepoys also lent money to the peasants and charged a monthly interest of two to three annas in the rupee. They forcibly realised their dues. On account of these undesirable conditions, many people left the country. (40) To borrow money was to be ruined. Generally the rate of interest was not less than 72 per cent per annum, and in many cases interest was charged as Rs. 360 per cent per annum (*i. e.* one rupee per cent per diem). (41)

The Sâjwals collected the revenue of Cooch Behar for some years under the supervision of the Collector of Rungpur. Debi Singh was the expert collector of revenue in Rungpur at the time. His chief assistant Hararam Sen operated in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's collecting officers were skilled in the wiles of looting the people, and their underlings even more so. Yet another agent of oppression was the "farmer" a class referred to in the report of Commissioners Messrs Douglas (1791 A. D.) and Ahmuty (1800 A. D.).

In addition, Cooch Behar and the neighbouring districts of Rungpur and Dinajpur suffered constantly from the depredations of dacoits whose leaders Bhabani Pâthak, Devi Chaudhurani, Majnu Sâha etc, have become well-known in history. Persons

Letter from W. M. Duncanson, Comdg. to Messrs Mercer and Chauvet, Commissioners :—

" * * * I have never received the exorbitant interest, nor have I received the original principal ; I have nominally French Arcot Rupees seventeen thousands, which deducting exchange and batta at which the Narainees were paid to me * * * ." Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 74.

(40) Râjopâkhyân, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 4.

(41) Letter from H. Douglas, the Commissioner, to the Governor General in Council, dated, the 19th May, 1790.

"So that, in common, 72 per cent (of interest on money , has been considered as very moderate interest and, what almost exceeds belief, that, in many instances which came to my immediate knowledge, 360 per cent has been exacted." Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 29.

of influence did not scruple to lend secret support to dacoits. The Company made strenuous and continued efforts to exterminate the evil. At the beginning of 1773 A. D. Captain Thomas was killed near Rungpur in attacking a body of dacoits three thousand strong composed of Sannyâsis and Fakirs. This event led the Court of Directors to order soldires to be stationed at several places, an arrangement which resulted in some temporary relief but did not provide a permanent remedy for the problem. In 1782 A. D. a body of 700 dacoits were moving about. They had elephants, horses and camels, and were well-equipped. Lieutenant Macdonald was sent to deal with them and he dispersed them, some making for the hills in the north and the others escaping to the south-east towards Mymensingh. Again in 1786 A. D. Company's troops marched from Behrampur to Rungpur to check the activities of Sannyâsi dacoits;⁽⁴²⁾ in 1787 A. D. Lieutenant Brenan was engaged against dacoits. This continuous campaign for over two years succeeded in scattering bands of dacoits, but it was to take longer to exterminate the Sannyâsis and Fakirs, some of whom in 1789 A. D. were openly committing dacoities. Smaller batches of Sannyâsis established Âkhrâs and preferred to be concerned with business.

One party of Sannyâsi dacoits of Nepal origin took refuge in the dense jungle of Baikunthapur in the district of Jalpaiguri. Thence they emerged to raid in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's officers were unable to check them, and the Collector of Rungpur established two thanas at Dimla and Baikuthapur. In 1794 A. D., at the request of Mr. Bruce the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, the Company's authorities requested the king of Nepal to keep gangs of Nepali dacoits under control within his own kingdom. This could not be an easy proposition as these gangs

(42) Letter written by the Council dated the 28th January 1786 A. D.

had a base in the jungles at the foot of the Himalayas. The Sannyâsi dacoits had no wives or children, and they moved about countries on pretended pilgrimages. Generally they wore little clothing. They were bold and expert in their profession and some developed considerable business acumen. They observed caste rules and worshipped the deities. They reinforced their strength by kidnapping strong boys. Local people invested them with almost divine attributes and would not give information regarding their movements. For these reasons the Company was compelled to organize severe measures for their extinction.⁽⁴³⁾

(43) Letter from W. Hastings to J. Dupre, dated 9th March 1773. *Memoirs of W. Hastings*, Vol. I, page 303.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME BRANCHES OF COOCH BEHAR RULING FAMILY.

THE RAIKAT FAMILY (IN THE DISTRICT OF JALPAIGURI).

Raikat Sisvasinha figured prominently in the reigns of Maharajas Visvasinha and Naranârâyan. He was the step-brother of Maharaja Visvasinha. When he became Raikat, he constructed a house near Siliguri, that part of the country being given to him as "petbhata" (appanage).

Sisvasinha.

His son Mânikyadeva was the second Raikat. He was alive when Maharaja Laksmînârâyan stayed in Dacca (1614 A. D.)

Mânikyadeva.

After Mânikyadeva, his son Mârutideva was appointed third Raikat. Mârutideva had four sons, Sivadeva, Mahideva or Mahâdeva, Haraballava, and Mînadeva. Sivadeva was the fourth Raikat. As his son Ratnasinha could not for some reason, succeed him as Raikat, his uncle Mahâdeva became the fifth Raikat. The two sons of Mahâdeva, Bhujadeva and Yajnadeva

Bhujadeva and Jagadeva.

or Jagadeva, were the sixth and seventh Raikats. The two brothers enhanced the prestige of the Raikat family. A deed executed by Bhujadeva while in the service of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar (1697 A. D.) has been discovered. Jagadeva had two sons, Visnudeva or Bhismadeva and Dharmadeva. Bhisma

deva became eighth Raikat. He had three sons, Mukundadeva, Bhairo or Bhairabdeva and Kântadeva. After his death his brother Dharmadeva killed Mukundadeva, drowned Bhairodeva and became the ninth Raikat. Kântadeva escaped. Dharmadeva moved from Baikunthapur to Jalpaiguri where the Raikat family still lives.

Bhupadeva the tenth Raikat was the eldest of six sons of Dharmadeva. As his son Kandarpadeva was born after his death he did not succeed, but gave place to
 Darpadeva. Vikramadeva the brother of Bhupadeva.

An objection was raised regarding the right of Bhupadeva the son of Vikramadeva to inherit and Darpadeva the brother of Vikramadeva became (1771 A. D.) the twelfth Raikat, and famous in the Raikat family.

Darpadeva Raikat had three sons, Jayantadeva, Pratâpdeva, and Umâdeva. Jayantadeva the thirteenth Raikat was followed on his death by his minor
 Sarbadeva. son Sarbadeva, the fourteenth Raikat.

Pratâpadeva the brother of Jayantadeva was the guardian of Sarbadeva who, after some time, fled in fear of his life to Rungpur (1809 A. D.). Umâdeva the brother of Pratapadeva, an officer of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, instituted a suit against Sarbadeva (Murshidabad Provincial Court, 1811) to establish his own right to inherit as a brother, but he lost the case before the Sudder Dewani Âdâlat (19th January, 1818 A. D.). Sarvadeva was intelligent and powerful. He had nine or ten legitimate and illegitimate sons, and died in 1848 A. D.

After his death a quarrel broke out between his sons regarding the inheritance. There was definite objection against the eldest son Durgâdeva, and many
 The question of mixed marriage. supported Râjrâjendradeva the minor sixth son, but Makarandadeva who was older took possession of the

Zemindary. Rājājendradeva instituted a case against Makaranda alleging that Makarandadeva was born of a woman of Gopa (milkman) caste, but in the judgment of the Sudder Dewani Ādālat this mixed marriage was held to be valid (8th February 1853 A. D.) and Makarandadeva became the fifteenth Raikat. After his death in 1853 A. D. his eldest son Chandrasekhardeva succeeded as sixteenth Raikat. Chandrasekhardeva died in 1865 A. D. and was followed by his youngest brother Jogendradeva as seventeenth Raikat. Fanindradeva the youngest son of Sarbadeva Raikat instituted a suit in 1866 A. D. against

Gāndharva marriage.

Jogendradeva for possession of the Zamin-dary, but by the decision of the Privy Council, Jogendradeva won the case in 1874 A. D. Both the plaintiff and the defendant were held to be the sons of wives married according to Gāndharva rites.

Jogendradeva Raikat died in 1878 A. D. without issue. Before his death he adopted a boy named Rajeswar Das and called him Jagadindradeva. Fanindradeva the uncle of Jogendradeva instituted another case against Jagadindradeva

Adopted son.

alleging that adoption of a son was not warranted by the family custom. The District Judge of Rungpur passed a decree in this case in favour of the plaintiff Fanindradeva (11th November 1879 A. D.); but the High Court reversed the decision of the Rungpur Judge and held the adoption valid (24th June 1881 A. D.). The plaintiff appealed to the Privy

Fanindradeva.

Council who decided that adoption was contrary to the family custom of the Raikats. On the basis of this final decision (14th February 1885 A. D.),⁽¹⁾ Fanindradeva became the eighteenth Raikat,

(1) Privy Council decision in Fanindradeva Raikat vs. Rajeswar Das. Report in L. L. R. Calcutta Vol. XI, page 464—476; Eastern India Vol. III, pages 420—421.

and when he died in 1895 A. D. his son Srijukta Prasannadeva the present and nineteenth Raikat succeeded.

The title of 'Raikat' (Rai-kot = chief of the fort) was created in the 15th century by Maharaja Visvasinha, but succeeding Raikats tended in practice to be chief ministers of the raj. Then, after this connection with the ruling family of Cooch Behar ceased, whoever was the Zemindar of the Pergana Baikunthapur, assumed the title of 'Raikat'. In the earlier period, the area of the petbhâta land granted to the Raikat was far larger than the present Perganna of Baikunthapur. The area dwindled owing to the attacks and encroachment of the Bhutiyas, the Malla kings of Nepal and the Mahomedan Subedars of Bengal. The Raikats had constantly to protect themselves against these powerful enemies. Later, as the power of the Cooch Behar dynasty weakened and was dissipated in family feuds, the Raikats could look for no Cooch Behar aid in times of danger. Even after the Raikats had assumed the position of ordinary Zemindars, the Company separated Mehal 'Âmbâri Fâlakâtâ' from the original Zemindary of Baikunthapur and made it over to the Bhutiyas (1784 A. D.).

It is not clear under what circumstances the Raikats were forced to pay revenue during the Mughal rule and after the Company administered the Dewani (1765 A. D.). Several sources have it that Pergannah Baikunthapur was not under the Mughal emperors, but this view cannot be accepted. Three years before Cooch Behar came under the protection of the Company, Mr. John Gross the Supervisor of Rungpur wrote on the 20th April, 1770 A. D. to the Resident of the Murshidabad Durbar that the Zemindaries of Beda and Baikunthapur had long been included within the district of

The title 'Raikat'.

Mughal rule.

Rule of the Company.

Rungpur.⁽²⁾ The statement of the Rājopākhyāna,—“During the reign of Mahindranārāyan, the king of Cooch Behar (1682—1693 A. D.) the Raikats began to pay revenue to the Mughal emperor”—cannot be accepted as correct. Perganna Baikunthapur is to the north of the Boda Chakla of Cooch Behar. Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva fought for a long while with the Mughals up to the beginning of the 18th century for the possession of Boda Chakla.⁽³⁾ After the establishment of the Mughal supremacy over Boda Chakla, it may be that Perganna Baikunthapur was also subdued. The view that during the reign of Maharaja Birnārāyan, the then Raikat discontinued payment of tribute to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar,⁽⁴⁾ is not supported by proof. Nor indeed is any proof forthcoming that the Raikats paid any tribute to Cooch Behar other than their dues as Jaigirdars.

When the Raikats passed under the protection of the Company, they used to pay Rs. 10,000 as peshkash (tribute).

Peshkash and revenue.

After the treaty concluded in 1774 A. D. by the Company with the Devarāja of Bhutan, the revenue of Pergana Baikunthapur was fixed at Rs. 25,000 and after a year at Rs. 30,000. Later this became 25,935 sikka rupees permanently. As Rs. 32,000 had at one time been realised, the Pergannah is also known as ‘Batris Hājāri’.

At times the Raikats had designs on the throne of Cooch Behar. Though such attempts were wholly unwarranted by the law of inheritance, they were perhaps not unreasonable or

(2) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page vi; The Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, page 19.

(3) A detailed account has been given in the Chapter ‘Mahomedan connection’.

(4) Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 236.

unjustified judged by contemporary circumstances. The ambition of Raikats Bhujadeva and Jagadeva was not forgotten by Darpadeva the grandson of Jagadeva, for, as has already been mentioned, at the time of occupation of Cooch Behar by the Bhutiyas (1770 A. D.), Darpadeva Raikat assisted them.

Ambition of Raikats.

Despite their periodically disloyal intentions, the Raikats were obliged for many years to admit the overlordship of the rulers of Cooch Behar, and this relationship did not disappear until 1774 A. D.⁽⁶⁾ Up to that time the position of the Raikats was less like that of the Zemindars of Rungpur, and more like that of feudatory chiefs; for according to the rule prevalent at that time, they were not compelled to give an account of their collection of revenue to the Company.⁽⁶⁾ After the treaty with Bhutan (1774 A. D.) the Company was not so concerned about protecting the borders of their territory, and the position of the Raikats correspondingly depreciated.

The Raikats held the umbrella over the head of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar at the time of installation, and they are still known by the people 'Chhatradhâri Rajas'. Even after they became ordinary Zemindars, they were still addressed as 'Rajas' by the authorities of the Company and their officers. They

Chhatradhâri Raja.

(6) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page 10 ; Eastern India, Vol. III, page 421.

(6) "Thus, in Rungpore, we have what, for want of better terms, may be styled the semi-feudatory estates, such as Bykuntpore and Chaklas." The District of Rungpore, page 23.

"They (Zemindars of Boda and Rykuntpore) pay a certain sum annually without giving an account in what manner their collections are made". Letter from Mr. J. Gross, the Supervisor of Rungpore, dated the 20th April 1770, to the Durbar Resident of Murshidabad.

Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page vi.

were accorded a special status when, before the war between China and Nepal, the king of Nepal sent elephants to the emperor of China through the Zemindary of Baikunthapur. In acknowledgment of the Raikat's assistance in this matter, the emperor of China honoured him with presents sent through the Governor General of the Company (1788 A. D.).

THE FAMILY OF THE RAJAS OF PANGA (IN THE DISTRICT OF RUNGPUR).

The Panga Rajas sprang from Narasinha, the eldest son of Visvasinha. One of the sons of Narasinha was Vyasketu and he had a son named Madhusudan. In 1614 A. D. when Laksmînârâyan the Maharaja of Cooch Behar was imprisoned at Dacca, Raja Madhusudan took up arms against the Mughals, though unsuccessfully in so far as he was compelled to acknowledge fealty to the Mughal emperor. He had two sons Pasupati and Lambodar, with whom he engaged in many military expeditions in Kamarupa and Assam on behalf of the Mughals. The Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi a contemporary work, emphasized their valour. Raja Vasudeva was the son of Pasupati, and Raja Ramchandra the son of Vasudeva. Ramchandra had two sons Karâli and Kapardi. The manuscript 'Bhâgavatsâr' written by Raja Ramchandra gives in the colophon a table of the five generations preceding Raja Ramchandra.⁽⁷⁾

(7) After Raja Ramchandra, the genealogical table of the family is uncertain. The table now in possession of the 'Sâhebs of Panga' is not identical with that recorded by Raja Ramchandra. The latter lived probably in the beginning of the 18th century. He himself claimed to be the sixth generation from Raja Narasinha. In the contemporary 'Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi', Madhusudan is referred to as the brother's son of king Laksmînarayan. This agrees with the colophon of the Bhâgavatsâra and the genealogical table of the Cooch Behar ruling family.

After Ramchandra his son Karindranârâyan became Raja of Panga. He adopted Pratâpnârâyan a son of a relation. Raja Pratâpnârâyan adopted Sivaprasad who died without leaving a son. Kaliprasad Ishore the son of a daughter of Kandarpanârâyan another son of Pratâpnârâyan, succeeded to the Zemindary. Thus, from this time, the Panga line was distinct from that descended from Visvasinha. Some time before 1840 A. D. Parvatanârâyan, a relation of Kandarpanârâyan, instituted a suit against Karindranârâyan and others (the sons of Kaliprasad Isore) before the Court of the Chief Sudder Amin of Rungpur questioning the inheritance, but he lost the case. After Kaliprasad, his two sons Karindranârâyan and Kamalnârâyan became respectively the Zemindars of Panga. When they died without issue, Rani Laksmipriyâ the widow of Kamalnârâyan adopted Gajendranârâyan. Raja Jogendranârâyan the adopted son of Gajendra, married Maharajkumari Ânandmayi the daughter of Maharaja Narendranârâyan (the step-sister of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan). A few days after the marriage, she died, but she had executed a will (14th February 1887 A. D.) bequeathing the Zemindary to her step-brother Maharaja Nripendranârâyan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar. Rani Laksmipriyâ, mother of Raja Jogendranârâyan, objected to the will and filed a suit which was compromised, the Zemindary being divided in two equal parts between the plaintiff and the defendant. From that time, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar has been the owner of half of the Panga Zemindary, and Rani Laksmipriyâ became the owner of the other half by adopting Devendranârâyan.

When the case against Kaliprasad Ishore was pending, Sarvadeva the Raikat of Jalpaiguri assisted the plaintiff Parvatanârâyan and after the case, gave that branch of the family an estate in Jalpaiguri for their maintenance. Kumar

Harendranârâyan and his son Matindranârâyan who are descended from this branch of the Panga family are now living in the north-west of the town of Jalpaiguri. Kumar Harendranârâyan is locally known as 'Pângâr Sâheb'.

It is not now possible to determine the original area of the Jaigir of Panga. The area of the present pergannah is about 44,000 acres.

KÂCHHÂR RÂJ-FAMILY.

Kamalnârâyan or Gobâin Kamal the brother of Maharaja Naranârâyan was at first the proconsul of the Maharaja in the Morangi country (in the district of Laksmipur). Afterwards, transferred to Dheyân Raja. Kâchhâr, he went to Khâspur and was the first 'Dheyân' (Dewan) Raja of Kachhar. Of quiet and religious temperament, his territories dwindled as they were encroached upon by raiding hill tribes.

He had established a colony of Brahmins on the banks of the Tikal river. During his reign, the deities Syâmâ, Kâncâkanti, Ranabâuli, Andheri, Chândâi, Mâl, Bhairav etc. were worshipped.

He divided his tribe into eighteen classes of men and allotted them different occupations. This classification is still followed in the territory in and about Kâchhâr.

Two kings of the Kamalnârâyan dynasty reigned in Khâspur.

The second was cruel and intractable.

The end of the dynasty.

His oppressions became intolerable, and eventually some leading personages engaged in a plot whereby he was taken to a dense forest on the pretext of hunting, and killed by setting fire to the forest.

About the beginning of the 17th century when the dynasty of Kamalnârâyan was extinguished, Khâspur was conquered by Tâmrâdhvaja, and Senâpati Udit (Nârâyan) who belonged to the same tribe as Kamalnârâyan was appointed Governor. From his family successive Governors were taken,—Bijoy, Dhir, Mahendra, Ranajit, Narasinha and Bhîrûsinhâ. Then about 1745 A. D., as Bhîrûsinhâ had no son, his son-in-law the Kâchhâr prince Laksmichandra assumed charge of Khâspur.⁽⁸⁾ After Laksmichandra, his son Krishnachandra (1780—1813 A. D.) and then Govindachandra (1813—1830 A. D.) ruled in Kâchhâr. After Govindachandra was assassinated, the Kâchhâr raj passed into the possession of the East India Company.

Senâpati Udit.

DURRUNG RAJ FAMILY.

In the first part of the 17th century A. D. when Raja Pariksitnârâyan was defeated by the Mughals, taken prisoner and his raj included in the Mughal dominion, his brother (the first Raja) Balinârâyan established himself to the west of the present district of Durrung, and a new 'Durrung' raj came into being. The friendly Âhom king gave Balinârâyan the title of 'Dharmanârâyan'. After Balinârâyan, his son Mahendranârâyan succeeded, and after him, his son Chandranârâyan, and after Chandranârâyan, his son Suryanârâyan. When Suryanârâyan was captured in battle with the Mughals,

Establishment of the raj.

(8) Kâchhârer Itihâs, pages 40, 42, 99, 115, and 121; Sribhatter Itihâs, Bhâga II, Khanda IV, page 14.

his brother Indranârâyan was a minor, and the Âhom king seized the opportunity to establish his own influence in the Durrung raj. During the time of Indranârâyan, the Durrung territory extended on the east to the Dikraï or Subarnasrî river, on the north to 'Golâin Kamaf Âli', on the west to the Baranadi and on the south to the Brahmaputra..

Supremacy of the Âhom king..

After Indranârâyan, his son Âdityanârâyan became the sixth Raja, but at that time the old family feud reappeared and the raj was divided into two parts; Modnarayan the brother of Âdityanârâyan being assigned a second and smaller raj. Thenceonwards, the Rajas of Durrung were the mere-creatures of the Âhom king and the downfall of their raj had begun.

Division of the kingdom.

We propose to distinguish between A and B branches of the family.—After the death of the Bara Raja Modnârâyan (sixth A) his son Mahatnârâyan (seventh A) succeeded and after Mahatnârâyan, Hansanârâyan I (eighth A) the son of Raja Dhirnârâyan (B). After Hansanârâyan, Hainârâyan (ninth A) the grandson of Raja Dhvajanârâyan (B) became Raja and after Hainârâyan, Samudranârâyan (tenth A) the son of Raja Mahatnârâyan. When Raja Samudranârâyan died, his son Premnârâyan, (eleventh A) followed and after Premnârâyan his kinsman Jagatnârâyan the son of king Hansanârâyan II (B).

After Chhoto Raja Adityanârâyan (6 B) his brother Dhvajnârâyan (7 B) was driven out by a cousin, Dhirnârâyan (8 B), who himself occupied the gadi. After Raja Dhirnârâyan, Durlabhnârâyan (9 B) the brother of Raja Mahatnârâyan (A) succeeded and after the death of Durlabhnârâyan, his son Hansanârâyan II (10 B). After Raja Hansanârâyan II, there followed

The second branch.

his kinsman Visnunârâyan (11 B) the grandson of Raja Dhîr-
nârâyan and after Raja Visnunârâyan, Krishnanârâyan (12 B)
the brother of Raja Jagatnârâyan (A). After Krishnanârâyan
came Mukundanârâyan (13 B) the son of Raja Hansanârâyan I
(A) and after him Bijoynârâyan (14 B) the great-grandson of
Raja Dhîrnârâyan.

Kumars Khagendranârâyan, Bhupendranârâyan and Chan-
dranârâyan the great-grandsons of Raja Jagatnârâyan the last
Raja of branch A, and Kumar Dharmanârâyan the great-great-
grandson of Raja Dhîrnârâyan the eighth Raja of branch B, are
now living.

The family was constantly engaged in quarrels and dissen-
sion regarding the succession. In the two branches twenty one
persons became Râjâs in name or in
reality, but only seven had a claim by
paternal succession. Taking full advan-
tage of the situation, the Âhom kings
gradually took possession of the whole of the Durrung territory,
except the Petbhâtâ lands. When in 1792 the Moâmâria revolt
began in Assam, Raja Krishnanârâyan (12 B) declared his
independence, but ultimately he was defeated.

Under the East India Company the Petbhâtâ lands were
assessed at half rates. Since then a large portion of the family
land assessed at half rates, has been transferred to others, and
little now remains in the possession of the raj family.

BIJNI RAJ-FAMILY (IN THE DISTRICT OF GOALPARA).

The Bijni and Beltala families sprang from Kumar Chandra-
nârâyan alias Bijitnârâyan the son of Pariksitnârâyan. When
Pariksitnârâyan was taken by the Mughals
Kumar Chandranârâyan was a minor, but
later, after endeavouring to fight the Mughals, he had perforce

The last stage of the Durrung
Raj.

Bijni raj.

to accept a Sunnud for the Bijni raj from the Mughal emperor. To the last he did not give up hope of recovering his rights. When he was killed in battle, his son Jaynârâyan succeeded, and after him, his son Sivanârâyan. Raja Sivanârâyan began to pay tribute to Devarâja of Bhutan in acknowledging Bhutan supremacy over Bijni Duar. After Sivanârâyan, his son Bijoy-nârâyan and after Bijoy-nârâyan, Mukunda-nârâyan, Balitnârâyan, Indranârâyan and Amritnârâyan were the successive Rajas of Bijni. When Mukundanârâyan was minor, the Pergannas of Mechpârâ and Châpar were separated from Bijni to form a separate Zemindary. Raja Amritnârâyan was childless and adopted Kumudnârâyan. After Raja Kumudnârâyan, his Rani, Abhoyesvari, managed the Zemindary for a long time. When Rani Abhoyesvari died, Jogendranârâyan the nephew of Raja Kumudnârâyan became Raja.

At first the Raja of Bijni paid Rs. 5,998 as peskash to the Mughal emperor, but this was changed to a promise of 68 elephants. Up to the time of the East India Company, these elephants had been collected, but as it was inconvenient for the Company to receive elephants, the tribute was compounded, in 1788 A. D. at Rs. 2,000. Later, including Rs. 850 on account of the Sâyer Mehal, it was fixed at Rs. 1,150.

Formerly the Bijni territory covered almost the whole of the district of Goalpara, but to-day it is limited to Pergannas, Khutâghât and Hâbrâghât to the east of Goalpara district. The present area of these Pergannas is 943 square miles and the revenue Rs. 2,357-1 anna. If the 240 square miles of the Bijni Duar be included, the total area is 1183 square miles.

The Raja of Bijni has also a Mehal in the 'Gâro Hills' district. The area under the Raja of Bijni is about the same as that of Cooch Behar State.

There are differences of opinion as to the political status of Bijni. One line of argument is the amount paid by the Estate should not be regarded as "revenue" but as 'peskash' (tribute).⁽⁹⁾ During the Mughal regime, the rules enforced on other ordinary Zemindaries of Bengal in the matter of flogging and determining the revenue etc., were not applied to Bijni. The East India Company introduced no change of principle. The Company did not want elephants, and changed the tribute to cash payment. "Two years later, the Raja agreed to pay another thousand rupees a year, but this offer was declined by the Governor General, on the ground that the chance of losing the attachment of a Zemindar in possession of a border estate should not be risked for the sake of Rs. 1,000".⁽¹⁰⁾

BELTALÂ RAJ-FAMILY, (IN THE DISTRICT OF KAMRUP)

The Beltalâ family originated with Raja Jaynârâyan the grandson of Pariksit. Harnârâyan alias Gajnârâyan the son of Joynârâyan founded a separate raj under the Âhom ruler in Beltalâ to the south of the present Gauhati. After Raja Gajnârâyan, his son Sibendranârâyan and after Sibendranârâyan his son Gajendranârâyan succeeded. Lambodaranârâyan the son of Gajendranârâyan and his son Lokpalanârâyan followed. Raja Lokpalanârâyan had three sons,—Kumars Laksmînârâyan, Chandranârâyan and Amritnârâyan. Kumar Upendranârâyan

(9) The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 45.

(10) The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 45.

the son of Laksmînârâyan, Kumar Rajendranârâyan, B. L., the son of Chandranârâyan and Kumar Pabindranârâyan are living. The area now in their possession is small and their rights are for the most part resemble the Mouzâdâri rights prevalent in Assam. It is learnt that a branch of the family also lives in Sâtgâon.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAHOMEDAN CONNECTION.

1. MUHAMMAD BAKHTIAR KHALJI (1205 A. D.)

History is almost silent regarding the time and manner in which the Mahomedans first came to Kâmarupa. As far as can be ascertained, it was at the beginning of the 13th century A. D. that Muhammad Bakhtiar Khalji the conqueror of ' Nowdia ' sought to conquer Tibet through Kâmrupa and set forth with a picked cavalry force ten thousand strong from Devkot (in the district of Dinajpur). On the way he made friends with a leader of the Koch or Mech tribe who embraced Islam and took the name of ' Âli Mech. '

Friendship with Ali Mech.

With the help of Âli Mech, Muhammad Bakhtiar reached the town of Mardhan-kot on the banks of a large river. Advancing for ten days along the banks, he passed an old village and crossed the river over a stone bridge with his force. Progressing slowly he was forced at length to return owing to the natural difficulty of the terrain and want of rations. His line of communi-

Expedition to Tibet.

cation was cut by the people of Kâmarupa who attacked him after demolishing the bridge. For a time Muhammad took shelter in a temple. His cavalry became suddenly demoralised with fear and attempted to cross the river. Most of them were drowned or killed. Muhammad himself barely escaped and with only a hundred attendants. With this remnant of his force he returned to Devkot, after being somewhat restored by the hospitality of Âli Mech.⁽¹⁾

(1) Tabakat-i-Nâseri, pages 147-157.

This account of the expedition of Muhammad Bakhtiar to Tibet was first written in a Persian history, the *Tābkāt-i-Nāseri*. Minhāj Serajuddin the author derived his information from a soldier who accompanied Bakhtiar. He wrote his chronicle between 1258 and 1259 A. D. There is however difference among historians regarding the route followed by Muhammad Bakhtiar. Some scholars have inferred that it was through Darjeeling, others that it was through Assam and others favour Sylhet.

Tābkāt-i-Nāseri.

Recently, an old inscription in Sanskrit has been discovered on a rock called 'Kānāi Barsi' on the north of the Brahmaputra near the town of Gauhati. It mentions that on the 13th Chaitra 1127 Śaka (1206 A. D.) the "Turuskas" (Turks or Mahomedans) were annihilated when they came to Kāmarupa.⁽²⁾ In Mouza 'Sīṣundarir Ghopā' some miles to the north-west of Gauhati, the foundations of a stone bridge 146 feet long, were to be seen up to the earthquake of 1827 A. D. There were twenty-two arches in it.⁽³⁾ And it has already been stated that up to the middle of the 16th century the Brahmaputra river flowed in a circular bend in that region (near Hājo).

The route of the expedition to Tibet.

In the sixteenth century, Dhubri was well-protected on the banks of the Brahmaputra. At Rangamati some miles to the north, the Mughal Fouzdar had his capital, a very ancient site on a tilā or hill on the banks of the Brahmaputra. The vansā-bali of Kharganarayan records that Rāngāmāti was the capital of Kāmarupa during the reign of Asur Sambara. If therefore we assume the town of Mardhankot mentioned in *Tābkāt-i-Nāseri*

(2) " Śāke 1127.

Śāke turaga-jugnese Madhumāsatriyodase.

Kāmarupam Samāgatya turuskāh Kṣayamāyayuh.

Kāmarupa Śāsanāvali (Kāmarup Rājāvali), page 44.

(3) The Kamrupa District Gazetteer. page 66.

to be Dhubri or Rangamati, the large river as the Brahmaputra and the temple as the temple of Kamakhya, we can connect the stone bridge with the ruins of a bridge mentioned in the Tâbkât-i-Nâseri. Âli Mech may well have lived anywhere between Rângâmati and Devkot. The distance of the bridge from Dhubri would be about 120 to 125 miles, and could perhaps be covered by cavalry in ten days though during his invasion of Assam in 1662 A. D., Nawab Mir Jumla was unable to advance more than three or four miles a day because of the difficulty of negotiating rivers and jungle.

After Muhammed Bakhtiar Khalji, Ajuddin Muhammad Siran became the Governor of Gauda. He is reputed to have been defeated in battle and to have escaped towards Cooch Behar,⁽⁴⁾ where he was killed in a quarrel (1209 A. D.)

2. HASEMUDDIN EWAZ GEYÂSUDDIN 1226 A. D.)

In 1226 A. D. Geyasuddin Khalji the then Governor of Gauda entered Kâmarupa and advanced as far as Sadia. The entire valley of Brahmaputra passed under his control and the contemporary ruler of Kâmarupa paid him tribute.

3. EKHTIARUDDIN TUGRIL KHAN MALEK EWUJBAK (1257 A. D.).

Ekhtiaruddin Tugril Khan after becoming Governor of Gauda also had designs on Kâmarupa. He rejected a treaty proposal initiated by the ruler, proclaimed,—‘ the whole of Kâmarupa has come under the kindom of Gauda ’ and ordered the construction of a mosque in the capital of Kâmarupa. The ruler escaped to the hilly country and his kingdom came temporarily under Tugril Khan. When the rains rendered

(4) History of Bengal, page 58. In the work Tabkat-i-Nâseri the name “ Cooch Behar ” does not appear ; but it has been mentioned that Shiran went to Makidâ and Mantos (in the district of Dinajpur) and that he died there, (page 158).

the roads impassable the people of Kâmarupa "blockaded" the Mahomedans and attacked them simultaneously from all sides. Most of the Mahomedan soldiers were imprisoned and Malek Ekhtiaruddin himself was killed.

4. SOLIAN MAGISUDDIN TUGRIL (1278 A. D.).

The conquest of Kâmarupa by Soltan Magisuddin Tugril is merely referred to by the chronicles, and no detailed account is available.

5. MALEK KHUSRU (1337 A. D.).

Under orders from Muhammad Saha, the emperor of Delhi, his sister's son Malek Khusru set out to conquer China with a Cavalry force composed of a lac of soldiers (738 Hijri). The accepted view seems to be that this expedition passed through Kamarupa. Most of Khusru's men, either died or were decimated by the attacks of hill tribes. He was compelled to abandon the campaign.

6. SOLTAN SEKENDAR SAHA (1357 A. D.).

Sekendar Saha the Governor of Bengal conquered Kâmarupa either in 1357 A. D. or some time before. The only details known are derived from a coin which has been discovered. It was struck in 759 Hijri in ' Kâmrû alias Châulistân '.

7. ISMAIL GAZI (1460 A. D.).

8. RAHAMAT KHAN (1460-1474 A. D.).

9. HOSAIN SAHA (1493 A. D.).⁽⁵⁾

10. TABARAK KHAN (1506 A. D.).

11. TABARAK KHAN (second time) (1532 A. D.).

The attack of Assam by Tabarak Khan the General of Nawab Khalachh Khan (?) finds place in the Assam Burunjee

(5) Expeditions by Ismail Gazi, Rahamat Khan and Hosain Saha have been described in foot note (2) of Chapter IV and in the same Chapter of this work.

He won this battle (1506 A. D). At this time, the celebrated Hosain Saha was the ruler of Gauda.⁽⁶⁾ In 1531 A. D. General Tabarak Khan again attempted to establish his authority in Kāmarupa, but the powerful Maharaja Visvasinha was reigning in western Kāmarupa, and in 1533 A. D. as a result of an attack by Ahoms (and probably also by the ruler of Kāmata) Tabarak Khan was defeated and killed. Many of his men were imprisoned and the rest expelled.⁽⁷⁾

12. KĀLĀPĀHĀR (1553 A. D.).

In about 1553 A. D. the well-known Kālāpāhār penetrated into Kāmarupa and destroyed the principal temples and images there. Maharaja Naranārāyan was ruling and it is said that he twice attacked Gauda. He was defeated in his first effort and the Mahomedans pursued him to Tezpur in Assam and destroyed images in famous places.⁽⁸⁾

(6) The Mahomedan historians have not mentioned this invasion.

(7) The descendants of the Mahomedan soldiers who were imprisoned are now known as ' Maria ' in Assam. The Mariyās are braziers. Soldiers sent by Hosain Saha were also imprisoned in Assam.

Tarikh-i-Āsām, page 59.

(8) History of Assam, page 54. The Assam Burunjee says that in 1553 A. D. Kālāpāhār concluded a treaty with Maharaja Naranārāyan and entered Kamarupa and when he began to destroy the images of deities, the ruler did not dare to oppose him (Page 59). This version cannot be regarded as acceptable. In the Visvakos, it is written that this incident was in 1564 or 1566 A. D.

The account of the death of Kālāpāhār while destroying the temple of Hajo (Koch Kings of Kāmarupa, 34) is not true. Kālāpāhār of Gauda came a second time to Cooch Behar after (about) 1574 A. D. and was killed in the fort of Rohtas in 1578 A. D. in a fight between the Mughals and Pathans.

Kālāpāhār is however a name not confined to one person. It was a kind of title, and associated with any person who engaged destroying temples or images of deities. Mia Mahammad Formuli the nephew of Bahlul Lodi the emperor of Delhi derived the name ' Kālāpāhār ' in this manner.

13. SOLEMAN KARARÂNI (1568-69).

In 972 Hijiri (1564-1565 A.D.) Soleman Kararâni succeeded his brother in Gauda. The condition of Gauda deteriorated seriously between 1555 and 1564 A. D.

The condition of Gauda. Maharaja Naranârâyan extended his dominion far to the south and west of his own territory. The rulers of Gauda were very apprehensive of the rising power of emperor Akbar, and did not dare embark on wars against their neighbours. Soleman Kararâni did however attack Kâmatâ once in 1568-69. (9)

The Mughal General Monayem Khan defeated Soltan Daud Khan and took the capital of Gauda (1575 A. D.). He died shortly afterwards, and Daud Khan recovered the city, but only to be defeated and killed by Hosain Kuli Khan Khan Jahan in the battle of Rajmehal (1576 A. D.). The authority of the Mughal emperor was thus again established in Gauda itself, but before it could be extended Khan Jahan died, and Muzaffer Khan was appointed Mughal Subedar. He was killed by rebels, and Raja Todarmalla who was to be Subedar could not reach Gauda for various reasons. Later (1583 A. D.) Mirza Aziz Koka came to Gauda as Subedar and he proved able in some measure to control the Pathan leaders.

A nominal Mughal supremacy in Gauda had been established by Monayem Khan and Khan Jahan, so nominal that Raja Todarmalla contemplated bringing five lacs of rupees from Delhi to meet expenditure ;—Khan Jehan had made no contribution to the imperial treasury.

In 1583 A. D. Jaberi the leader of the Pathans was under the protection of the ruler of Kâmatâ and took possession of Ghorâghât, Purnea and Tâzpur. Between 1584 to 1587 A. D. Sahabaz Khan and in 1589 A. D. Kumar Jagatsinha were fighting

(9) Akbarnâmâ, page 716. Visvasinha-charitam.

the rebels of Ghorâghât. About the same time (1582 A. D.) Todarmalla was preparing in Behar the revenue papers of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The Kâmatâ territory to the east of the Kusi

Jamâbandi of Todarmalla.

river and north of Ghoraghat was included in his celebrated ' Âsal Jamâ tumâr' under the same elaka as Purnea, Tâzpur Pânjra and Ghorâghât Sarkar. Sarkar Ghorâghât was formed

Sarkar Ghoraghat.

with 84 Pergannas between the old Trisrota and Brahmaputra with a revenue of Rs. 2,09,577 (80,83,072 Dam), (or according to another view, with 88 pergannas with a revenue of Rs. 2,02,077). The Sarkar Ghorâghât pergannas in the Jamâbandi papers of Todarmalla are now the districts of Rungpur, Dinajpur, Rajsahi, Malda, Bogra and Mymensingh.

Formerly the Mughal thana had been near Harial on the banks of the Chalan Bil (in Pabna), but probably Raja Mansinha removed it to Salimnagar (Sherpur in the District of Bogra). Before the capital of Bengal was transferred to Dacca Salimnagar was an important place on the borders of Mughal territory. The Jaigir lands in Ghoraghat which were granted to the Pathan Sardars to resist advances by the " Nârâyan " rulers of the Visvasinha dynasty, extended to Salimnagar.

Sarkar Purnea was formed with nine pergannas between the rivers Kusi and Mahânandâ and the annual revenue was fixed at Rs. 1, 60, 219 (64, 08, 775 Dam). The revenue of Sarkar Tâzpur was to be Rs. 1,62,096 (64, 83, 857 Dam) and the 29 pergannas on the east bank of the Mahânandâ river were included in this elaka. The 21 pergannas stretching to the banks of the old Tista on the north-east of Dinajpur came to be known as Sarkar Panjârâ and their annual revenue was Rs. 1,45,082

Three Sarkars.

(58, 93, 275 Dam). At this time the Tista river flowed east of *pergannah Boda* (now in the district of Jalpaiguri). ⁽¹⁰⁾ The *Boda perganna* was included in the Cooch Behar raj up to the beginning of the 18th century. At the end of the 16th century, the northern part of the present districts of Dinajpur and Purnea, that is to say a considerable proportion of Panjara, Tajpur and Purnea Sarkar, was within the kingdom of Kāmata (or Cooch Behar). The river Mahānandā flowed between the two Sarkars of Purnea and Tajpur. By the middle of the 11th century, owing to the activities of Raja Dinanath of Dinajpur, the authority of the Nārāyan rulers disappeared in this territory. Much of the country occupied by the Pāthāns and over which the Kāmata rulers established their suzerainty in the beginning or middle of the 16th century were included in the Sarkars.

The Jamabandi papers of Rājā Todarmalla were based on a good deal of conjecture with reference to north Bengal.

Of the Jamabandi. He recorded also that the territory under the ruler of Tripura on the east bank of the Meghna river was under the Mughal dominion and named it 'Sonargān and Châtigān Sarkar'. Land to the east of the Surma river and the Jaintia raj have also been included in the papers as 'Sarkar Sylhet'. That Mughal supremacy was established at that time in Chittagong, is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Rājmalā* (the history of Tripura) and by the European traveller Ralph Fitch. Raja Todarmalla included other places on the borders of Bengal as being within the Mughal empire, but even during the time of the Emperor Jahangir the Mughals had no hold on these parts.

(10) In Major Rennel's map (prepared in 1779 A. D.) the main current of the Tista river has been shown up to the Padma through the Atrai river. Afterwards, as a result of the flood in 1787 A. D. its course changed towards the Brahmaputra.

It is said that these papers were copied from the Sherists of the Pathans, or were collected by Srihari (Vikramāditya the father of Pratāpāditya) and Janakiballav (Basanta Ray) officers of the Revenue Department of Daud Khan. The papers cannot be regarded as sufficiently determining the boundaries of the dominion of emperor Akbar.

According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, when the territory of Visvasinha was divided, his eldest son Naranârāyan acquired sovereignty over the vast area bounded on the east by the Sankos river, on the south by Ghoraghat and on the north by the base of the Himalayas. According to Sir William Hunter, after the death of Ser Saha the Pathan influence disappeared over territory near Rungpur and that of Cooch Behar was extended over it. In 1584 A. D. it was absorbed in the Mughal kingdom. But before the time of emperor Aurangzeb (1660-66 A. D.) this territory could not have been completely under the Mughals. (1)

14 ISÂ KHÂN MASNADE ALI (1584 A. D.)

About 1584 A. D. the south-eastern portion of Kâmatâ was invaded by Bîrabhuiyâ Isâ Khân, and Raghudevnârāyan the nephew of Maharaja Naranârāyan, escaped after being defeated in battle by Isâ Khân.

15. RAJA MANSINHA (1596 A. D.)

Raja Mansinha arrived at Patna in 1589 A. D. having been appointed Subedar of Bengal and Bihar. At that time unrest prevailed every where in Bengal. The Mughals and Pathans and the neighbouring rulers of Bengal were all engaged in militant quarrelling. In 1587 A. D. Naranârāyan died and his son

(1) Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 156.

Laksmînârâyan succeeded. **Raghudebnârâyan** the nephew of **Naranârâyan** was a tributary chief in the territory to the east but he denied the overlordship of **Laksmînârâyan**. He attacked the kingdom of **Laksmînârâyan** with the help of **Isâ Khân**. **Laksmînârâyan** sought the help of the emperor of Delhi. The Pathan chieftains who had resisted the Mughal power of **Gauda** for about half a century, took refuge in **Kâmatâ**. **Mansinha** came to **Kâmatâ** to aid **Laksmînârâyan**, but after his departure, **Raghudevnârâyan** again arose against **Laksmînârâyan**. Then the Mughal Generals **Fateh Khan Sur** and **Jujhar Khan** assisted **Laksmînârâyan** (3rd May 1597 A. D.) and fought **Raghudev** who was defeated. Many valuable properties belonging to him fell into the hands of the Mughals.

Raghudev.

Defeat of **Raghudev.**

16. **DURJJAN SINHA** (1597 A. D.).

In 1006 Hijri (1597 A. D.) **Raghudevnârâyan** made extensive plans to attack **Kâmatâ** with **Mâsum Khan** and **Isâ Khân Kâbuli**. When the Mughal General **Durjjan Sinha** joined **Laksmînârâyan**, the combined Mughals and **Kâmatâ** forces were routed in the battle of **Katrâbhu**. This victory however was not palatable to **Isâ Khân** for he was still bound by treaty to the Mughal emperor. He therefore deserted **Raghudev** and sent the properties left by **Durjjan Sinha** with a letter of explanation to **Râjâ Mânsinha**, and released prisoners he had taken. ⁽¹²⁾

(12) **Akbarnâmâ**, page 733. The situation of **Katrâbhu** has been estimated to be on the bank of the **Laksyâ** (**Sitalâksyâ**) river near **Khejarpur** to the south-east of **Dacca**. (**Dhâkâr Itihâs**, vol. 1, page 448). In the map of **Vanden Brouck** (1600 A. D.) **Katrâbhu** has been shown almost in the same locality.

17. MOKARAM KHÂN (1612 A. D.)

Sheikh Âlâuddin Eslâm Khân became Subedar of Bengal in 1608 A. D. He transferred the capital from Râjmehal to Dacca and renamed Dacca Jahangirnagar. In June 1609 A. D. he proceeded to Ghoraghat to invest Laksminârâyan as ruler of Kâmatâ. Pariksitnârâyan the ruler of Kâmarup readily acknowledged obedience to the Mughal emperor. Eslam sent messengers to the two rulers and Laksminârâyan responded with presents through Raja Raghunath of Susang (north of Mymensing). Pariksitnârâyan however dismissed the ambassador with a defiant reply. The Subedar deputed Abdul Wahed Jami to subdue Pariksitnârâyan, but the general was defeated. He escaped to Fatehpur where he was imprisoned under the orders of the emperor. ⁽¹³⁾ The vanity and arrogance of Pariksitnârâyan were stimulated. He attacked Raja Raghunath of Susang the friend of Laksminârâyan and brought back his family as prisoners. The Subedar received a complaint regarding this outrage ⁽¹⁴⁾ Thereafter Pariksit endeavoured unsuccessfully to increase his prestige by concluding a treaty with the Âhom king. The negotiations proved abortive.;

The independence of Raghudevsnârâyan and his son Pariksit was a humiliation to Laksminârâyan. Moreover, before their repeated attacks he was conscious of a danger which

(13) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 14 Kha. At this time Fatehpur Sikri situated to the south of Agra was the temporary Capital.

(14) The account has been given in the Bâdsâhanâmâ and the Sâhâjahânâmâ but not in the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi. Shetab Khan the writer of the Bâhâristân was present in Bengal at this time. He has given detailed descriptions of many hitherto unknown, and unimportant events regarding Pariksit. In ' Kâmrupar Burunjee ' it is mentioned that Raja Raghunath complained, " Pariksit is committing much oppression ", (page 9).

compelled to subdue himself to the emperor of Delhi. Considering all the circumstances, his desire for revenge was not very unnatural. His obsession was to destroy Pariksit, and an opportunity came his way. The Subedar was an old enemy of Pariksit and Laksmînârâyan instigated him to attack Pariksit by a policy of cunning incitement. Eslam Khan

however was not deceived as to
Treaty with the Subedar. Laksmînârâyan's purpose. He agreed

to dethrone Pariksit and give Kamarup to Laksmînârâyan, ⁽¹⁵⁾ but declared himself unable to engage in the task immediately. About two to three years elapsed before he subdued the Bârabhuiyâs,—Raja Anantamânikya of Bhulua, Râjâ Ramchandra of Bâklâ, Râjâ Satrâjit of Bhusanâ, Musâ Khân of Sonârgân, Majlis Kutab of Fatehâbâd,

Bâijid of Srihatta, Râjâ Pratâpâditya
Bâra Bhuiyâ. of Jessore, Osman Khan of Bokâinagar,

Raja Purushottamdeva of Khurdâ
(Orissa), Bir Hâmbir of Birbhum, Samas Khan of Pâchet,
and Salim Khân of Hijli.

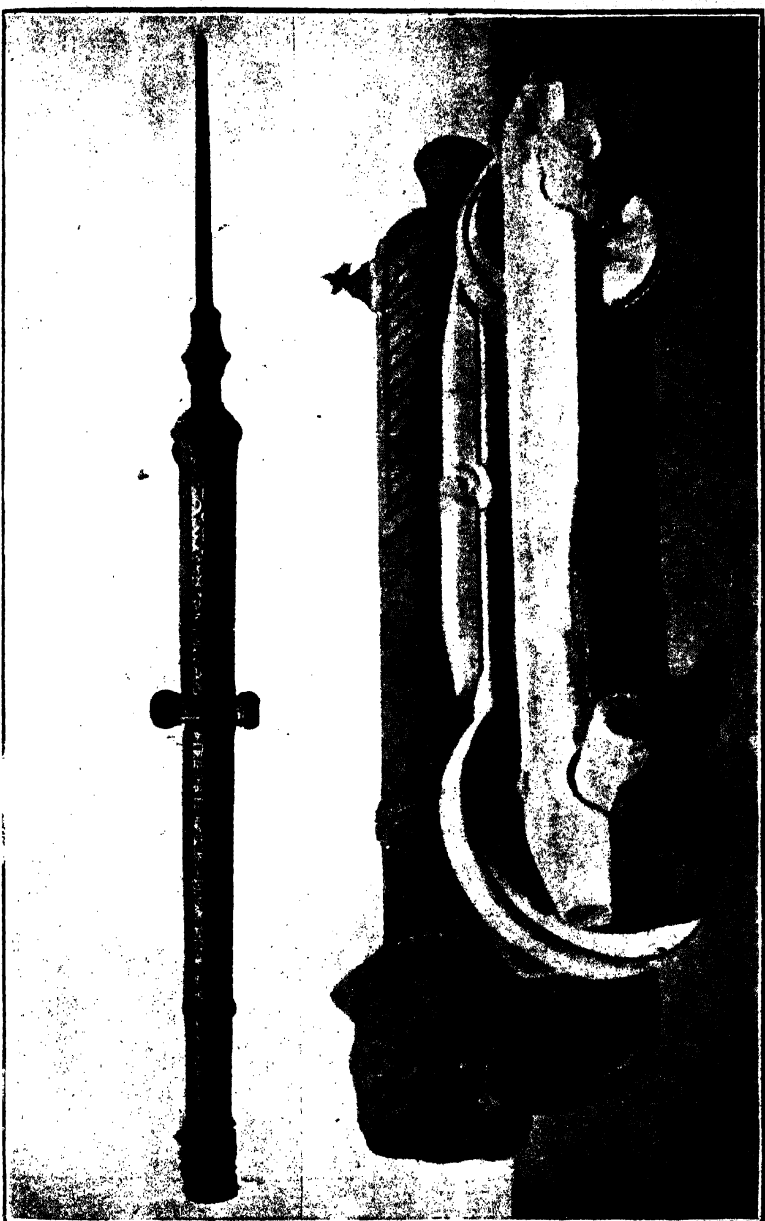
About November 1612 A. D. Eslam sent Sheik Kamal and Raja Raghunath under his son-in-law Mokarram Khan with

five thousand infantry, three hundred
Expedition against Pariksit. elephants and five hundred warboats to

reduce Pariksit. Maharaja Laksmi-
nârâyan joined the Mughal force. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Shetab Khan the writer
of the Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi also was one of the Generals in the
battle which ensued. The zemindars Râjâ Satrâjit, Bâhâdur
Gâzi, Majlis, Bâijid and Sona Gâzi, the zemindar of Sarâil (in
the district of Tippera) also fought on the Mughal side with their

(15) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha.

(16) In September 1932, a brass naval gun of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan, constructed before this battle (1611-12 A. D.), was discovered. It was buried two or three feet under the earth in Taluk Ichâmâri Châpâguri seven or eight miles to the north-west of



A naval gun of Maharaja Lakshminarayana and a gun of Itaghadayana. To face Page 310



forces. The Mughal "Nâwârâ" (naval force) went up-stream in the Brahmaputra river. The first clash between the three hundred warboats sent by Pariksit and the Mughal Nâwârâ took place near Karâibâri to the south-east of Rungpur. Pariksit's force was overwhelmed and many of his boats fell into the hands of the Mughals. After this engagement the Mughal army entered the territory of Pariksit.

The fortress of Dhubri the principal fort in Kâmrupa was situated at the confluence of the Brahmaputra and Gadâdhar rivers. It was guarded by 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry soldiers. General Shetab Khan first subdued the zamindars of Bahârband and Bhitarband Pergannas on the west of the Brahmaputra and stationed posts in different places to keep them under control. Then the Mughal soldiers encamped near Dhubri and began to invest the fort. Fate Khan Salka the Commander of the fort frustrated the beseiging army with great valour, but after the siege had continued for three and a half months, many of the defenders had been killed or had deserted. At last the son of Fateh Khan became a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals and Fateh Khan himself was forced to surrender in March 1613 A. D. (17).

the capital of Cooch Behar. The length of the gun is 6 feet 8 inches, the bolt at the breech being 1 foot 10 inches. The diameter of the muzzle is 2 inches. The weight of this piece of ordnance is 171 pounds (2 maunds 5 seers.). The following is superscribed on it in a single line in raised letters in very clear and beautiful old Bengali characters.

"Sreekrishnapadanakhachandra-prakâsa-manovâdâsa-Sree-Sree Lakshminârâyan-Bhupa-nirmitam, Saka 1533". ("Constructed by Sree Sree Lakshminârâyan whose mind delights in the gleam of the moon of the nails of the feet of Sree-krishna, Saka 1533"). Each letter of the inscription is exactly one inch long. The naval gun mentioned before (Footnote 6 Chapter III) was constructed about the same time (1613 A. D.).

(17) "Fate Khan is mentioned as a General of Pariksit in the Purani Asam Burunjee, Kamarupa Bansaivali and Kamarupar Buranjee. The date of the siege is given as a month in the Bâdsâhanâma and Sâhajâhân-nâma. The number of soldiers engaged does not agree in the Bâhârîstân-i-Ghâibî, Bâdsâhanâma and Sâhajâhân-nâma.

The backbone of Pariksit's resistance was broken by the conquest of Dhubri. He was at that time at 'Ghilâ', 10 or 12 miles to the north of Dhubri. When the Mughal Generals directed him to escape or surrender, he accepted the latter alternative and admitted obedience to the emperor after handing over Rs 80,000 and two elephants. He also proposed through an Ukil to present a lac of coin, 100 elephants and 100 hill ponies to the Subedar and to give his daughter in marriage to the Mughal emperor. A promise to release the family of Râjâ Raghunath was also given. ⁽¹⁸⁾ His two main conditions were that the kingdom of Kâmarupa would remain as before and that he should be relieved of the obligation of being personally present in the Durbar of the emperor. When Ramdas the Ukil of Pariksit laid these proposals before the Mughal General Mokarram Khan the latter advised him to go to Dacca with the presents and settle these matters personally with the Subedar. Accordingly, Ramdas accompanied by Sheik Kamal, Mirza Husein Mesudi and Râjâ Raghunath intended to go to Dacca.

Acknowledgment of obedience
by Pariksit.

Eslam Khan however when he was informed of the proposals, rejected them, censured Sheik Kamal and ordered him to make Pariksit a prisoner without delay. The presents were confiscated under orders of the Subedar. Sheik Kamal returned, and Laksminârâyan attacked Khutâghât the kingdom of Pariksit. Pariksit counterattacked. The severity of the fight which took place between uncle and nephew has not been equalled in any other battle in the history of Kâmarupa.

Refusal by the Subedar.

(18) Bâhârîstân-i-Ghâibi, page 114 Ka. The Sâhâjâhannâmâ and Bâdsâhnâmâ are silent about the marriage proposal. There is a difference of opinion regarding the nature and amount of the presents.

Laksmīnārāyan fought doggedly from the back of an elephant for seven days and nights and had ultimately to seek reinforcements from the Mughals. However when Rājā Satrājī joined Laksmīnārāyan, Pariksit escaped towards ' Ghilā '.

Battle lasting a week.

As the mouth of the Gadādhār river was closed by warboats of the zemindars subordinate to the Mughal emperor, Pariksit was practically besieged in the town of Ghilā. He did not on this account lose heart, but sallied out with his entire force. He sent boats to the mouth of the Gadādhār under his son-in-law the Rājā of Dimruā. Under cover of darkness his seven hundred warboats advanced towards Dhubri and to supplement this flotilla, fifty elephants went by road. He himself pushed towards the fort of Dhubri with 5000 infantry, 5000 mailed soldiers, three hundred elephants and a large body of men armed with bows and arrows. (19)

Pariksit in naval fight.

The nocturnal attack of the naval forces of Pariksit, created consternation in the Mughal flotilla. The night passed and the whole of the next day saw neither side victorious. Then Purandar the Commander of Pariksit's naval force boarded the ship of the Commander of the Mughal flotilla and struck off the head of the enemy leader. Purandar was immediately run through by the swords of the Mughals. (20) Though the Commanders on the both side were killed, the battle continued, but the naval

Victory of Pariksit.

(19) In Bāhārīstān the number of Kāndī (armed with bows) soldiers has been given as 1,56,000 (page 115 Ka.) This appears to be a mistake of the copyist. In the Bādsāhanāmā and Sāhājāhānāmā it is said that Pariksit had 400 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. The Bādsāhanāmā records that he brought twenty elephants to the field of battle.

(20) There was a General named Purandar during the time of Pariksit's father (Kāmrup Burunjee, page 7). The Commander of the Mughal naval force killed by Purandar has been given as Kuber Khan. Kāmarup Vansāvali.

force of Pariksit gradually gained the upper hand. At night they took possession of a Mughal outpost on the Gadâdhar river, destroyed fifty boats and made four hundred Mughals prisoners. The Mughal General Laksmi Râjput was wounded. The zemindars Bâhâdur Gazi and Sonâ Gâzi fled for their lives. When the fort was re-taken, Pariksit's Generals sent fifty elephants inside to trample wounded Mughal soldiers to death.

Pariksit after despatching his naval forces, had himself proceeded to the scene of battle; a broken bridge and an

Chhatra Nâzir Nitai.

unmanageable elephant delayed him and he did not reach Dhubri until night fall.

He reached the battle-field after dawn.

His Commander-in-chief Chhatra Nâzir Nitâi was conducting operations and was surrounded by four or five thousand soldiers armed with bows and arrows. The Mughal General Shetab Khan has recorded that Nitai was seated on an elephant named Gopikanta "as high as the Alburz mountain". Gopikanta became restless with wounds from arrows and tried to run away. Nitai dropped to the ground in self-protection, and was immediately taken prisoner by the Mughels⁽²¹⁾. Pariksit was not disheartened and directed the battle personally during the whole day. At evening, a soldier of the Râjâ of Dimruâ and a naval leader were wounded by shot from Mughal guns

Escape of Pariksit

and later men of the naval force and the Râjâ of Dimruâ himself were wounded.⁽²²⁾

Pariksit's flotilla became disorganised in the absence of a leader. Adequate command had also been lacking on land. In these circumstances, and as the night

(21) Bâharistan-i-Ghâibi. page 116 Ka. Chhatra Nazir Nitai is also referred to in the Kâmrup Bhrunjee and Kâmrup Vansâvali.

(22) This 'Mirbahar' (naval Commander) as mentioned in the Baharistan (page 16 Ka) and the Purandar Laskar as given in the Vansâvali appear to be different persons.

advanced it became impossible to restore confidence on both the land and river forces.—Tired on body and mind Pariksit retired towards Ghilâ.

Soldiers of the emperor pursued him, and after he had been attacked simultaneously from two sides, he had no alternative but to leave Ghilâ, and cross the river Mânasa to Baranagar. Râjâ Satrâjit arrived too late to block the way. There was no possibility of his being captured, for escape was also open to him to the north and east. However, he deemed it advisable to surrender himself to the Mughals and he sent an ambassador to the Mughal camp to obtain a promise that his life and honour would be respected. Mokarram Khan the Commander-in-chief of the Mughal army gave this assurance on oath, and in July 1613 A. D., Pariksit formally surrendered.

The Commander-in-chief delegated the Government of Kâmrupa to Laksmînârâyan. (23) Pariksit went to Dacca with Mirza Hosan Bakshi and Râjâ Raghunâth. At that time Subedar Eslam Khan was hunting in the Bhowal jungle near Dacca. He sent information to Pariksit that he would see him there, but before Pariksit arrived, the Subedar was suddenly taken ill and died. Pariksit had boasted that he was the ruler of an independent royal dynasty ruling for a century, and Eslam had had it in mind that he would make Pariksit bow down his proud head in the Durbar of the emperor.

Eslam's subordinate officers then enacted a dramatic farce whereby they concealed the news of death of the Subedar from Pariksit and held a Durbar in which Pariksit offered obeisance (Kurnis) to the corpse of Eslam Khan. They also attempted

(23) Baharistan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha,

to imprison Pariksit, but were opposed by Mokarram Khan. Afterwards, orders were solicited from the Mughal Durbar as to what should be done with Pariksit.⁽²⁴⁾

In May 1614 A. D. Kasem Khan the brother of Eslam Khan arrived at Dacca as the new Subedar.. He received Pariksit and his son with great honour and offered them seats on the same level as his own. When Laksmīnārāyan

Subedar Kasem Khan.

reached Dacca, he was kept under surveillance. Orders were also passed that Pariksit should be similarly treated, but with limited effect owing to the strong protest of Mokarram Khan who had bound himself by oath to protect Pariksit. The Subedar

Laksmīnārāyan and Pariksit
nārāyan made captives.

therefore had recourse to a strategem. He arranged for Pariksit to be separated from Mokarram Khan, made Pariksit a prisoner and appointed Abdul Nabi to take charge of him. Mokarram Khan was very mortified by this treachery and was even inclined to take up arms against the Subedar. He desisted from such a course as he realised the weakness of his position and apprehended the anger of the emperor. Kasem Khan set himself to the cynical role of instructing Pariksit in the etiquette of the Delhi Durbar. After some time, the royal captives were sent to the Durbar at Agra.

Kāsem Khān endeavoured to attract the favour of the Durbar by showing an increase in the Mughal dominion as represented by the territories conquered by Eslam Khan, but he had neither the experience nor the political sagacity necessary to protect the newly acquired borders of the empire.

(24) Bāhārīstān-i-Ghāibi, pages 140 Kha and 141 Ka. It is written in the Bādsāhanāma that the officer who was in charge of the office of the Subedar being unable to decide what to do with Pariksit, sent a letter to the Durbar soliciting instructions, and in pursuance of the orders of the emperor, Pariksit was sent to Agra.

He was inconsiderate and cruel. He did not understand that his administration would be undermined if undertakings given by the previous Subedar and the higher officers engaged in the conquest of Kâmrupa, were disregarded. Blinded by conceit, he insulted and oppressed his officers. The Bâdsâhanâmâ records Mokarram Khan's disgust with Kasem, in consequence of which he journeyed to Agra *via* Ghoraghat to prefer a complaint. Kâsem Khân's policy was frustrated. He was unable to establish peace and order in Kâmarupa, and though he thought to rule the country from a centre at Jahangirabad (Ghilâ), the fire of revolt was soon kindled on all sides.

The protracted warfare between Pariksit and Lakṣminârâyan caused great hardship to their subjects but none of them desired to see either ruler deposed. On the other hand, the relationship of the two rulers with their subjects was close and the dynasty inspired loyalty because it had sprung from the people of the country. When it became known that Pariksit was a prisoner and that Lakṣminârâyan had fallen into the same plight, revolt spread through Kâmarupa and Kâmatâ. Begun at Khutâghât by the people of Uttarkula, it was taken up by the inhabitants of Dakṣinakula, and culminated in wave of hatred against the Mughals which rolled as far as Morung.

'Naba Râjâ' and 'Hâmân Raja' led the rebels of Uttarkula. The influential Sanatan supported them. Samrud Kâyasth⁽²⁵⁾, Parasurâm, Mangovinda (the uncle of Pariksit), Jadu Nâyek and the ruler of Dimrua in Dakṣinakula took up arms. Most of the leaders of the Nâmdâni (low lands) of Dakṣinakula

(25) 'Barakâth Sumru' under orders of Raghudevânârâyan the father of Pariksit-nârâyan constructed the temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava of Hâjo. Vanavali of Samudranârâyan, page 88.

(Kaltakāri the Raja of 'Rani', his son Thānā, Ākhrā Rājā, Rupābar Rājā, Bako Rājā, Kanul Rājā etc.) openly or clandestinely conspired against the Mughals. Balinārāyan the brother of Pariksit secured the aid of the Āhom ruler.

Kasem Khan hurriedly despatched troops and transferred officers again and again in a desperate effort to control the rising. His generals were unable to launch a successful operation. Many of his officers disapproved of him.

Natural obstacles in
Kāmarupa.

The configuration of the country presented serious natural obstacles. The great Brahmaputra flooded the country. Uttarkula was a land of rivers. During the greater part of the year, an army could only move with difficulty. The dense forest of the Bhutan hills extended from east to west. The hinterland of Daksinakula was also hilly and covered with impenetrable jungle.

While the north-east of Bengal was in this condition, the southern and eastern borders were in a state of anarchy owing to the constant deprivations of Burmese and Portuguese bandits who perpetrated outrages by land and water.

Unrest in Bengal.

Kasem Khan's incompetence was manifest and his officers were exasperated. Mokarram Khan had already laid a complaint against him before the emperor. Dewan Mokhles Khan also complained against the Subedar, and at the beginning of 1617 A. D. he was removed from the post of Subedar and simultaneously an order was issued to reduce his

Dismissal of Kasem Khan.

Jaagir and Mansab. (26)

(26) Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, page 197 Kha. According to the Badshahanama and Sahajahanama, Kasem Khan was dismissed for the defeat of the Mughal army in Assam.

The Emperor appointed Ibrahim Khan Fathehjang in his place. Ibrahim Khan was Governor of Behar and there was some delay in his reaching Bengal. In the meantime the revolt in Kâmarupa became more complicated. Sheik Ibrahim Krauri the chief officer in the imperial revenue Department in Kâmarup misappropriated seven lacs of rupees and seeking the protection of the Ahom ruler took up arms against the emperor in the hope of becoming ruler of Kâmarupa.

Subedar Ibrahim Khan.

Revolt of Ibrahim Krauri.

The son of Raja Pratâpâditya of Jessore, Laksmînârâyan the ruler of Kâmatâ and Pariksit of Kâmrupa were living under surveillance in Agra. The emperor had expressed a desire to release them but up to that time it had not been implemented. Before going to Bengal, Subedar Ibrahim Khan sponsored their release. He wrote to the emperor that if the son of Pratâpâditya were sent back to his own country there would be possibility of stopping the depredations of the Burmese and the Portuguese. There was also a probability that Laksmînârâyan and Pariksit could establish peace in Kâmarupa. The emperor appreciated the soundness of the request and sent Laksmînârâyan with honours to Bengal. Orders regarding Pariksit were conveyed to Mir Kâymaddowla, that the kingdom of Kamarup would be returned to him when the promised peskash of seven lacs of rupees had been realised from him. (27)

(27) Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, page 234 Kha. It is not clear from the Baharistan whether Pariksit really came to Bengal or not. In some of the Vansavalis it is said that he came to Dacca and again went to Agra and died on his way there. It is written in the Kâmarupar Burunjee that when he was going to Agra he learnt at Tribeni in Prayag (Allahabad) that if a person gave up his life in that place, no sin would accrue from suicide. Page 11.

The new Subedar Ibrahim Khan was a just, energetic and sagacious officer. He was well aware of conditions in the country. He discarded the policy followed by Kasem Khan and tried to establish peace.

Madhusudan had occupied Karai'ari. Ibrahim Khan sent Musa Khan the son of Isa Khan and other zemindars to him.

They took him to Khejerpur after making him admit obedience to the emperor. He was imprisoned there at first but afterwards released. Ibrahim appointed the old and experienced officer Sheik Kamal as Governor of Kâmarupa (1618 A. D.), and began to subdue the revolt in Kâmarupa with the help of Laksmînârâyan.

18. SÂHAJÂDÂ MOHAMMAD SUJA (1649-58 A. D.)

During the time of Soltan Mohammad Suja the son of emperor Sahajahan and Subedar of Bengal, part of Cooch Behar was recorded in his Duftar (register) as belonging to the Mughal Empire ⁽²⁸⁾ but no evidence is available of any place in the raj being occupied by him. In 1658 A. D. he had Jamâbandi papers prepared to correct Raja Todarmalla's ' Âsal Jamâ tumâr '. An additional 15 Sarkars and 668 Pergannas were included. The papers record that there were 34 Sarkars and 1350 Pergannas in the whole of Bengal, the total revenue being Rs. 1,31,15,907. The Sarkars of Kochbihar, Bângalbhum, Dhubri (Dhekri), Daksinakula and Uttarakula were specified. ⁽²⁹⁾ Soltan Suja renamed ' Hajo ' ' Sujâ-âbad '. He increased the revenue by twenty-four lacs of rupees above

(28) Riaz-us salâtin—Bengali Translation, page 197.

(29) During the time of Suja, some portions of Assam came under the emperor. Ahom Burunjee, Mss. B. (b), page 1. Sheik Ibrahim Krauri divided the kingdom of Kamrupa of Pariksit into four Sarkars (Sarkar Kamarupa, Sarkar Dhekri, Sarkar Daksinakula and Sarkar Bângalbhum) and 75 Pergannas. Kamrupar Burunjee, page 28.

that recorded by Todarmall. Some of this increase consisted of revenue from lands taken from Orissa, Tripura and Cooch Behar and the income from the mint.

Sarkar Kochbihar.—This Sarkar was divided into 246 Pergannas and its revenue was to be Rs. 3,27,791. It covered most of the territory in the north-east of Bengal which had come under the Mughal empire. The present district of Rungpur and the greater portion of the ancient zemindary of Fakirkundi were included. Many portions of this Sarkar were taken from the possession of ruler of the Cooch Behar.

Sarkar Bângâlbum.—Sarkar Bângâlbum was formed with Pergannas Baharband and Bhitband (30). Even today these two Pergannas remain substantially the same. The Revenue of this Sarkar was fixed at Rs. 1,27,728. It was within the old kingdom of Cooch Behar and is now in the district of Rungpur.

Sarkar Daksinakula.—Sarkar Daksinakula was created with a revenue of Rs. 27 821, and in the main comprised the three Pergannas Karaibari etc. on the east bank of the Brahmaputra.

Sarkar Dhubri.—Sarkar Dhubri or Dhekri was mainly two Pergannas on the banks of the Brahmaputra to the north of Daksinakula and extending to Goalpara in the east, with a revenue of Rs. 6,126.

Sarkar Uttarkula or Kamarupa.—This Sarkar was situated on the west and north of the Brahmaputra. It was divided into three Pergannas, and its revenue fixed at Rs. 31,451.

(30) According to another view, Perganna Gaybari and Chowki Baitala were Sarkar Bângâlbum. Kamrupar Burunjee, page 102.

It has already been mentioned that in 1582 A. D. Raja Todarmalla created Sarkar Ghoraghat—84 Pergunnas, Sarkar Purnea of nine, Sarkar Tajpur of twenty-nine and Sarkar Janjara of twenty-one Pergannas. Many parts of Kāmātā or Cooch Behar were in all these Sarkars.

Sarkar Bangalbhum, Daksinakula, Uttarakula and Dhubi were conquered from Pariksit and included in the Mughal domain (1613 A. D.) The territory to the north of Pariksit's raj has now been divided in five " Duars ", Bijni, Siddi, Chirang, Ripu, and Guma (1005 square miles) and within the Khas Mehal of district Goalpara. The remaining territory (2884 square miles) have in modern times been divided into several Pergannas and included within that district. They are Bijni, Gouripur, Parbatjoar, Chapar, Mechpara and Karaibari zemindaries (1).

In connection with the attack on Cooch Behar by Subedar Mirzumla (1661 A. D.), the Tārīkh-i-Āsām and Alamgirnāmā say that at that time Baharband, Tājhat, (?) and Bākduār were to the south of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. They mention Baritalā on the banks of the Brahmaputra (to the southeast of Bāhārband and near Chilmāri) and a strong *Bund*, *Bāndh*, or *Ail* (earthen wall). The then capital of Cooch Behar was 48 miles to the

(1) The present zemindar family of Gauri-pur is descended from Kavindra Patra, the Commander-in-chief of Maharaj Naranārāyan. Bulchand Barua of this family first gained the zemindary during the time of the East India Company. It is divided into several Pergannas and its area is 494 square miles. The area of Parbatjoar Perganna is 276 square miles. The first zemindar was Hātībar Chaudhuri and to the present it is in the possession of his descendants. At the end of the 18th century, Mechpara and Chapar Perganna were separated from Bijni. Thana Kamalochan acquired Mechpara, and Jaynarain Sarma, Chapar. Even now these two Pergannas are in the possession of their descendants. Their areas are 399 and 201 square miles respectively. The area of Karaibari Perganna is 51 square miles. This was purchased from Mahendranarāyan by Ramchandra Lahiri a former Dewan of Cooch Behar.

north of this *Ail* and the Subedar took six days from that place to reach the capital of Cooch Behar. The portion of the kingdom within this *Bund* or rampart, was known as "Bhitarband" and that outside, as "Baharband". Outside the rampart there were 77 Pergannas in five Châklâs, and inside, 12 Pergannas.

At the end of the 15th century, after conquering Kâmatâpur, the Pathan chiefs gave Buharband, Bhitarband, Patildaha and Swarupapur Pergannas to a Brahmin named Jagat Ray to protect the frontier; but after the death of Ser Sah most of them were retaken by the "Nîrâyan" rulers. Later, when the Mughal rule was strongly established in those Pergannas, jagirs were sometimes granted to officers. The practice was to grant Jagirs in disturbed areas or near the frontier. During the time of Sah Suja, Chand Ray became the first zemindar of Baharband. Raja Raghunath Ray of Bardhankuttir disputed his possession and acquired the zemindary by a decision of emperor Aurangzeb. Subsequently, Raja Ramkanta Ray of Natore inherited it from his wife Rani Satyabati. The celebrated Rani Bhabani the wife of Raja Ramkanta gave it to her son-in-law Raghunath Ray. After the Company was granted the Dewani (1765 A. D.), the Governor General Warren Hastings transferred the Perganna to Raja Loknath Nandi the son of his Dewan Krisnakanta Nandi (Kanta Mudi) of Kasimbazar. Later still it passed under the Collectorate of Rajsahi with the Perganna of Bhitarband. In 1772 A. D. Buharband was under the Collectorate of Rungpur and in 1766-87 A. D. Buharband and Idrakpur were amalgamated to form a separate district named Ghoraghat but was a short-lived arrangement. After the Permanent Settlement, Bhitarband has come within the district of Rungpur. The present area of the zemindari including Baharband, Goygâri and part of Bhitarband, is 350 square miles.

19. MIRZUMLA NAWAB MOAZZAM KHAN (1661 A. D.)

During the illness of emperor Sahajahan, Soltan Suja the Subedar of Bengal, at first exultant with the hope of usurping the throne of his father, subsequently lived in fear of his life. At that time the administration of Bengal was very weak.

Independent rulers on the frontier began to enter the Mughal territory either to recover lost territory or to extend their influence. In 1657 A. D. Maharaja Prannârâyan of Cooch Behar and some time after him the Âhom king Jaydhvaj Sinha invaded and occupied lower Assam. The Assamese themselves conquered territory up to Karaibari, about five days' journey north-wards of Dacca, and established a thana at Hâtsilâ. They took a large number of Mughal prisoners and sent them to Assam.

Prannârâyan, the ruler of Cooch Behar attacked Ghoraghat and brought some male and female captives to his own kingdom. (32) He attacked Dacca by river. En route, his soldiers fired villages on the banks of the Brahmaputra. He sacked Dacca the Capital of Bengal in 1661 A. D. (33). It was to this state of anarchy that Mirzumla Nawab Moazzam Khan the Subedar newly appointed by emperor Aurungazeb came to Dacca. He first concentrated on retribution for the acts of the rulers of Assam and Cooch Behar. A large fleet, with cannon and other war material was sent by water to Cooch Behar, and the Nawab himself set out with twelve thousand cavalry and considerable infantry to attack Cooch Behar by land route.

Learning this news, the Âhom ruler hoped to place all blame

Conquest of Ghoraghat and Dacca.

Military preparations by the Subedar.

(32) Riaz-us-salâtin, Bengali Translation, page 266. Târikh-i-Âsam, Introduction, page 8.

(33) Marshman's History of Bengal, page 55. The Mahomedan historians do not say that Dacca was conquered by Prannârâyan.

upon the "Bara Dowani" of Cooch Behar and sent a **Vakil** with a letter to the Nawab, but the Nawab disregarded the letter and imprisoned the Vakil.

Under Subedar's orders one thousand cavalry under Raja Sujan Sinha and Mirza Beg started first as an advance guard.

Expedition to Cooch Behar.

But owing to small strength, they were compelled to halt in Bakduar outside the limits of Cooch Behar. The Nawab followed immediately and reached Baritala near the boundary of Cooch Behar. At that time there were three (according to another view four) routes through Morang, Bakduar and Rangamati respectively into Cooch Behar. That Bakduar (Kamatapur Ghoraghat Road) was well-known, and was protected by a very strong rampart from which the then capital of Cooch Behar was 48 miles or 6 days' journey. Under orders of the Subedar, Raja Sujan Sinha was to protect the route at Ghoraghat whither the family of the Subedar and excess baggage were sent.

Ordering the fleet to wait in a channel flowing from Ghoraghat to the Brahmaputra, the Subedar followed a little-known path through jungle. On the 14th

Conquest of Cooch Behar.

December 1661 A. D. the Mughal army entered Cooch Behar territory. By this ruse the Subedar frustrated the previous dispositions made by the ruler. When the Mughal army was three days' journey distant, the ruler escaped to the Bhutan hills, and on the 19th December Nawab Mouzzam Khan occupied the capital of Cooch Behar without a battle (34).

(34) It is written in the Burunjee of Rudrasinha (page 177) that on Friday the 19th Magh 1583 Saka (27th January 1662 A. D.) Cooch Behar was conquered by Mouzzam Khan. It has been ascertained by calculation that this date was really a Friday. The following differences of opinion are noted.—

1. 19th December 1661 A. D. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 180; 7th Jamadiyal Awwal, 1072 Hijri (19th December 1661 A. D.) Alamginnama and Tarikh Asim.

Nawab Mirzumla renamed the capital 'Alamgir Nagar'. From the ruler's armoury, 106 cannon, 145 jamburak (small cannon), 11 ramchingi (P) 123 guns and other pieces of ordnance and many animals fell into the hands of the victor. Under his orders the royal properties were plundered. The main temple was converted into a mosque. Isfendiar Beg was appointed to garrison the country temporarily with one thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry. Saiyad Mohammad Sudek was appointed

Arrangement for administration.

Chief Justice, Asgar Khan the Fouzdar, Kazi Sammu the Dewan and Mir Abdur Rezzak and Khaja Kesridas Assistant Dewans. Bholanath the former Minister of the ruler had escaped to Morang country and the Nawab sent Isfendiar Beg and Farhad Khan to search for him. Reza Kuli Khan captured him and brought him before the Nawab under whose orders he became a prisoner in irons. Men were sent to Kantalbari to the north to seize the ruler himself without success as he moved into Bhutan. The Nawab then sent a letter to the Dharmaraj of Bhutan to send the king to him, but the Dharmaraj paid no heed to the demand. After arrangements for establishing justice in the newly conquered kingdom had been made, the Subedar started on the 4th January 1662 A. D. to conquer the kingdom of Assam. While in Cooch Behar, he punished several of his soldiers for looting and compensated the subjects concerned. (35)

After his departure the people were oppressed by Isfendiar Beg and Mohammad Sadek, and rallied to the side of the ruler. Continual fighting weakened Isfendiar Beg and he was compelled to leave Cooch Behar. He made for Ghoraghat

2. 27th Rabiul Awwal 1172 Hijri (10th November 1661 A. D.) History of Bengal, page 325.

(35) Alamgir-Nama, pages 689, 694; Masir-i-Alamgiri, page 39; Tarikh-i-Assam, Introduction page 13.

with his attendants. The Subedar had sent a force under Asgar Khan from Assam to Cooch Behar but they were waiting outside Cooch Behar territory for reinforcements. Then the Nawab died, and receiving no assistance from the temporary Subedar Daud Khan, Asgar Khan could not maintain himself outside the Ail (Bund or Bândh) except in Fatehpur Chakla. (36) Afterwards, when a treaty was concluded between Nawab Sayesta Khan and the ruler of Cooch Behar, the Mughal army was withdrawn from this place (1665 A. D.).

20. RĀJĀ RĀMSINHA (1668 A. D.)

With the death of Nawab Mirzumla Moazzam Khan, the results of his conquest of Assam disappeared. The Âhom ruler denounced the treaty and began to quarrel with the Mughal Fouzdar of Gauhati. It appears that Modnârâyan the ruler of Cooch Behar attended to the repairs of the southern Ail (rampart) and the forts strengthening the southern part of his kingdom. When Subedar Sayestâ Khan was unsuccessful in Assam, the emperor sent Ramsinha the Raja of Amber with 18,000 cavalry and 33,000 infantry. Raja Ramsinha was related to the ruler of Cooch Behar and took Cooch Behar soldiers with him to conquer Assam. (37)

Rajā Ramsinha and Cooch Behar.

21. BHABANIDAS (1685 A. D.).

Bhabanidas (the son of Todarmalla) the Naib Subedar of Bengal attacked Cooch Behar about 1685 A. D., and the ruler, defeated in battle, escaped to the forest. There was a fire in the Mughal camp, and Bhabanidas with four thousand of his soldiers perished. After this fire, the ruler recovered his kingdom. (38)

(36) History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 218. An account is given in the Ain-i-Akbari of a Mehal named Fatehpur Sarkar Ghoraghat.

(37) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscript Book III, Vol. II, page 33; Assam Burunjee, Manuscript Book VIII, page 100.

(38) Fatuhât-i-Alamgiri, page 123. The fresh attack of the Mughal army immediately

22. EBADAT KHÂN (1687 A. D.).

Ebadat Khan the Fouzdar of Ghoraghat invaded Cooch Behar in 1094 B. S. (1687 A. D.). He crossed the Ail at the boundary. It is said that as there was scarcity of water in the place where he pitched his camp, a tank was hurriedly excavated, and that for this reason, this place is even today known as "Sadyapuskarini". Thence he advanced eight miles to the north and established two bazars, "Nababganj" and "Mâhiganj" (Rungpur), and when Chakla Kakina was conquered, he established a Hat which has come to be known as Mogalhât. (39)

Owing to constant attacks by the Mughals and internal unrest, the Cooch Behar officers who were entrusted with the charge of the Chaklajat and who had already in practice though not in name assumed independence, began now to side with the Mughals. Owing to this combination, the Raikat and the Chhatra Nazir, advanced against the Fouzdar and opposed the vast Mughal army with great valour for a considerable time.

The Mughal Fouzdar was never able to subdue them, and even when Raja Mahindranârâyan died, and the Raikats were disputing the Cooch Behar *gadi* with Chhatra Nazir Yajnanarayan, they did not cease to engage the Mughal army. Fouzdar Nurulla Khan fought them continually from 1095

after this incident appears to be in retribution for this fire. In no other history is there mention of the incident, nor is it indicated in which reign Bhabanidas attacked Cooch Behar.

Todarmalla the Minister of Akbar died a very old man in 998 Hijri (1590 A. D.); There was another Todarmalla who was an officer under emperor Shahjahan.

(39) Sambhu Varna Charita, page 9-10.

* The Mohammedians at first called their new conquests in Kochwarah by the name of *Rakshasputi* and they probably made their first entry near where Mahiganja now stands confronting Kundi which they already held, on the opposite side of the Ghaghat."

Bongpoor District Gazetteer, page 146.

to 1100 B. S., when Nurulla Khan was dismissed under orders of the Nawab and Jabardast Khan was appointed in his place.

Jabardast Khan.

He carried on the hostilities, and having forcibly acquired a Jaigir, lived there for two years and ten months. When he

left, it was to quell the revolt of Sobhasinha and Rahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan came to Ghoraghat. He was there from 1103 to 1104 B. S. At this stage the Raikats

Valour of the Raikats.

Jagadev and Bhujadev re-established themselves in their lost domain, the

Mughal army being completely defeated by them. After Ibrahim Khan, Sâyâdat Ali Khan was Fouzdar until 1105 B. S. and Sâmsuddowla Khan until 1106 B. S. but neither was able to recapture the territory formerly in Mughal possession, and Raikats Jagadev and Bhujadev maintained this independence. They repulsed Saiyad Yazed Khan the Dewan of the Fouzdar and Raja Devakinandan. It was after this that Ali Kuli Khan was appointed Fouzdar (1106 B. S.).

Raikats Jagadev and Bhujadev were both killed in battle with Yajnanârâyan. In Cooch Behar the latter was succeeded by Rupnârâyan to whom the Debraj of Bhutan gave assistance in his endeavour to restore peace and order in a country devastated by continued civil war. (40) The ruler of Cooch Behar and Ali Kuli Khan concluded a treaty which determined the present State of Cooch Behar with the three Chaklas Hoda, Patgram and Purbabhog. The remaining Chaklas of Fatehpur,

Treaty.

(40) The Mughal General Moazzan Khan advanced and erected a fort on the banks of the Dharla near Patgram.

This place is said to have been named 'Mundamâla' as the heads of the Cooch Behar soldiers killed in battle were hung up on bamboo poles there. A place to the east (to the south-east of Dinhat) where a large number of Mughal soldiers were killed has been called 'Turuk-kâtî' (Rijopakhya, Narakhanda, Acharya 10).

Kakina and Karjirhat came within the imperial jurisdiction, and former Cooch Behar officers were appointed Chaudhuris of them. The officers of the Cooch Behar Chaklas were described in the Rajopākhyāna. "The officers of the Pergannās Karjirhāt, Kākinā, Tepā, Manthanā, Kunri (Kundi?) etc. became treacherous to the king, and agreeing to pay revenue every year to the Subedar for the territories under them, themselves became zemindars and took out Sunnuds". (41)

Subsequently Fatepur Chakla was divided into the zemindaries of Fatehpur, Bamandanga, Manthanā, Panga and Gharialdanga in the district of Rungpur. During the last century the Maharaja of Cooch Behar acquired a small portion of Fatehpur zemindary by purchase and half of the Panga zemindary by gift. Reference has already been made to Indranarayan Chakravarti the Chakladar of Chakla Kākinā. During his time (166 Rajsaka = 1676 A. D.) or some time before Raghuram was in service in this Chakla, Raghavendranarayan and Ramnarayan the sons of Raghuram joined cause with the Fouzdar, with the result that Raghavendra was appointed Chaudhuri of Perganna 'Bāsatti' and Ramnarayan Chaudhuri of Chakla Kakina (1687 A. D.). (42)

Chakla Karjir Hat or Kajir Hat was formerly known as Chakla Padmanarayan. At the beginning of the 18th century,

(41) Narakhanda, Adhyāya 10.

"When the Moslems settled their new conquest of Serkar Kochvihar, they gave the Zemindaries or management of the soil to various officers and servants of the Raja by whose treachery they probably had been assisted." Eastern India, Vol. III, page 421.

No proof is available that Kunri or Kundi Perganna was at that time within Cooch Behar.

(42) The descendant of Raghavendranārāyan Chaudhuri are now zemindars of Perganna Bāsatti (Gharialdāngā). The area of this Perganna is about 25 square miles and of Kakina Chakla about 250 square miles. Ramnarayan Chaudhuri was the first of the Kakina zemindar family.

It is said that in 1736 A. D. Rudra Rai Chaudhuri the son of Ramnarayan Chaudhuri gained much land as Petbhātā (rent-free) in several Taluka. This land was

Arif Mohammad a former Cooch Behar officer joined the Fouzdar and was appointed 'Chaudhuri' of this Chakla. Later the Chakla was divided into the zemindaries of Kajirhat, Mahipur, Tushbhandar, Tepa, Dimla etc. (43)

Ali Kuli Khan's treaty with Cooch Behar was not approved by the Nawab, and he was dismissed and replaced by Ali Ijjat Neyamatulla Khan (1711 A. D.). Neyamatulla Khan remained in the post until 1120 B. S. (1738 A. D.). He reversed the terms of the treaty and he objected to the previous settlement and demanded revenue for Chakla Boda, Patgram and Purbablag. War broke out again. Sheikh Iar Mohammad attacked Cooch Behar with a considerable force. The Cooch Behar troops were defeated and the three Chaklas passed into the dominion of the emperor. When excessive revenue was realised to maintain Iar Mohammad's soldiers many people left the country. Neyamatulla Khan made a land

subsequently confiscated, but in 1763 A. D. restored. During the time of Rasik Ray Chaudhuri the son of Rudra Ray Chaudhuri, the Cooch Behar officers attached this land. In 1773 A. D. it was released to his widow. Mahimāranjan Rai Chaudhuri the great-great-grandson of Rasik Ray (1874 A. D.) lost the land which was included in the Kheraji land. He was given possession of 6727 Bighas on condition of paying revenue at half rates during his life-time. After his death his son Raja Mahen Iraranjan Rai Chaulhri has it on revenue at 4ths rate during his life-time.

(43) The area of Chakla Kajir Hat is about 719 square miles.

The descendants of Arif Mohammad are now the zemindars of Mahipur in Rungpur. Arif Mohammad retained a $4\frac{1}{2}$ anna share of the Chakla in his own possession and gave the remainder to others. Sitaram Ray the founder of the zemindar family of Tushbhandar received a two annas share of Kajir Hat. Sitaram was an officer of the ruler of Cooch Behar, and a descendant of Murari Bhattacharya. Murari Bhattacharya was granted an 'Upanchowki' Taluk by the ruler (1634 A. D.). Mahadev Ray the founder of the zemindar family of Tepa was Khasnavis (1704 A. D.) under the Cooch Behar raj. Even after the Mughal supremacy was established in Kajir Hat, he and his descendants worked for the raj.

settlement about the time (1712 A. D.) that emperor Bahadur Shah died. Khan Jahan Bahadur the temporary Naib Nazim of Bengal determined to establish his authority over the three Chaklas by force. At the end of this war, a treaty was again concluded, and whereby Chhatra Nazir Kumar Santa Narayan took Ijara on behalf of the Maharaja of the Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabbag nominally acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor. (44) Mutsuddi Raghunandan Ray fixed the 'Saranjami costs' at a low figure, without 'Rasum'. (45)

It is clear that from the beginning of the Moghul supremacy over the three Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabbag, until their possession by the East India Company, they were semi feudatory estates. (46)

The Chaudhuris of the Chaklas instituted a case against Chhatra Nazir Khagerdra Narayan before the Collector of Rungpur regarding the possession of the three Chaklas. The decision in this case in 1778 A. D. was based on papers 66 year old in the Duffer of the Canoongo. From them it appears that when the war ended in 1712A. D. the ruler of Cooch Behar and the

(44) "The three Chaklas were nominally ceded, but were still held in farm by Shanta Narayan on behalf of the Cooch Behar Raja." The District of Rungpore, page 13.

(45) The above account is written mainly from a copy of the decree of the Chaklas case tried in 1778 A. D by the Collector of Rungpur.

It is written in the Fajopakhyaṇa that the war for the Chaklas and the treaty took place in the time of Jabardast Khan in 1118 B. S. (1711 A. D.). Narakhanda, Adhyaya 11.. This account is not correct. This mistake has been followed in the Murshidabad Itihās ' (Page 357).

(46) "Thus in Rungpore we have what, for want of better terms, may be styled the semi-feudatory estates, such as Baikuntapur, and the Chaklas of Boda, Patgram and Purbabbag, held by the Raja of Kuch Behar; the subfeudatory estates or the rest of Kuchwara, held by descendants of Kuch Behar officers." A Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 318.

Mughal representative agreed to make Chhatra Naik Kumar Santanarajan the zeminder of the Chaklas but "he did not become so. Accordingly this was changed to his remaining with the Suba. At this, he agreed to take Ijara". This Ijara was actually taken, but no documentary proof exists. The judgment also says,—“He acts as Naib over all persons who became zemindars. The Naibs and zemindars of these places do not go to the Nawab. The subordinate zemindars did not get Rasum.”

Saranjami costs were levied at low rates upon the Chaklas, and submission of Hastbud (accounts and total amount of revenue realised) to the imperial Canoongo of the emperor was waived. The reason given in the judgment was that the ruler may give up the Chaklas and there might again be war.

Whatever may have been precise implication of the words ‘zemindar’ and ‘Ijardar’ at that time, it is clear that Kumar Santanarayan was not the zemindar of the Chaklas but occupied superior to the zemindars of the area *qua* ‘Ijardar’. The terms of the imperial Sunnuds granted to the zemindars of Bengal for occupying their zemindaries were not uniform. Changes were made according to circumstances. The East India Company followed this practice for some time. Because of his status Kumar Santanarayan was more influential than the local zemindars. The phrase in the judgment,—“The Naibs and zemindars of these places do not go to the Nawab”, suggests that Santanarayan wielded considerable powers in the administration of the Chaklas.

Half a century after the establishment of Mughal supremacy in Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabhag (1765 A.D.), the East India Company was invested with the Dewani of ‘Sube Bāngāl’. In 1770

The three Chaklas under the Company,

A. D. Mr. Gressé was supervisor of collection of revenue in Rungpur. Before him Mirza Hossain Bān,

and before the latter, Madangopal were collectors. Up to the time of Mr. Grose, the Chhatra Nazir had had almost absolute authority in the three Chaklas and was not responsible to the officers of the Company.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The peskash (tribute) which he paid was different in form from the revenue payable by other zemindars, and no Hastbud was filed by him according to the prevailing practice of the time.

Though Mr. Grose was not satisfied with these special rights of the Chhatra Nazir, his superior officer M. Richard Becher the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad was not in favour of taking them away.⁽⁴⁸⁾

There were twenty-two conditions in the Patta (Aumil-Nama or Lease) given to the zemindars of Rungpur during the time of Mr. Hastings (1777 A. D.) and thereby their powers were completely curtailed. Moreover they were compelled to give information to the Sudder regarding theft and murder, and the death of any person without heir who had buried treasure. If any zemindar refused to pay revenue as fixed by the Collector, his zemindary was farmed out to another and more amenable

(47). " * * * as I knew they (zemindars of Rungpore) were so easily to be obtained, and without interfering the least with the collections, to which they all readily complied, except the Zemindars of Boda and Byeuntopore, who in manner deny our authority, alledging they are answerable to the Cooch Behar Raja for their proceedings, another reason they give for not complying with my orders, is that, it has never been heretofore customary, which is true as they have always been able to buy themselves off with the several Aumils who have been sent up here." Extract from the letter, No. 8 dated the 21st July, 1770, from John Grose Esq., to Richard Becher Esq., Resident at the Durbar. 'Bengal District Records, Rungpore', Vol. I, page 10.

(48). "Agreeable to your desire I shall desist from pressing the Zemindars of Boda and Byeuntopore for any papers or accounts, tho' must beg leave to observe that these two places have long since been annexed to this District. They pay a certain sum annually without giving an account in what manner their collections are made." Extract from the Letter No. 2, dated the 20th April, 1770 from John Grose Esq., to Richard Becher Esq., 'Bengal District Records, Rungpore', Vol. I, page VI.

person. (49) The Chaklajat zemindary of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar was however not subject to these conditions, but when Maharaja Dharendranârâyan died, the authorities of the Company issued a Sunnud to Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan in respect of the zemindary in 'Sarkar Kochbihar' directing the ruler to pay revenue regularly and to refrain from realising prohibited taxes. The ruler's authority in other matters was not limited. It was written in the Sunnud that he was empowered to prevent theft and plunder, and to punish thieves and robbers. (50)

(49). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, pages 19, 53.

(50). Translation of a Sunnud under the seal of the Honorable English Company, dated, the 13th of February 1776 A. D. corresponding with the 4th of Falgoun, 1182 Bangala, and the 22nd of Zilhij of the 17th year of His Majesty's reign.

"Be it known to all Mutsuddis at present holding important trusts, or who may be here, after appointed thereto and to all Kanangoes and Moquduns and ryots and cultivators and other inhabitants and natives of Sirkar Cooch Behar, in the Sgobah of Bengal, the Paradise of Countries, that as the orders of the Gentlemen in Council have been issued, that a Sunnud for the Zemindari of the above Sirkar should be granted to Dhurjindrer Narain, accordingly (the above person) having agreed to pay the Peshkush of Government of Fifty Gold Mohurs agreeably to the order, the office of Zemindar of the above Sirkar, vacated by (the death of) Durindrar Naryan, has been granted, confirmed to and bestowed upon Dhurjindrer Narayan that observing the duties and usages of the office and the rules of the truth and dignity, he depart not in the minutest particular from a vigilant and prudent conduct, but avoiding sloth and consulting the interest of the ryots and inhabitants, conciliating their affections, that he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of cultivation and the improvement of the revenue. He must further pay great attention to expelling and punishing offenders, so that the least vestige of thieves and robbers may not be found within his limits; and take particular care of the highways, so that travellers and strangers may go and come with perfect confidence and safety. God forbid that the property of any one should be stolen or plundered, but should such a case occur, he must seize the thieves or robbers and the property, delivering up the goods to the owner and the offenders to justice; and if he can not find (the thieves and the goods), he must answer for the party himself. He must also take care that no one indulged in forbidden practices within his limits. He must pay the revenues, regularly year after year at the stated period, and at the end of the year according to custom, he will receive credit for his payments. He will further abstain from the collection of

Owing to the continual opposition of the Collectors of Rungpur the ruler's rights did not remain long unimpaired.

In 1778 A. D. the Governor General in Council conveyed orders to the ruler

Policy of the Collectors. that Hastbud should be filed, (51) In the Sannud given by the Collector of Rungpur on the 28th May 1784 A. D. to Maharaja Harendranârâyan the son of Dhairiyendranârâyan, under orders of the Governor General in Council, it was stated that the zemindary was "personally settled in his name" and that there was no other condition except "payment of revenue according to the settlement by the Government."

From 1789 to 1800 A. D. the East India Company managed the Chaklas on behalf of the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan.

Settlement of the zemindary. In 1790 A. D. their revenue was fixed as 97,001 French arcot rupees and the amount payable by the raiyats including Abwabs was 1,25,653 French arcot rupees. From the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793 A. D. the revenue was as Rs.1,00,910-4 and considered to be on the same basis as that of other zemindaries. Under Regulation II of 1819 A. D. extra revenue amounting to Rs. 291-13-5 was levied upon the three Debutter Mehals within the Chaklas.

all exactions or * * * forbidden by government. You are hereby required to acknowledge the above person as Zemindar of the above Sirkar, and to consider him as vested with the powers and appendages thereof. On this point paying the strictest obedience, you will act as above directed.

On the 17th of February, 1776 A. D., corresponding with the 8th Falgoon, 1182 Bangala, and the 26th Zehij in the 17th year of His Majesty's reign, the copy was received in the Duffar."

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 298.

(51). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 91.

When Boda Chakla was within Cooch Behar, it was divided into the several Pergannas Guagaon, Kajaldighi etc. and Gomastas were engaged on behalf of the ruler in different parts of the Chakla.

Previous history of Boda Chakla.

Binode Chakravarti the son of Sanjib Chakravarti was the Hisabnavis of the three Chaklas. Binode joined with Jabardast Khan and was employed as Chaudhuri of the seven anna share of Boda Chakla under the emperor. Prior to this, revenue was not realised on behalf of the emperor. During the war between the ruler and the emperor regarding the Chakla, the revenue was recorded in the Duffer of the imperial Canoongo (1114 B.S.) as Rs. 8,795-4 Annas 13 Gandas 1 Kara. About $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the Chakla (Nazirpur, was occupied by the Fouzdar of Purnea and on this account Rs. 1,000 was deducted from the total revenue which was fixed as Rs. 7,795-4 Annas 13 Gandas 1 Kara. A seven anna share of this at a Jama of Rs. 3,410-6 Annas 19 Gandas 1 Kara was settled in the name of Ramnarayan Chaudhuri the son of Binode Chaudhuri. Of the remaining nine annas, three annas were in the name of Ramnath Chaudhuri and three in that of Kandarpa Chaudhuri and three in that of Jaysinha Chaudhuri.

During the Cooch Behar occupation of the Chakla, Ramdhan Sarma was the Gomasta of Guagaon Perganna and after his death, his father Ramnath. At the time of Jabardast Khan's attack Ramnath joined him and was appointed Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda. He lived in Perganna Salbari to the south of Boda.

One Ananta had been engaged by the ruler as Patwari and his son Kandarpa succeeded him. When Perganna Kajaldighi was invaded by Jabardast Khan, Kandarpa joined him and was appointed Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda and according to circumstances, sometimes he professed loyalty

to the ruler and sometimes to the emperor. After Kandarpa, his son Satanjiva was appointed Chaudhuri. A 'Pattak patra' executed by Satanjiva Das on behalf of the ruler in 1115 B. S. (1708 A. D.) has been discovered. After Satanjiva, his brother Sudhârâm was appointed.

Under Raikat Jagadev, Sriram Sarma was the Gomasta of Batris Hajari Perganna, and under him Joysinha, son of Ramsinha, was Tehsildar of three or four villages at Jasigram in Nazirpur Perganna in Sarkar Panjârâ. Jabardast Khan won over Joysinha and "bidding him welfare like a son" employed him as Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda. Fakirchand and Harinarayan instituted a case in the Court of the Company at Rungpur claiming that Boda Chakla was the zemindary of their grandfather, but the proceedings went against them (1778 A. D.).

Sheik Haru was a Cooch Behar official, and Sheik Jamal was his son. Jan Mohammad the son of Jamal at first worked as Sardar Paik and afterwards as Jamadar.

History of Purbabhag Chakla. They lived in Maypur in the north of Rungpur, and afterwards at Majigram. When Purbabhag Chakla was threatened by the Fouzdar, Jan Mohammad deserted and was appointed Gomasta of that Chakla under the Fouzdar. In the 35th year of the reign (Jalusi) of of emperor Aurungzeb Nurulla Khan appointed him Tehsildar. In the following year he was appointed 'Chaudhuri', and war had broken out between the ruler and the emperor. In 1114 B. S. and until 203 Rajsaka (1712 A. D.), the revenue of Purbabhag was Rs. 43,569-8 annas 2 (?). Jan Mohammad continued in the Chakran land granted by the Cooch Behar raj.

In the 9th year of the reign (Jalusi) of emperor Muhammed Sah (1726 A. D.) Fouzdar Khosal Sinha employed Ali Mohammad the son of Jan Mohammad as Chaudhuri of

Purbabhag. Ali Mohammad Chaudhuri could not resist the temptation to institute a suit before the Collector of Rungpur as 'Khod Zemindar' of the Chakla, but he lost the case (1778 A.D.). Previously, in the 4th year of the reign (of the said emperor) (1722 A. D.) Fouzdar Kasem Ali Khan appointed Khalak Mohammad as Chaudhuri of Chakla Purbabhag, and later in the 11th Jalusi Fouzdar Saiyad Mohammad Khan gave him the land occupied by Jan Mohammad. Later still, in 225 Rajsaka (1734 A. D.) under Kumar Santanarayan, Khalak Mohammad was Amin of Boda, Patgram, Puababhag and Kakina Chakla, Goybari Perganna and Mehal Kapasi with a salary of Rs. 50. (52)

Certain Taluks in Goybari Perganna adjacent to Purbabhag-Chakla were occupied by Nazir Santanarayan in the name of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. The zemindar of Baharband Loknath Nandi, instituted a case against Nazir Khagendranarayan in 1186 B. S. (1779 A. D.) claiming those Taluks. (53)

Ramgovinda Sarma was a Cooch Behar officer at Patgram, and when Cooch Behar was attacked by Ebadat Khan, he joined the Mughals. After the treaty Harideb Sarma the son of Ramgovinda was engaged as Chaudhuri of Chakla Patgram. The revenue of Patgram was then (1118 B. S.) Rs. 1,356-13 Annas 10 Gandas. After the death of Haridev in 1143 B. S., Nazir Santanarayan appointed Deviprasad the son of Haridev as Chaudhuri. Formerly the family had lived in Karjir Hat, and now they moved to Patgram. Deviprasad in conjunction with Ali Mohammad and Fakirchand instituted a case to establish his zemindary rights over Chakla Patgram but did not succeed.

(52). An authenticated copy of this Amini Parwana is preserved among the old papers of Cooch Behar State Council.

(53). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, pages 96, 101.

In 1722 A. D. Nawab Murshed Kuli Khan revised the settlement records of Sah Suja and prepared the 'Jama Kamel Tumari'. He divided the country, including the territory conquered from Cooch Behar, into 13 Chaklas and 1660 Pergannas. The revenue, including the revenue of the Jaigirs, was fixed as Rs. 1428,81,86. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ In 1728 A. D. Nawab Sujauddin made slight modifications in this settlement. In the last settlement (1761 A. D.) Nawab Kasem Ali Khan made no change except to increase the revenue. None of these settlements affected Cooch Behar.

23. SAIYAD AHMED (C. 1736 A. D.)

Maharaja Upendranârâyan of Cooch Behar having no son, adopted his relative's son Dinnarayan who enlisted the help of Saiyad Ahmed the Fouzdar of Rungpur in the hope of becoming the ruler. At that time Sayed Ahmed was oppressing the Raja of Dinajpur. With troops from Nawab Sujauddin, he defeated the Maharaja, who took refuge in the forest. The Fouzdar received a title and Khilat from the Nawab; afterwards he was defeated and he had to retire from Cooch Behar.

(54). There are discrepancies in later works regarding the amount of revenue.

CHAPTER XV.

NÂRÂYANI COINS.

There is no historical evidence as when coins were first used in old Prâggyotis or Kâmarupa. The coins of Maurya, Kusan and Gupta kings, and of the Hun kings who destroyed the Gupta empire have been discovered. Those

Old coins.

of the kings of the Pâla and Sena dynasty who flourished after the Guptas and ruled temporarily over Kâmarupa have not all been discovered. The oldest surviving coins of the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal are those of Geyasuddin Ewaz (617 or 619 Hijri=1220 or 1222 A. D.). Coins of the next ruler, Samasuddin Ilias Sah, have been recovered with other coins from Kâmatâpura (Gosanimari) in the

Coins in Gosanimari.

State of Cooch Behar. In August 1863 A. D. a find was made on the banks of the Dharla to the south-east of the temple of Kâmatesvari. The Cooch Behar State retained a small number of these coins but Colonel Houghton the Commissioner of Cooch Behar sent 13500 of them to Calcutta to be credited against the tribute due to Government. Colonel Guthrie and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra deciphered the coins. Among them were coins of the Pathan rulers of Gauda and Delhi. ⁽¹⁾ 176 coins of them are now preserved in the State Treasury in Cooch Behar.

(1) The Initial Coinage of Bengal.

Coins struck by Sekendar Sah the son of Samsuddin Ilias Sah in 759 Hijri (1358 A. D.) with the inscription of 'Kâmrū al as Chaulistan' have been discovered. (2)

Coins inscribed "Kâmarupa". When Kâmatapura was conquered by Hossain Sah the ruler of Gauda in 1493 A. D. his coins declared him "the conqueror of Kâmrū, Kâmatâ Jâjnagar and Orissa". Some coins of this type struck in 899, 915 and 919 Hijri (1493, 1509 and 1513 A. D.), have been found in various places. (3) Nilâmbara who was the ruler of Kâmatâpura immediately before the conquest of Hosain Sah, has bequeathed none of his coins to us, nor have those of his predecessors been discovered up to the present.

After Nilâmbara, Visvasinha was ruler of Kâmatâpura. Neither the Durrung Vansâvali nor the Rajopâkhyâna of Cooch Behar say whether Maharaja Visvasinha struck coins in his own name.

None have been discovered, a fact which may well lead us to speculate as to the degree of independence enjoyed by that ruler, since the first right of an independent chief was to issue coins in his own name. But it is written in the Assam Burunjee,—“Moreover, before king Visvasinha, there was no coin (current) in Behar”, (4) and Durgadas Mazumdar

(2) Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, page 152, and Part II, Plate II, No. 38.

The meaning of 'Chaulistan' is 'land of paddy'. Inside the rampart of Kâmatâpura, there is a place named 'Chauler Kuthi'.

(3) It is inscribed on the coins that they were struck in Fatehabad, Hosainabad, Khajânkhanâ and the chief mint.

Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam, pages 148—152.

Numismatists have assumed in one Fatehabad coin the Hijri year 899, (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, page 173, Part II, Plate V, No. 175) but in this coin, only the figures '89' are visible.

(4) Assam Burunjee by Rai Gunabhiram Barua, page 249.

says.—“In 13 Saka, Maharaja Visvasinha acquired the royal throne and struck coin in his own name”.⁽⁵⁾ In Saka 1419 (1497 A. D.) the meeting between Maharaja Visvasinha and Suhung Mung the king of Ahom has been described in the verse of Durgadas,—

“Hearing this, king Visvasinha with his mind filled with great delight immediately presented a purse of coin struck in his own name. He gave 500 coin, and five horses.”

When the coins and the five horses reached the Ahom king,—“His mind was greatly delighted at seeing the horses. Further, he was astonished at the coins. ‘Thirteen kings of my dynasty,’ he said, ‘have reigned and ascended the heavens but none struck coins. I find these coins to be very extraordinary’. And so the king of Assam brought Brahmin Pundits and struck Mohurs”.⁽⁶⁾

The Burunjee of Rudrasinha mentions that presents were made by Visvasinha to the Âhom king in 1405 Saka (1483 A. D.) but does not specify them.

MAHARAJA NARANÂRÂYAN.

In a history written in Persian there is a reference to Nârâyani coins,⁽⁷⁾ and the tradition is that the ‘Narayan’ kings issued gold, silver, brass and copper coins, though up to date no gold or brass have been discovered. The following silver

(5) Rajvamsâvali, page 16.

(6) Rajvamsâvail, pages 17—18. ‘Jarab’ is an Arabic word. Its meaning is ‘striking’. As coins are prepared by stamping dies, these are said to be ‘Jarab’. Coins dated 1543 issued by the Âhom king Suklen Mung have been discovered, (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Vol. I, page 298, Plate XXIX). It is not impossible that coins issued by Maharaja Visvasinha will be discovered if the ruins of Kâmatâpura the ancient capital of Cooch Behar be properly excavated.

(7) Riaz-us-sâlâtin, Bengali Translation, page 7.

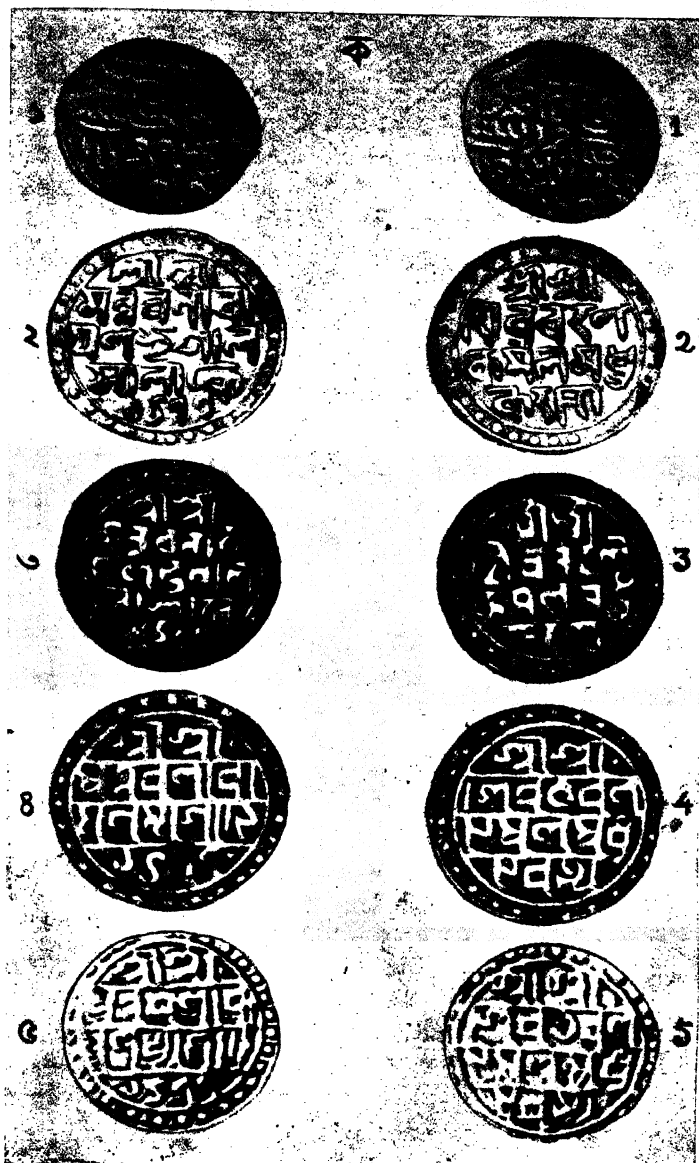
coins of Maharaja Naranârâyan the son of Visvasinha have been discovered.—

Serial No.	Numbers of coins.	Place where preserved.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
1	1	Asiatic Society (Calcutta).	1555 A. D.	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyana-bhupâlasya sake 1447,	Sree Sree Siva-charana kamala-madhukarasya.	Unknown.
2	1	Cooch Behar Palace.	Do.	Do.	Do.	158.5
3	1	Shillong Cabinet.	?	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyana-bhupâlasya saka 14..	Do.	Unknown.
4	1	Do.	1555 A. D.	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyana-saka 1477.	Do.	Unknown.
5	1	Asiatic Society.	Do.	Do.	Do.	157.5

A facsimile of the first coin has been printed in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society. ⁽⁸⁾ The third and fourth are in the possession of the Assam Government. The Government manual on these coins has photographs of them. The second line of the reading of the obverse has been printed as 'Mallavanârâ' and the second line of the reverse as 'Haracharana' but the correct readings should be 'Mannaranârâyan' and 'Sivacharana' respectively. Only two dots are seen in the digits and tens of the year in the third coin. The reading '77' ⁽⁹⁾ is therefore not without doubt. The word 'Bhupâla' does not recur in the fourth and fifth coins. The stamping and arrangement of the second, third and fourth coin are not uniform and it is clear also from the photographs that they

(8) J. A. S. B. 1856, page 457.

(9) Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam pages 211, 363, Plate III.



1. Coin of Hossain Saha Page 342
2. Coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan (Serial 2 Page 344)
- 3-4 " " (Serials 3 and 4 Page 344)
5. Coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan discovered at Mahanad
(District Hoogly) To face Page 344

were prepared from different dies. No reproduction of the fifth coin has been printed. (10) Another coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan was formerly in the Cooch Behar Treasury (11) but is not there now.

Raghudevanârâyan the nephew of Maharaja Naranârâyan assumed independence and issued coins in his name. Reproduction of his coin dated 1510 Saka (1588 A. D.) and of one of his son—Pariksita-nârâyan dated 1525 Saka, have been printed in the aforesaid work on the coins of Assam. The reading on the obverse of these two coins is merely an imitation of that in the first and second coin of Naranârâyan. On the reverse is written: "Sree Sree Haragauri-charana-kamalamadhukarasya". The weight of Raghudeva's coin is 161·3 grains.

Coins of Raghudeva and Pariksita.

MAHARAJA LAKSMINARÂYAN.

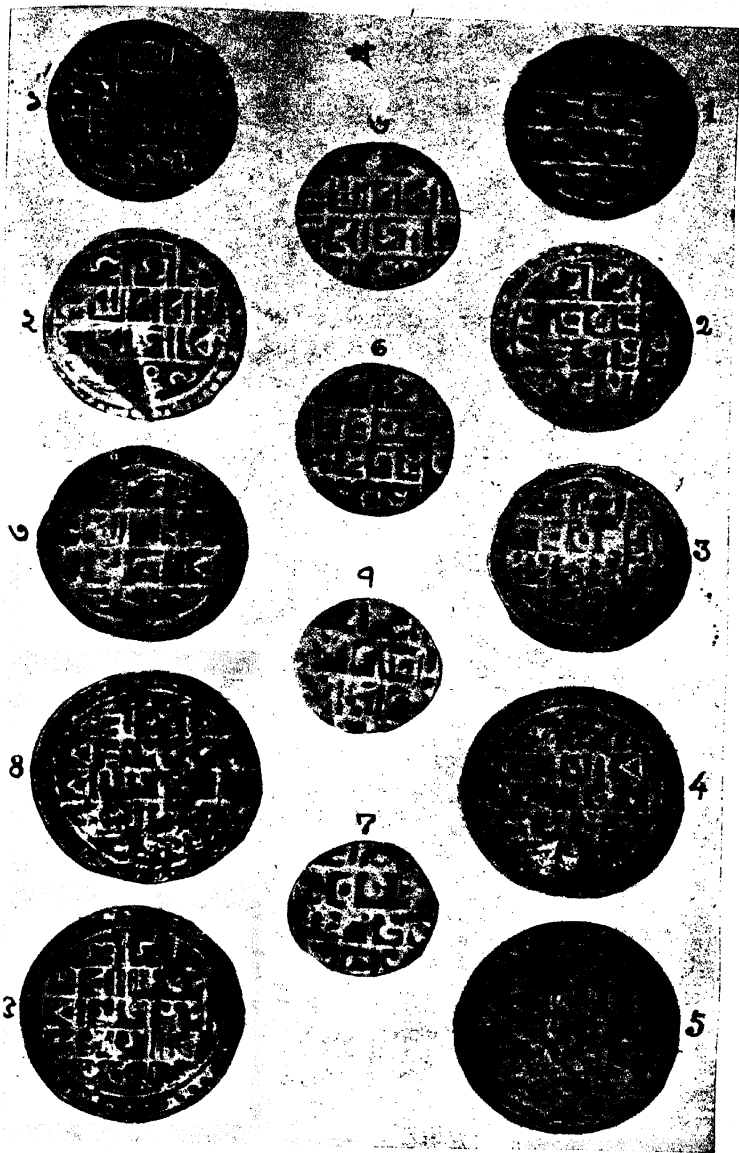
The following coins of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan have been discovered.—

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
1	2 full coins.	British Museum.	1587 A. D.	Sree Sree mallaksmînârâyana nasya sâke 1509.	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	155·5
2	1 full coin	.....	Do.	Do	Do	152·4
3	Do	Cooch Behar Palace.	Do	Do	Do	150·4
4	Do	In possession of Upendranath Sarkar, pleader of Tufangunj.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown

(10) J. A. S. B., 1874, page 306.

(11) Kochbihar Hitaisini Sabhâr Kâryavivarani (Lecture by Babu Ananda Chandra Ghose, 1865 A. D.), page 167.

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
5	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	1587 A. D.	Sree Sree ma Ilaksmiñārāya nasya sākē 1509.	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	Unknown.
6	One half coin.	.....	Do	Do	Do	85.1
7	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	Do	Do	Do	72.9
8	2 half coins.	Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabhā.	Do	Do	Do	78.7 (of one).
9	1 full coin.	British Museum.	Do	Do	Do	153.5
10	Do	Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
11	Do	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	150.3
12	Do	With Bhagban Chandra Cha- kravarti of Cooch Behar.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
13	5 full coins.	Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabhā.	Do	Do	Do	152.4 153.5 147.9 152.6 155.4
14	2 half coins.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	75.4 72.9
15	2 full coins.	.....	1627 A. D.	Sree Sree ma Ilaksmiñārāya- nasya sākē 154.9.	Do	151.0 152.0
16	1 full coin.	Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabhā.	Do	Do	Do	153.8
17	1 half coin.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	74.6



1. Coin of Maharaja Lakshminârâyan (Serial 3 Page 345)
2. Coin of „ (Serial 11 Page 346)
3. Coin of „ (Serial 16 Page 346)
6. Coin of „ (Serial 8 Page 348)
- 4-5 Coins of Raghudevânârâyan and Pariksitnârâyan (Page 345)
7. Undeciphered Half-coin (Page 350) To face Page 346

the first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
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the tenth is the fact that the

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the thirty-first is the fact that the
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the thirty-fourth is the fact that the
the thirty-fifth is the fact that the
the thirty-sixth is the fact that the
the thirty-seventh is the fact that the
the thirty-eighth is the fact that the
the thirty-ninth is the fact that the
the fortieth is the fact that the

the forty-first is the fact that the
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the forty-sixth is the fact that the
the forty-seventh is the fact that the
the forty-eighth is the fact that the
the forty-ninth is the fact that the
the fiftieth is the fact that the

Mr. Stapleton has published reproductions of the second and the sixth coin.⁽¹²⁾ Thirty eight coins of Maharaja Laksmī-nārāyaṇ and Prānnārāyaṇ were found under ground in the town of Tufangunj in Cooch Behar. These coins are now in the custody of the Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabhā.⁽¹³⁾ They include the eighth, thirteenth and the sixteenth coins in the above table. In the coins under serials 9—14, "92" appears under the year 1509.⁽¹⁴⁾ and perhaps the only presumption is that 1509 is the Saka and 92 the Rajsaka Cooch Behar year.

Coins of Laksmīnārāyaṇ.

In Maharaja Prānnārāyaṇ coins, after the word Sāke, either the Sakābda or the Rajsaka of Cooch Behar (e. g. 140) is inserted a practice common to many old Cooch Behar deeds. Some Narayani coins were discovered in the bed of a river in the north-east of the State, including the two coins in serials 11 and 12. Mr. Marsden has published a picture of one of those in serial 15. The reading of the year has been suggested as 1649, and Sir Edward Gait has supported this interpretation; but according to the contemporary method of writing, the figure following 1 should be 5 and not 6.⁽¹⁵⁾ Laksmīnārāyaṇ was alive in 1549 Saka (1627 A. D.). The figure 4 resembles that figure in the sixteenth and the seventeenth coins but differs from the 4 in the coins of the previous Maharaja Naranārāyaṇ and the following Maharaja Prānnārāyaṇ.

(12) J. P. A. S. B. 1910, Vol. VI, Plate XXII.

(13) Kochbihar Sahitya Sabhā Astambārsika Kāryavivarani, page 7 (1330 B. S.).

(14) Rakhaīdas Bannerjee formerly Superintendent of Government Archaeological Department and numismatist has also supported this reading.

(15) Numismata Orientalia, No. MCCIII. A brass cannon of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyaṇ has been discovered. (See Note 16, Chapter XIV). For similar reasons many learned gentlemen of Cooch Behar read 1533, the Saka year of its preparation as 1633 and at first it was this date that was published. The fact is that formerly Maithilī characters were everywhere in use in Bengal. The Maithilī figure 5 is mistaken for the figure 6 in modern Bengali characters. Even now the Brahmin Pundits call the characters in the old manuscripts of Bengal and Assam 'Tirute' characters ('Tirhutia' or characters of Tirbhukti or Mithila country).

MAHARAJA PRĀNNĀRĀYAN.

While we have no coin of Maharaja Birnārāyan the son of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan, a large number of coins of Maharaja Prānnārāyan the son of Birnārāyan has been discovered. Among them, the following are worthy of analysis.—

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
1	1 full coin.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	1632 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prānnārāya nasya sākē 1554.	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	153.3
2	Do	Do	1633 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prānnārāya nasya sākē 1555.	Do	153.1
3	2 full coins.	British Museum.	Do	Do	Do	146.0 148.5
4	1 full coin.	With Bhagban-chandra Chakravartty of Cooch Behar.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
5	3 full coins.	.....	Do	Do	Do	148.0 146.5 142.0
6	6 half coins.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	Do	Do	Do	76.9 (of one.)
7	1 half coin.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	61.3
8	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	Do	1559 ?	Do	73.1
9	Do	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	1637 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prānnārāya nasya sākē 1559.	Do	78.07
10	1 full coin.	British Museum.	1649 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prānnārāya nasya sākē 140.	Do	142.5

The first, second, sixth and the ninth coins are among those found in the town of Tufangunj. The half-coins vary in size. The figure 1 in the half coin referred to in serial 9 in the list is a matter of inference but it bears some similarity to figure 9 in the coins of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan. Mr. Marsden examined the three coins (serial 5) of Prānnārāyan and has published a picture of one of them. The reading of its Sakābda is given as 1666 ⁽¹⁶⁾ but all the figures 6 should be 5. A similar mistake in reading has already been mentioned in connection with the 15th coin of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan. Besides these coins there are some half-coins of Maharaja Prānnārāyan in the Cooch Behar Treasury. Two are in the Cooch Behar Palace and one with the Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sabhā. In sixteen of the half-coins in the Treasury, Rajsaka '14—' (140) to '—59' (159) is uniform.

The writer of this work has a half-coin, been purchased from the Cooch Behar Treasury and apparently struck in Rajsaka 161. Its weight is 72.66 grains. The half-coin of the Shillong Cabinet (serial 8) was presented in 1909 A. D. by the authorities of the Cooch Behar State to the Assam Government. Its date has been read as 1551 Saka but appears to be 1559 Saka.

At the end of the reign of Maharaja Prānnārāyan (in 1661 A. D.), during the time of Aurungzeb the emperor of Delhi—Alamgir Badsah, Cooch Behar was temporarily occupied by Nawab Mirzumla Moazzam Khan the Subedar of Bengal who renamed the town of Cooch Behar—'Alamgir Nagar'. An imperial copper coin struck in Alamgir Nagar has been discovered.⁽¹⁷⁾

(16) Numismata Orientalia No. MCCV.

(17) In this coin the name of the emperor Alamgir is written in Bengali character. There is no date. Rakhaldas Bannerjee obtained it from a shroff in

The *Rājapāṭhīyāna* records that Maharaja Lakṣminārāyan of Cooch Behar promised the emperor Jehangir that thenceforth he would only mint Nārāyaṇi half coins and subsequent historians have accepted this story. However, the terms of the

Minting of half coins.

treaty between Lakṣminārāyan and Subedar Mansinha during the time of Akbar Sah, have not been preserved in writing, and in the account of the meeting between Maharaja Lakṣminārāyan and emperor Jehangir (1618 A. D.) in the 'Tozak-i-Jahāngiri', there is nothing about a treaty promise restricting minting. Many full coins of Maharaja Prānnārāyan the grandson of Lakṣminārāyan are extant and were struck in the reign of emperor Sahajahan the son of Jahangir. In these circumstances the story regarding the striking of half coins by Lakṣminārāyan is open to grave doubt, and Mr. Stapleton has expressed a similar view in the matter.

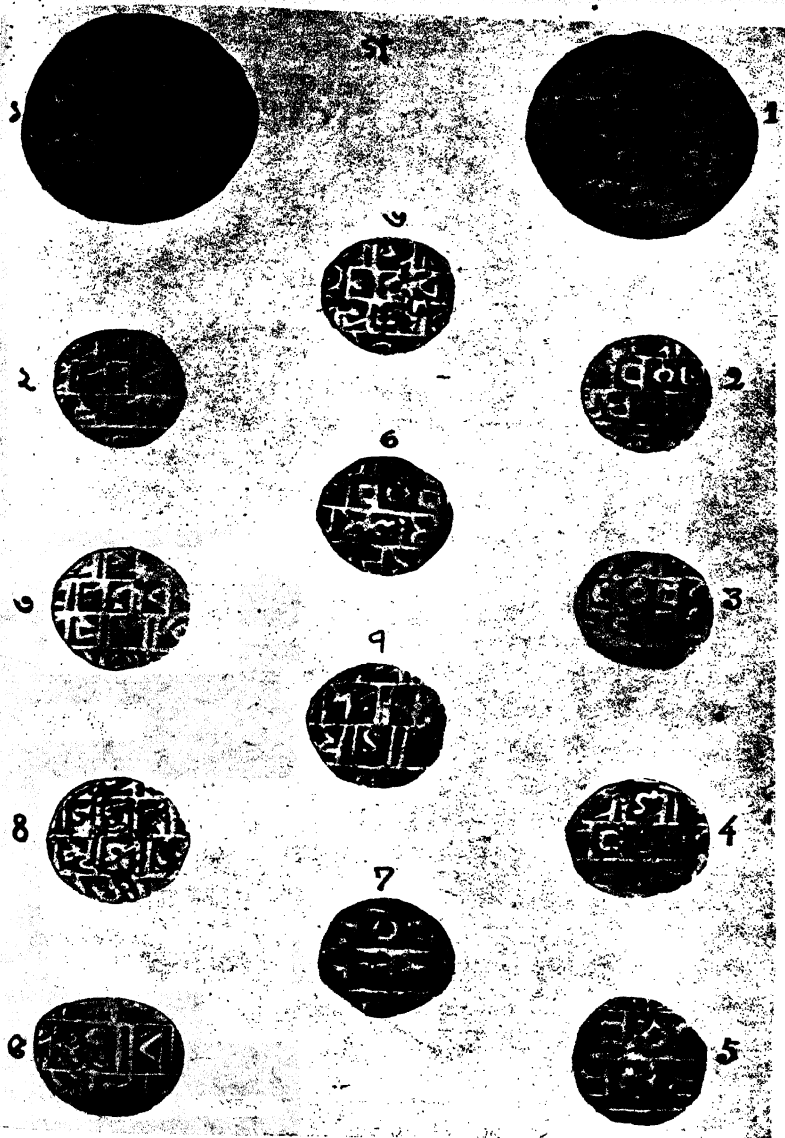
MAHARAJA MODANÂRÂYAN.

The coins which have been discovered of the rulers following Maharaja Pranānārāyan are all half coins. No full coin of any of these rulers has been found. The writer of this work purchased from the Cooch Behar Treasury a half coin of Maharaja Modnārāyan son of Pranānārāyan dated '—79' (179)

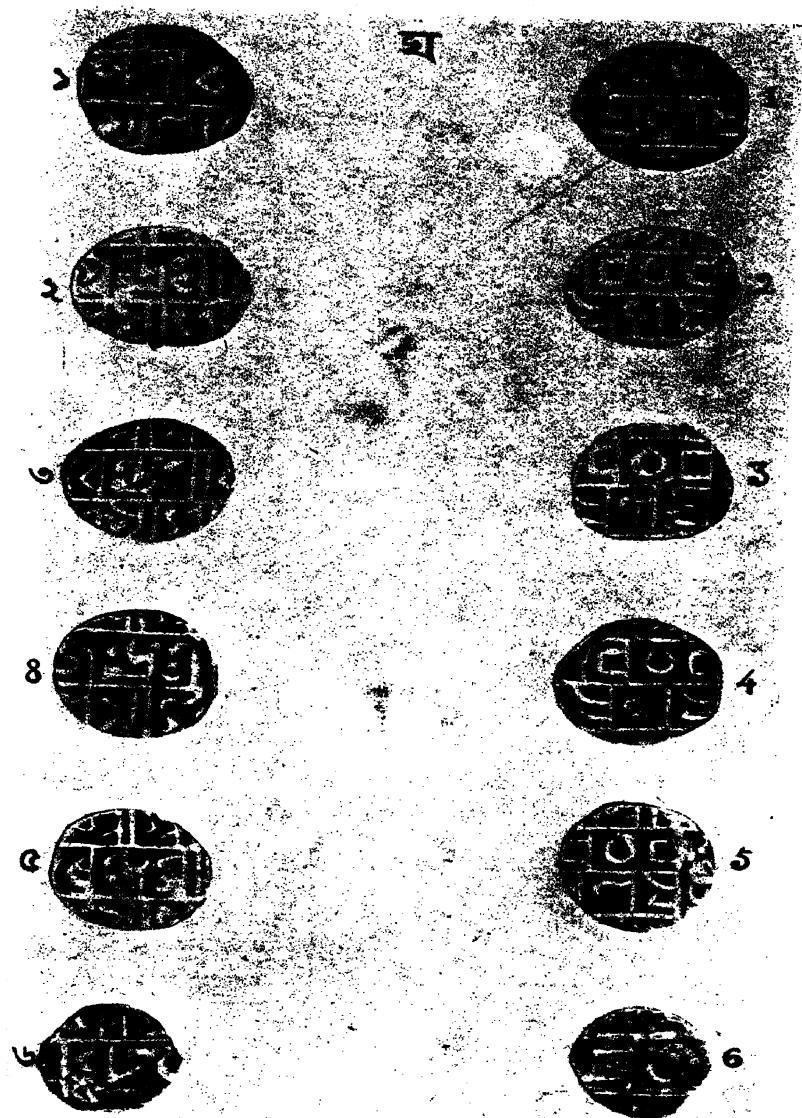
Coins without date.

Calcutta and published a picture of it in the monthly journal 'Prabasi' (Page 382, 1923 B. S.). In his opinion, it was struck in Cooch Behar, but there is no proof to support this view. It has to be remembered that at the time there was another well-fortified Alamgirnagar under the emperor at the junction of the Brahmaputra and the Padma river. (History of Bengal, page 335). Indeed there were many mints in different places in the Mughal empire. And even Rakhaldas Bannerjee admitted that up to the present no other imperial coin has been discovered bearing the characters of a provincial language.

The historian Khafi Khan stated (1732 A. D.) that Mirzumla after conquering Cooch Behar struck coins in the name of the emperor.



1. Coin of Maharaja Prannârâyan (Serial 1 Page 384).
 - 2, 3, 4 and 6 Half coins (Page 350)
 5. Half coin of Maharaja Vasudevanârâyan (Page 351)
 6. Half coin of Maharaja Modnârâyan (Page 350)
- To face Page 350



1. Half coin of Maharaja Rupnârâyan.
2. " Upendranârâyan.
3. " Devendranârâyan.
4. " Dhairyendranârâyan.
5. " Harendranârâyan.
6. Undeciphered copper coin (Page 351).

Rajsaka. Its weight is 75·28 grains. In none of the coins of any later ruler is a date found.

A half coin of Vasudevanârâyan is in the Cooch Behar Treasury. No coin of Mahindranârâyan has yet been found. One half coin in Cooch Behar Treasury can be read both as Laksmînârâyan or Jagga (Yajna)—nârâyan ⁽¹⁸⁾. Several half coins of Maharaja Rupnârâyan who succeeded Mahindranârâyan have been found. Two are in the Cooch Behar Palace and others in the Treasury. Four half coins of Maharaja Upendranârâyan are also in the Cooch Behar Palace, and some are in the Cooch Behar Treasury. Three half-coins of Devendranârâyan the son of Upendranârâyan are in the custody of the Palace. There are others in the Treasury and one in the Thakurbari (temple of Madanmohan in the town of Cooch Behar). A half coin of Rajendranârâyan or Dhairyendranârâyan is in the Palace; some are in the Treasury and two in the Thakurbari. Judged by the contemporary style of writing, these half coins belong either to the reigns 'Rajendra' or 'Dhairjendra' (Dhairyendra)—(nârâyan). Rajendranârâyan's reign did not last more than two years, but Dhairyendranârâyan reigned for a longer period. If these half coins appertain to Rajendranârâyan, no coin of Dhairyendranârâyan is extant.

Three copper coins have been discovered. One is with the Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ, one with the writer of this work and one in the possession of the Assam Government. The weight of the first is 45·35 grains. The inscription on it is very difficult to decipher. Their size indicates that none of them is older than the time of Dhairyendranârâyan.

(18) Re-Yajnanârâyan, *vide* the account of the reign of Maharaja Mahindra-nârâyan (Chapter XI).

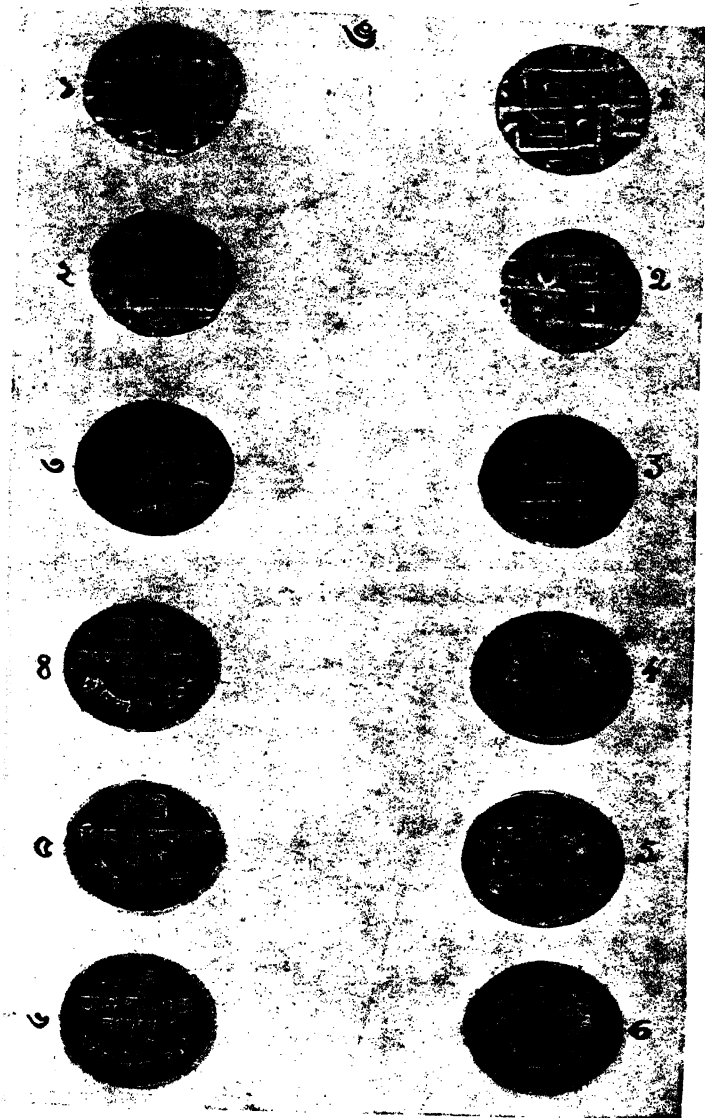
No coin of Dharendranârâyan the eldest son of Dhairyaendra. nârâyan has been found. That it is easy to confuse the names

'Dharendra' and 'Harendra' on coins, is illustrated by two half coins in the Palace.

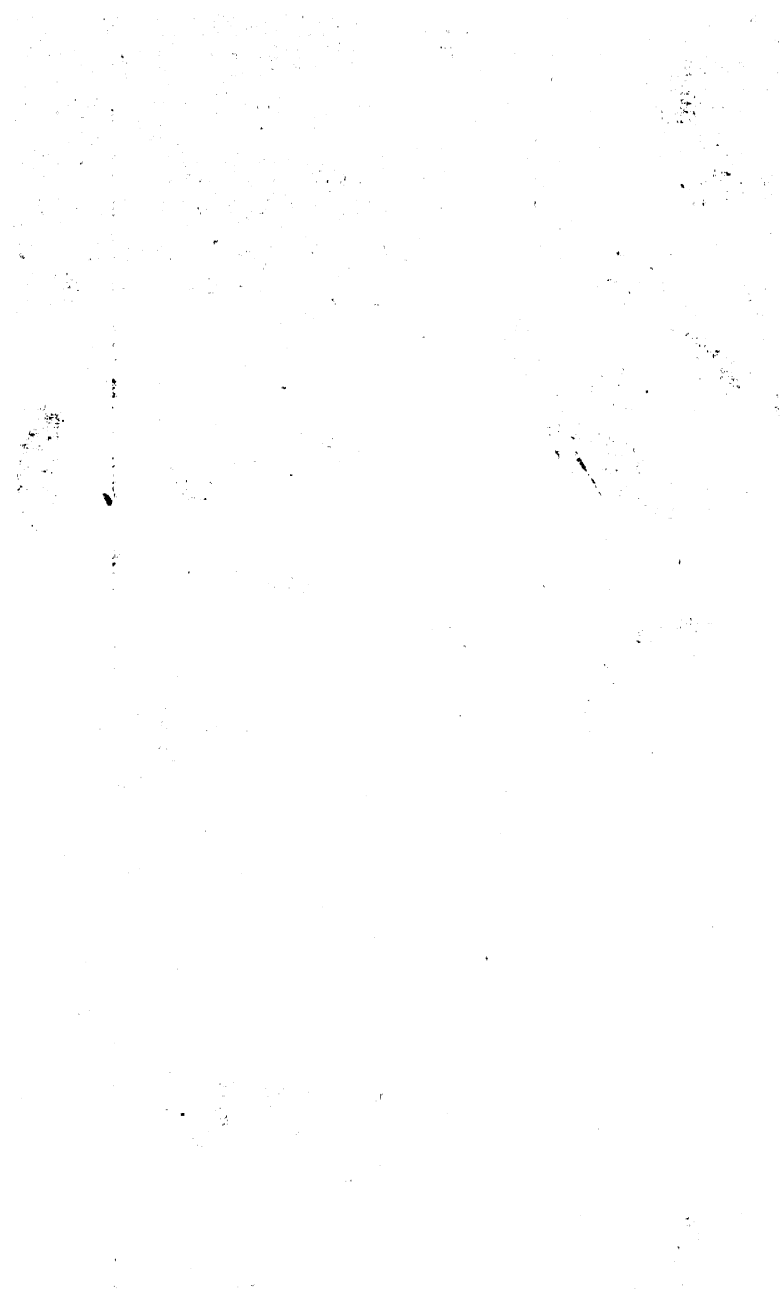
Others are in the Treasury and three in the Thakurbari. From the time of Maharaja Sibendranârâyan the son of Maharaja Harendranârâyan, coins were inscribed in modern Bengali character on the obverse, the reverse being as before in Maithili character. Coins of this kind were struck up to the time of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan. Eleven gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Sivendranârâyan are in the Treasury and five in the Thakurbari. Of the silver half coins of this ruler two are in the Palace and some are in the Treasury. Nine gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Narendranârâyan the next ruler are in the Treasury and three in the Thakurbari. Four silver half coins of the same reign are in the Thakurbari and one at the Palace. Five gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan are in the Treasury and one in the Thakurbari. Two silver half coins of this Maharaja are in the Palace and more than one thousand in the Treasury. Gold and silver half coins of rulers after Maharaja Nripendranârâyan, Maharajas Râjrâjendranârâyan, Jitendranârâyan and Sree Sreeman Maharaja Jagaddipendranârâyan Bhup Bahadur, are stored in the Treasury.

In the reign of Maharaja Râjrâjendranârâyan, the practice of inscribing coins with the Coat-of-arms including the rampant lion, the elephant and the Sanskrit motto "Yato dharmastato jayah" in modern Bengali character, was first introduced in place of the name of Siva. (19) The coins of the next two Maharajas were struck in the same style.

(19) Maharaja Naranârâyan promulgated a seal with the figure of a lion. This came to be known as the Sinha-châp or Sinha-chhâp (Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyaya I.). From 1929, the figure of a tiger had been used in the Coat-of-arms instead of the figure of a lion. (The lion has however been re-introduced recently under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur (Translator)).



1. Half coin of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan.
2. " " Narendranârâyan.
3. " " Nripendranârâyan.
4. " " Râjrâjendranârâyan.
5. " " Jitendranârâyan.
6. " " Jagaddipendranârâyan.



According to the view of the numismatist Mr. Stapleton, the coins of Hosain Sah were in use in Cooch Behar when the rule of the Narayan dynasty of kings was established, and the Narayani coins were designed in imitation of those of

Origin of Narayani coins.

Hosain Sah. This inference seems reasonable. It is stated in the Alamgirnâmâ however that as the protecting deity of the Cooch Behar rulers was Narayan, their coins came to be known as Nârâyani coins. This view is un-supported. If the coinage was dedicated to any deity, it was to Siva whose name was always printed on their coins. It was a very ancient practice in India to connect the symbol

The name Narayani.

or name of Siva, or the joint names of Hara and Gauri, with coins. In early times, such coins were called 'Sivânka' tanka. Thus the Cooch Behar coins came to be known as Nârâyani from title 'Nârâyan' borne by the Maharajas of Cooch Behar. This is the view of the Râjopâkhyâna.

During the conquest of Assam, Maharaja Naranârâyan prohibited the ruler of Jayantia from striking coins in his own name. The Vansâvali of Samudra-nârâyan says that Maharaja Nara-

Coins of the Jayantia kings.

nârâyan's order was,—“You shall strike coins mentioning Jayantânagar”. This statement in the manuscript has been supported by the discovery of Jayantia coins dated 1592 and 1630 Saka. They are very similar to Nârâyani coins. They are inscribed,—‘Jayantâpura-purandara’ (ruler of Jayantâpur) without the name of a particular ruler. (20) Their description is,—

On the obverse—

Sree Sree Ja-
yantapura
purandarasya
sâke 1592.

On the reverse—

Sree Sree Si
vacharanka
malamadhuks
rasya

(20) J. P. A. S. B., 1910, page 158, Plate XXIII, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Vol. I, page 307, Plate XXIX.

Historians like Sir Edward Gait and Mr. Stapleton have agreed from this numismatic evidence and from other accessory proof that the Jayantia chiefs respected the Maharajas even when the Cooch Behar power and influence waned.

Nârâyani coins were current in the whole of northern Bengal, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikim, Tibet and Assam. Though they had their own coinage, the Âhom chiefs realized revenue in Nârâyani coin up to the beginning of the 19th century. ⁽²¹⁾ The Bhutiyas made over silver for coins to be prepared from the mint of Cooch Behar. ⁽²²⁾ In 1770 A. D. in the course of their inroads into Cooch Behar, they removed a die of Nârâyani coins to Bhutan and issued a coin called 'Debtâkâ', but the Bhutiyas were not enamoured with their native issues, and the Bhutan mint was not permanent. ⁽²³⁾

Even today the people of Cooch Behar respect Nârâyani coins and hang them on the necks of infants as a protection against the 'evil eye'. The Arcot and Sikka rupees issued by the Company could not oust the Nârâyani coinage from northern Bengal and the Company's special efforts, were necessary to stop the local issue. During the last half century Nârâyani coins have been sold, destroyed or lost in circulation, and so, at

(21) Petition dated the 18th May 1853 by Balaram Fukan and others to Government.

(22) Letter dated the 22nd January 1785 written by Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rungpur to the Board of Revenue.

(23) Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 48; Embassy to Tibet, page 143.

the pretent time, very few are seen in the State of Cooch Behar.

Special signs were inscribed in the coins of Pathan and Mughal rulers. One hundred and fortysix different Symbols have ben discovered in the Mughal coins. Symbolism in Bâdsâhi coins. Numismatists have decided that they are ornamental. In the Nârâyani coins also four variations of a sign are found under the letter 'Na' of "Nârâyan." It is first seen in a coin of Maharaja Prananârâyan dated 140 Rajsaka (1649 A. D.), and is merely a dot (•). Coins of this ruler prior to this date and coins dated 1554 and 1555 Rajsaka (1632 and 1633 A. D.) bear no special mark. In one coin of Prânanârâyan dated 152 Râjsaka there is a cross-mark (×) in place of the dot; in coins dated 161 Râjsaka, the half moon (☾) is found, but the date of this is not free from doubt. From Maharaja Modnârâyan to Maharaja Devendranârâyan the half moon was in vogue.

In those of Maharaja Dhairyendra (Dhairjendra)-nârâyan, the cross-mark and half moon are joined (⌘). The Râjopâkhyâna says that a flower was inscribed on coins of Maharaja Râjendranârâyan. The half moon only appears in the coin of Dharendra or Harendranârâyan, and no mark was placed on the coins of the later rulers. There is great similarity between the signs of the Nârâyani and some Bâdsâhi coins. (24) The old custom of using the sign (☾) to mean lordship was customary before the names of living rulers of Cooch Behar and it has been found in documents dated 135, 166 and 188 Râjsaka.

(24) Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. III, pages 358-360. Pictures of the 7th, 29th, 33rd, 44th, 69th and 91st Badsahi coins printed in the pages.

Under the treaty of 1773 the State of Cooch Behar was afforded the protection of the East India Company. At the

time of the treaty the Bhandar Thakur supervised the minting of 40 to 50 thousand Nārāyani silver coins at a place called Tākāgāch. In the account given in 1788 A. D. by Krisnānanda Bhandar Thakur to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, it has been stated that the same number of coins was not struck each year. In years during which the rate of discount was favourable, a larger number was issued. In 1787 A. D. 28 to 30,000 half coins were struck. At that time the weight of a hundred French arcot rupees was equal to that of $118\frac{1}{2}$ Nārāyani rupees. $30\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of copper were mixed

with this quantity ($118\frac{1}{2}$) of Nārāyani coins. Subject to a varying of discount, a hundred French Arcot rupees were equal to $147\frac{1}{2}$ Nārāyani rupees or 295 Nārāyani half coins. No gold coin was manufactured at this time. In the market 115 to 119 Narayani rupees were considered equivalent to 100 Sikka rupees, but in calculating the peskash, the Company took 137 Narayani rupees (i. e. 18 to 22 more than the market rate) in lieu of 100 Sikka rupees. In Bhutan, Assam and other neighbouring countries spurious Nanayani coins were secretly manufactured. (25) On this account the content of pure silver varied.

When the terms of the treaty were settled, the Maharaja proposed that the right to strike his own coins should remain

unimpaired. The Company's view was expressed in a letter dated the 5th January 1773 A. D. to the Circuit Committee of Rungpur.—

"If the Rajah of Cose Behar can be prevailed upon voluntarily and cheerfully to relinquish the privilege of coining we would be glad to have

it effected, but if he yields to it with reluctance, which we imagine will be the case, we would not wish to insist on it." (26)

Thereafter the treaty was concluded and did not specify that the right to mint was abolished. In 1774 A. D. the Governor General and the Revenue Council promulgated orders prohibiting acceptance of new Nârâyani coins. (27)

Old Nârâyani coins were not so open to objection as the new. Those of Maharajas Rupnârâyan, Upendranârâyan and Devendranârâyan were deemed 'old'.
 Old and new coins. Even the local zemindars objected to new Nârâyani coins. As Nârâyani coins were current in Bhutan, Devaraj protested against the Government order, and the Revenue Council agreed to deliver from the Rangpur Treasury a quantity of Nârâyani coins necessary to the Bhutiya traders.

During the second reign of Maharaja Dhairvendranârâyan the Company fixed the maximum number of coins to be struck annually at 12,000, but the Cooch Behar officers paid little attention to this limit and the Company authorities took security from them. (28) In Rungpur, three kinds of coin, the Sikka, Nârâyani and French Arcot, were current, and the public suffered much inconvenience in the confusion of discounts. During the time of Devi Sing this was considered a cause of great loss. (29) The authorities of the Company were therefore increasingly opposed to the Nârâyani coins. They inaugurated a definite policy of checking the circulation. In 1777 A. D.

(26) Bengal Secret Consultation 1773.

(27) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page 41.

(28) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 24.

(29) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 79; The Rungpore District Gazetter, page 105.

Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur, reported to the Board that the Company would be free of the burden of discount if the Cooch Behar mint were closed and the Nārāyani coins in stock be gradually disposed of. (30) In 1779 A. D. the remittance of Nārāyani coins to Murshidabad was stopped.

After the treaty, in 1789 A. D., though the authorities of the Company admitted the right of the king to strike coins in unequivocal terms, they expressed their desire that it should be curtailed. (31)

When the Company managed the affairs of the State as guardian of the minor Maharaja Harendranārāyan, they almost stopped the Nārāyani issue. Afterwards, after receiving powers of administration, the Maharaja sought to affirm his right of minting. A Resolution of Government dated the 26th August 1802 A. D. admitted the right, (32) but in their reply dated the 13th November 1805 A. D. to a letter from the Maharaja, it was stated.—

“As serious inconvenience would be experienced from that measure in the British Territories, my public duty will not permit me to concede

(30) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 16.

(31) “It was so expressly declared that this tribute should on no account be increased, and the Rajah was subsequently allowed to retain the right of coining money and administering justice in his own name.

“9th. That the Commissioners be directed to report to the Board any abuses which may appear to have been practised in the Mint, and the best mode of preventing them in future, and whether any bad consequences would result should the Rajah be restricted to coining a small number of rupees annually, which, without entirely depriving him of the privilege of coining money, might obviate the evils arising from the unlimited exercise of it.”

Government Resolution of 13th May, 1789; Mercher and Chanvet's Report Vol. II, pages 202, 204.

(32) “That the Rajahs of Cooch Behar have not only been permitted, subsequently to the date of the Treaty, to coin money, to administer justice, and to exercise other powers of sovereignty, but that their right to the exercise of such powers has been fully and unreservedly acknowledged by the British Government in 1802.” Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I. page 133,

that point to your wishes. On this subject, I request you to consider my determination to be final, and I, accordingly, expect that you will not have recourse to that measure." (33)

In 1821 A. D. the Maharaja again raised the question. At that time the attitude of the Government had become more unfavourable, and expressed in their reply to the Comissioner dated the 22nd October in that year.—

"2. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that, to allow this coinage to be renewed, after it has been for 21 years prohibited, will be opening the door to abuses not easily controlled, besides being on other accounts objectionable. Since therefore, the Raja cannot claim it as a matter of right and is not entitled by his late conduct to any favour or indulgence," (34)

On the 3rd February 1828 A. D. the Government were again addressed in the matter but they were not disposed to modify this determination.⁽³⁵⁾ Moreover they urged the ruler to stop the use of Nârâyani coins. Till then the tribute was paid annually in Nârâyani coins. Government orders were issued in 1836 A. D. and prohibited the practice.⁽³⁶⁾ Colonel Jenkins the Agent of the North-east Frontier Province in his letter No. 476 dated the 16th November 1837, requested the Accountant General to reconsider that order.—

"I thought it proper to recommend to Government that their order, prohibiting the payment of his (Raja's) tribute in Nârâyani rupees, should be suspended for the present or during the life-time of the present Raja.

(33). Cooch Behar Select records, Vol. I, page 161.

(34). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 41.

(35). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 52.

(36). Letter dated the 13th February 1837 A. D. to the Agent from the Government. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 73. From 1838 A. D. the use of Sikka rupees has been prohibited in the Company's dominions. The coin of the East India Company was first struck in 1835 A. D. Before this (i. e. after 1765 A. D. when the Company acquired the Dewani) they struck coins in the name of the Mughal emperor. These were known as 'Kaldâr' (machine-struck) coins and were struck in Murshidabad, Benares and Farakkabad.

His life is not likely to be long protracted, and on the succession of a new Rajah (we) would be able without difficulty to arrange for the complete suppression of this currency." (37)

In letter No. 2969 dated the 27th December 1845 A. D. Government ordered the Agent to close the mint in Cooch Behar. (38) During the minority of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan, the charge of administration was vested in Government (1864 A. D.) and in 1865 A. D. they ordered that the use of Nârâyani coins should cease also in the State of Cooch Behar. At that time the Colonel Haughton submitted a proposal to the Government proposing the manufacture of Nârâyani coins with the Maharaja's name on one side and the figure of the Queen of England on the other, but this was not accepted and from 1866 A. D. Government coins have been legal tender in the State of Cooch Behar. (39)

At the installation of Maharaja Sivendranârâyan 1001 silver and some gold half coins were struck. Five of these were sent to Government. During their installations, the subsequent Maharajas of Cooch Behar have issued commemorative gold or silver half coins but these have not been recognised as currency.

(37). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 75.

(38). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 123.

(39). Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 415.

CHAPTER XVI.

CLASH BETWEEN NAZIR AND GOSVAMI.

It was an evil day in 1765 A. D. when Maharaja Devendra-nârâyan was killed by an assassin and his uncle's son Kumar Dhairiyendranârâyan ascended the throne. Evil beget evil for in the history of Cooch Behar there is no ruler so misguided or weak-minded as Maharaja Dhairiyendranârâyan. He had a ready ear for false reports and for the advice of his bad counsellors. He very soon committed himself to the crime of fratricide and as a result worked out his disgrace as a prisoner in Bhutan for four years. He was largely responsible for Cooch Behar being devastated by the Bhutiyas, and being reduced to the extreme limits of degradation.

Though both the ruler and the kingdom had escaped from the clutches of the Bhutiyas in 1774 A. D. the distress of the people continued. Repentance from crime often takes the form of exaggerated religious devotion and this was the case with Maharaja Dhairiyendranârâyan. His own people came to call him the 'Pâglâ Râjâ'. His chief consort Maharani Kâmatesvari Devi was a lady of great influence, and as the mental condition of the Maharaja deteriorated, the administration fell to her hands. She had great faith in Rajguru Sarbânanda Gosvami and believed him to be a good man and a faithful well-wisher of the ruling family. In these circumstances Gosvami gradually assumed the position of 'Mokhtâr' (representative) of the Maharani.⁽¹⁾

Maharani and Sarbânanda Gosvami.

(1) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 11, 24, 152; Letter dated 4th Falgun 271 Rajasaka written by Devaraj of Bhutan to Gosvami.

About the beginning of the 18th century two brothers, Satānanda and Panchānanda Gosvami, who had been living at Sadikhan Diara near Murshidabad, came to Cooch Behar. Satānanda became the spiritual preceptor to the ruler, and Panchānanda to the Nazir Deo and Dewan Deo.⁽²⁾ Satānanda had a son Rāmānanda, and Panchānanda had three sons, Nayanānanda, Sarvānanda and Asānanda. Utsavānanda the son of Asānanda also came to Cooch Behar. When Rāmānanda was killed by the Bhutiyas, Sarvānanda became Rājguru.

Sarvānanda Gosvami was intelligent and energetic, and would not easily deviate from his policy. By ability and firmness he worsted his opponents. The Maharani was devoted to him, and depended upon him. All royal orders were passed through him. Whatever connection there had existed between the Maharani and other officers in the administration, gradually ceased with the increase of influence of Gosvami. Papers sent to the Maharani for orders, were forwarded by her for disposal by Gosvami.⁽³⁾

(2) In the letter dated 18th Jaistha 332 Rajsaka (1841 A. D.) written by Maharaja Sivendranārāyan to the Agent at Gauhati, the Maharaja wrote that the predecessors of Sarvānanda Gosvami were not Gurus of the Cooch Behar dynasty. Sarvānanda first became the Guru of Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan; but before this, Joynath Ghosh has mentioned, Sarvānanda's uncle was Guru to Maharaja Upendranārāyan. (Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adhyāya 12.)

In the information furnished from the Maharaja's side to Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in 1788 A. D. Rāmānanda was said to be the Rājguru (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 20). In his report of the 9th June 1784 A. D. Mr. Moore the Collector of Rungpur gave an account of the establishment of Rāmānanda Gosvami as Rājguru by Maharaja Upendranārāyan and his queen. It is said that when Din Mohammad the Ukil of Cooch Behar lived in Murshidabad (about the beginning of the 18th century) he became intimate with the Gosvamis and it was at that time that they came to Cooch Behar. In a deed of gift dated 228 Rajsaka (1737 A. D.) by Kumar Kharganārāyan the brother of Maharaja Upendranārāyan there is a reference to "Bara Gosain". It may well be that at that time or even previously, there were at least two Gosains (Rājgurus).

(3) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 152.

Realizing the power of Gosvami, the principal officers of the king became attached to him. Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri had always been loyal to Gosvami who had brought him to Cooch Behar. Other officers, even leading personages like Rupchandra Bara Kayasth Karji, the eldest brother of the Maharani, Sachinandan Mustofi, Krisânanda Bhandar Thakur, Sivaprasad Mustofi, Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa, Bisnuprasad Bakshi and Raghunath Bakshi were won over. Though Nazir Deo Kumar Khagendranârâyan and Dewan Deo Kumar Surendranârâyan did not acknowledge obedience to Gosvami, at first there was good feeling between them and Gosvami used to visit the Nazir at Balarnpur.

Sarvânanda Gosvami was not satisfied with merely working as disinterested adviser. He acquired great wealth. He purchased landed property in Rungpur and also obtained many estates in Cooch Behar as Brahmottar. It is not now possible to ascertain how much Brahmottar he owned in Cooch Behar.

Brahmottar of Gosvami and Lahiri.

In papers containing the orders of the East India Company, the names of 22 Dehas belonging to him are mentioned. (4)

Besides these 22 Dehas, he certainly had other Brahmottar holdings. In the Roydâd-i-badiyât (account of oppression, of Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Syamchandra Ray dated the 5th Falgun 1191 B. S. (1785 A. D.), the 11th article reads.—“ On account of Wasil (expenditure) Syamchandra Ray : signature Sree Sree Maharaja Harendranârâyan

(4) The names of the Dehas are :—1. Dhumerkhâtâ, 2. Boâlmâri, 3. Marichâ, 4. Pâtchharâ, 5. Kasâldângâ, 5. Singijâni, 7. Kesribâri, 8. Chakiârchharâ, 9. Fulesvari, 10. Subhramohan (Haldimohan ?), 11. Bâramâsiâ, 12. Bengdâki, 13. Bhârâli, 14. Gerd Teldhar, 15. Châtrâ, 16. Petlârkuthi, 17. Nilâr Pâr, 18. Sidalkhuchi, 19. Gadai (Khora), 20. 21. Patuârdârâ (Kâsar dârâ ?) 22. Barabhitâ.

Compiled from an authenticated copy prepared in 1841 A. D. of an order dated 1st March 1774 A. D. of the Council of the Company (preserved in the record room of the State Council).

Rs. 1,36,681-4 As. 1 Ganda 3 Karas. Khârij on account of Brahmottar of Sarvananda Gosvami and others Rs. 17,154-6 As. 1 Ganda, on account of Kasinath Lahiri Khasnavis and others Rs. 10,464-4 As. In a letter dated the 19th May 1790 A. D. from the Commissioner Mr. Douglas to the Governor-General it was stated that most of the Petbhata land of Nazir Khgendranârâyan in the Chaklas, had been divided between Sarvânanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri. Though the Maharani had no power to make any grant of land, she did so on behalf of the minor ruler, and issued Sunnuds supporting the grants. ⁽⁵⁾

Most of the Brahmottar land of Gosvâmi was granted under a deed of gift bearing the seal of the minor king, and was finally settled by letters bearing the seal of the Nazir and the Maharani. ⁽⁶⁾ Gosvami also elicited the orders of the ruler that "the lands as written in the deed of gift 'which will be found in excess by survey' would also be considered as Brahmottar". ⁽⁷⁾ In practice many Bramottar tenants did not pay rent to Gosvami, but he did not suffer much loss on this account, as the principal State officers were his agents and he secured his interests by placing soldiers in his properties. ⁽⁸⁾ According to the treaty of 1773 A. D. when half the revenue of Cooch Behar was to be payable to the East India Company, Gosvami was agitated about the fate of his properties, and by his own efforts he secured the order of the Governor in Council that he would continue to enjoy the revenue of the Brahmottar in the 22 Dehas.

When Mr. Purling came to Cooch Behar with the intention of preparing a Hastbud, the sons of Ukil Din Mahammad

(5) Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 31.

(6) Waqqa dated the 5th Baisakh and 16th Jaisth of 263 Rajsaka.

(7) Waqqa dated the 1st Magh of 265 Rajsaka.

(8) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 145.

included the revenue of their estate (Maricha) in the Hastbud and claimed that the land was " not settled Brahmottar " but Kherāji (revenue paying) land. At that time, the tenants of many Dehas adopted this policy and cut off connection with Gosvami. ⁽⁹⁾ The latter was not deterred by it and again occupied the Dehas concerned, with the approval of the Maharani. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Munsī Jaynath Ghose a contemporary of Gosvami says in his Rājopākhyāna that Gosvami was a well-wisher of the ruler but dectiefly enjoyed revenue-paying lands as revenue-free.

The son, the brother and nephews of Sarvānand Gosvami also acquired Brahmottar land in Cooch Behar. When the well-to-do Chiranjib Barakāyasth Kārji died intestate, the ruler became owner of the properties left by him, but under orders of the Maharani, Gosvami took the male and female slaves. The Nazir and the Dewan occupied land in well-defined areas of the raj (supposedly) to meet the expenses of their

(9). The aforesaid order of the Council of the Company was not everywhere obeyed. Further, it was issued after the preparation of the Hastbud.

" 3.A Treaty was formed with the Behar Raj in 1772 or 1179 B. S. and in 1180 Mr. Purling made the Hastbood of Thana Behar, assessing all the rent-free lands which were possessed by individuals during the absence of Raja Durjendranārāyan.

" 4. At this period Durjendranārāyan becoming much Indisposed and incapable of attending to public duty, his wife, Rany Cometessary (Kāmatesvari), the mother of the present Raja, and Surbananda Goshain, without due authority granted Sunnads for considerable portions of lands in their own favour; and restored the whole of the lands resumed by Mr. Purlin. " A letter from Mr. Ahmuty to the Board of Revenue, dated 10th January, 1801.

(10). Afterwards owing to the opposition of English Commissioners and the later Maharajas, Gosvami was dispossessed of most of the Brahmottar lands.

" When the administration was in the hands of his (Harendra Nārāyan's) Mother the Dowager Maharani and the infamous Sarbananda Gosain, this illegal practice was carried to such an excess that the British Commissioner had to interfere, and resume all invalid or fraudulent grants. " Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 541.

offices. Gosvami extracted orders to realise one rupee and eight annas per house in the whole raj as Gurupranâmi (offering to Guru)⁽¹¹⁾ but owing to the opposition of the Nazir he was unable to realize his purpose. Even so, his income was very considerable. Except for the Naziran land of the Nazir, about $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of the entire area of the raj was under the ruler and the Dewan. An order promulgated an annual allowance to Gosvami at the rate of of one rupee and eight annas for each Châlâ (parcel) of land to be paid and the revenue collectors of the Company recognized this right.⁽¹²⁾

The Company's soldiers who were employed as guards of the Palace, became subservient to Gosvami and were also employed to guard his personal property. Even the indomitable Sannyasis could not muster courage to quarrel with him.⁽¹³⁾ The ruler was indifferent to his power and Maharani Kamatesvari had unshaken faith in Gosvami. He lived at the

Letter of Maharaja Harendranârâyan dated the 23rd Pous 1207 B. S. to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and the letter of Maharaja Sibendranârâyan dated 18th Jaisth 332 Rajsaka to the Agent at Gauhati. Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khandâ, Adhyâyas 10 and 13.

Some of those Brahmottar Dehas of Gosvami which were separated and included within the Hastbood, or confiscated, are still known by their former names e.g. 828 Brahmottar Kasâldângâ ; 843 Hastbood Kasâldângâ ; 514 Brahmottar Châtrâ ; 490 Bâjit (Bajeyâpta or confiscated) Châtrâ etc. Later on many Taluks named Brahmottar were confiscated. In the Settlement papers of 1872 A. D., 9832 Bighas of Brahmottar land in two Dehas (Taluks) had been recorded in the name of the heirs of Sarvânanda Gosvami.

(11) Cooch Behr Select Records, Vol. I, pages 72, 73,

(12) Order dated 3rd Falgun 1181 B. S. written by Hararam Sen in the name of Sarvânanda Gosvami.

(13) Deed of relinquishment dated 10th Kartik 259 Rajsaka by Narayan Gir in favour of Gosvami.

Palace.⁽¹⁴⁾ Nazir Khagendranârâyan alone stood against him, but though the Nazir was the head of the army and owner of $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of the raj, his protest against the power and conduct of Gosvami, had practically no effect.

Protest of Nazir.

It is not clear when and why enmity between Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan and Nazir Khagendranârâyan began. The previous Nazir Rudranârâyan had tried to make Khagendranârâyan ruler instead of Dhairyendranârâyan. When Khagendranârâyan was appointed Chhatranazir he did not come to Cooch Behar, nor when the ruler was made captive by the Bhutiyas did the Nazir attempt to protect his royal master. When Dewan Ramnârâyan was killed, his brother Kumar Rajendranârâyan sought refuge with the Nazir at Balarampur and thence went to Buxa Duar to enlist the help of the Bhutiyas. It was natural from this chain of events that antipathy towards the Nazir should exist in the minds of the ruler and the queen. After the death of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan, it was however Nazir Khagendranârâyan who despite opposition, installed Kumar Dharendranârâyan, the son of captive Dhairyendranârâyan, on the throne. It was Khagendranârâyan who concluded a treaty with the Company to rescue the ruler and the country from the Bhutiyas. Indeed but for him it is a matter of doubt whether the State of Cooch Behar would have continued to exist. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan attempted to remove the misunderstandings between the ruler and the Nazir but was not successful.⁽¹⁵⁾

(14) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. III, page 118, Rājopākhyāna, Pratyakṣa Khanda, Adhyāya 10.

(15) Letter dated the 29th Asar 267 Rajsaka written by the Dharmaraja to the Maharaja.

As soon as Cooch Behar became a feudatory State under the Company, there was no necessity for the ruler to keep an army, but the Nazir continued to occupy $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the kingdom on the alleged ground of the upkeep of the army. The royal officers began to interfere with the Naziran land and to claim that they did so under orders of the Maharani. The Nazir suspected this to be the result of a conspiracy of Sarvānanda Gosvami. He openly declared.—“The boy has been made king by me. The affairs of the State should be under my orders. Sarvānanda Gosain is the Rajguru. What authority has he to interfere with the administration?”⁽¹⁶⁾ At this time Syamchandra Ray, the son of Ramchandra Ray, the Dewan of the Nazir, attained majority and was given with the post of his father. He was able and energetic.

Meanwhile the influence of the Nazir gradually diminished. The ruler was displeased with him and blamed him for “bartering” the independence of the dynasty of Visvasinha.

The hopes of the Nazir were that the raj would be completely liberated, but at the end of the war, the Company was master of a portion of the kingdom and the Devaraj of another portion. Nazir Khagendranārāyan tried to bolster up the authority of the ruler despite obstruction from the officers of the Company.

Though it was against the nature of Khagendranārāyan to have recourse to conspiracy to gain his ends, yet he was suspected by the people to be double-dealing. Their suspicion was increased by the fact that he was guided by the advice of Dewan Syamchandra Ray. On the 15th March 1791 A. D. Mr. Douglas the Commissioner wrote to the Governor-General,—“Khagendranārāyan appears to be so weak in his mental faculties as to be absolutely incapable of conducting any business,

(16) Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adyaya 19.

and should he obtain possession of his share of the country, the management of it will fall into the hands of those persons whose evil and interested counsel has already so much misled him and has been the principal cause of the greater part of his misfortunes".⁽¹⁷⁾ Nevertheless there was an admirable frankness about Khagendranârâyan. He did not hesitate to disclose before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that he had more than once administered corporal punishment to Gosvami. Men who were suspected of intrigue against him, he often had beaten. His family was generally led by the advice of Marichmati Aye, the influential wife of the former Nazir Rudranârâyan.⁽¹⁸⁾

The ill-feeling between the Nazir and Gosvami was revealed in the form of a public quarrel. The Nazir had come to Cooch Behar and there was a quarrel in the bazar and a scuffle between his servants and those of the ruler regarding a pitcher of curd. As a result corporal punishment was inflicted on Nazir's servants under orders of Gosvami. The Nazir was enraged and under his orders Gosvami was arrested and so badly beaten that he was unable to rise and was for some time confined to bed. The Nazir retired to Balarampur.

When Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan who had been away on a pilgrimage returned, another scene in the drama was enacted. Invited to the marriage of Dewan Deo Surendranârâyan, the Nazir came with an armed force to Cooch Behar, and Gosvami was naturally apprehensive. The marriage took place in the Palace. Gosvami instructed the guards that if the Nazir came with a large body-guard without the orders of the Maharani, he should be stopped at the entrance. This somewhat ineffective

(17) Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 41.

(18) Marichmati Aye died in her 86th year in 1808. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 174.

plan was carried out, but as soon as the Nazir realised the position, his Danka (drum) was sounded and he retired. He took immediate vengeance upon Gosvami. His men ran to the place where the marriage ceremony was proceeding and seized Gosvami. They tied his legs and slung him to a bamboo pole, and he was thus removed from the Palace. The guests assembled for the marriage hurriedly dispersed.

The Maharaja was not present at the marriage ceremony and when news of Gosvami's plight was reported to him, he himself ran, sword in hand, to the cross-roads where Gosvami was suspended, feet upwards. Seeing the Maharaja, the Nazir's men left Gosvami and ran away. The Maharaja cut free his Guru with his sword and lying to his full length on the ground, made obeisance to him. He then retired to the inner apartments of the Palace. The Nazir left with his army for Balarampur.

When the boy Dharendranârâyan died, his father Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan again became the nominal ruler, and his weakness aggravated the quarrel between the Nazir and Gosvami. Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan who was employed by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, sometimes took the side of the Nazir and sometimes that of Gosvami.

The English Officers at Dinajpur and Rungpur, Messrs Purling, Harris, Harwood, Lambert
The Collectors and the Nazir. Bogle and Goodlad were Political Officers for Cooch Behar from 1773 to 1781 A. D. They regarded Nazir Khagendranârâyan as the principal officer of the State. Mr. Goodlad was the Assistant of Mr. Bogle, the Collector of Rungpur, for two years. Later he was the Collector from 1781 to 1784 A. D. He was often visited by Syamchandra Ray, the Dewan of the Nazir, and as the result of complaints received through Syamchandra,

he confined Gosvami and Lahiri in Rungpur. ⁽¹⁹⁾ At this time (1788 A. D.) Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan died and the infant Kumar Harendranârâyan was installed.

During this installation, Khagendranârâyan invested his own son Birendranârâyan with the status of Yuvaraj, though there was no precedent for a Yuvaraj being appointed by a Nazir, and his action had little popular support.

The seal of the King.

During the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan there was a dispute regarding the custody of the State seal. After the installation the Nazir kept the seal, but as Jitan Sing the Subedar of the Company protested, he was forced to return it, and Jitan Sing was rewarded by the Maharani. Mr. Goodlad on the Nazir's protest delivered it again to him but under orders of the Council the Maharani finally got the custody of the seal.

Khagendranârâyan used the seal in his own interests and to preserve the authority of the Nazir. He used it in the order appointing his own son Birendranârâyan as Yuvaraj. While the seal was with the Maharani, the area of the Brahmottar land of Gosvami continually increased, Gosvami's favourites acquired similar grants of land.

Misuse of the seal.

When Maharaja Harendranârâyan attained majority, he began to assess revenue on all revenue free lands. ⁽²⁰⁾ He expressed his views in this matter in clear language in a letter written to the Commissioner Mr. Ahmuty.—

Views of two rulers.

* * * The seals used for the Sunnuds and Wakkas were in the possession of Sarbânanda Goshain. He caused Sunnuds to be written out in his own name for whatever lands he wished to

(19) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 156, 157. Rājopākhyāna, Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyāya I.

(20) Rājopākhyāna, Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyāyas 10 and 13.

possess ; several of the persons who were compelled to write those grants can be now produced * * I am sensible of your exertions in my favour and you will still oblige me by resuming all lands of which I have been illegally deprived. " (21)

The next Maharaja Sibendranârâyan also stated in a letter dated the 18th Jaisth 832 Rajsaka to the Agent that as the seal of the minor ruler had been under the control of Gosvami, the latter had satisfied his own interests by having many deeds of gift prepared in his favour.

When Maharaja Harendranârâyan was confined in Balarampur the Nazir enfaced blank papers with the seal, and after the death of Maharani Kâmatesvari in 1500 A. D. about 600 Sunnud forms bearing the seal of Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan were discovered. These were similar to the deeds of gift prepared when Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan was a prisoner in Bhutan. (22)

Immediately after the death of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, Mr. Goodlad came to Cooch Behar and demanded revenue accounts from Gosvami. When these were not produced, the Gosvami was imprisoned and all his moveable property and Brahmottar lands were attached. Many officers of the Gosvami's party were imprisoned at the same time, and the administration of the country was placed in the hands of

(21) Letter dated the 23rd Pous 1207 B. S. written by Maharaja Harendranârâyan
Vide quotation from Maharaja's letter in the letter from Mr. Ahmuty to the Board of Revenue, dated the 10th January 1801.

(22) Letter dated the 10th January 1801 A. D. written by Mr. Ahmuty to the Revenue Board :—

" 5 After the demise of the Ranny, which occurred last year, nearly 600 blank Sunnuds, where the seal of her husband affixed, were discovered among her property, upon paper of the same dimensions and similar form to those which were granted during the absence of Durjendra Nârâyan..... "

the Nazir. Kasinath Lahiri was dismissed and Syamchandra Ray was appointed Khasnavis. (23) The Syamchandra and Goodlad. Rājopākhyāna says that in 1787 B. S. (1780 A. D.) the Nazir and Syamchandra imprisoned Gosvami and Lahiri in connection with the accounts. Officers of their party were arrested and whipped. Some escaped to Rungpur where they appealed in vain to Mr. Goodlad who was convinced from the information of Syamchandra that the ruler took no interest in the affairs of the State and that the Nazir was the only reliable authority.

Once Vakil Ram Chakravarti besought Mr. Goodlad to release Gosvami and Lahiri, and Mr. Goodlad sent eight sepoys to Cooch Behar to bring Gosvami and Lahiri before him, but subsequently recalled the escort which meanwhile had reached Mogalhat with Gosvami and Lahiri owing to the intervention of Syamchandra. The clever Gosvami, learning that the order for his release had been withdrawn, paid a bribe of Rs. 5,000 to the escort commanded and arrived at Rungpur that very night in fetters. Eventually Gosvami and Lahiri were released by the Collector.

Syamchandra, the Dewan of the Nazir, was committing many acts of oppression in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's officers Dharmanarayan Ray, Dharmanarayan Mukhopadhyaya and others were severely beaten, and Govinda Lahiri was so maltreated that he became a hunchback for life. Gosvami and Lahiri sent Hariprasad Sarkar and Janakiram as Ukils to Calcutta with a letter addressed to the Governor-General who after receiving the report of Mr. Goodlad, paid no attention to the complaint.

(23) It is written in the account placed before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, that this event took place at the end of 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 17, 22, 25.

The Ukils of the Maharaja had filed a complaint before the Company with a copy of a will of the late ruler. It was complained that the Nazir controlled the administration through the influence of Mr. Goodlad. Reference was made to the confinement of Kasinath Lahiri and Sarvananda Gosvami by the Nazir, the looting of Gosvami's properties, the placing of five female slaves as guards over the Maharani, and the assault on Dharmanârâyan; and redress was sought. Lakaminârâyan and Mahendranârâyan Sinha, the Canoongoes of the Company, enquired into conditions in Cooch Behar and submitted a report on the 25th Magh 1190 B. S. (6th February 1784 A. D.). On the 8th March of that year, the Government declared that there was no dispute regarding the succession of the minor ruler. This issue had begun between the Dewan (Kumar Surendranârâyan?), Kumar Baikunthanârâyan, the Maharani and the Nazir in their efforts to assert guardianship over the minor. The Maharani wished to be the personal guardian but others were in favour of Kumar Baikunthanârâyan. Both the Maharani and the Nazir desired control over the administration. Finally, the Government directed the parties to the dispute to appear in Calcutta.

Owing to the attitude of Mr. Goodlad, Gosvami was deprived of his influence but he was not a man to be dispirited. He sent petition after petition to Calcutta on behalf of the Maharani, but the Nazir maintained his position. When the officers of the Chaklajat Zemindaries instituted cases in 1778 A. D., in Rungpûr to establish their title of ownership, Syamchandra, the Dewan of the Nazir, defended the cases and urged that the Chaklas were the personal properties of the Nazir. Gosvami was unable to remove the favourable impression which Mr. Goodlad had formed of the Nazir. The Maharani became

apprehensive of her safety in staying in Cooch Behar with the infant heir, and Captain Williams, by command of the soldiers of the Company was consulted with a view to her residing in Dinajpur.

At the end of Magh 1190 B. S. news suddenly spread in Rungpur that Nazir Khagendranârâyan had himself ascended the Gadi of Cooch Behar. At first Mr. Goodlad did not believe it, but when coins bearing the name of Khagendranârâyan were shown to him, his faith in Khagendranârâyan was gone, and he ordered Gosvami and Lahiri to return to Cooch Behar.—The following account is written in Râjopâkhyâna.—

Mr. Goodlad had dismissed Havildar Jitan Sing for having sided with the Maharani, and he had confined Gosvami and Lahiri in Rungpur. As Mr. Goodlad was his supporter, twelve days after the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan, Nazir Khagendranârâyan ascended the throne himself and struck coins in his own name. The officers of the Maharaja deserted. The Maharani was placed in confinement and almost starved. The Maharaja was attacked with small-pox, but no treatment was available. The new Havildar of the Company's guard prevented the Nazir from entering the Ander, and sent a report to Mr. Goodlad. The Ukil of the Maharani in Calcutta also informed the Government of these events. (24)

Two copies of the original memorandum about Khagendranârâyan's usurpation and another copy have been preserved in the records of the State Council. The memorandum says that on the 21st Magh 1190 B. S. Khagendranârâyan became the ruler and struck coins in his own name. Kalânath Dharman

dhyaśa placed the Rājīkā on his forehead, and Ramratna and Madhab acted as priests. Learning that his son was attacked with small-pox, Khagendranārāyan returned to Balarampur on the 24th Magh. Meanwhile Mr. Goodlad sent a Havildar and twelve sepoy who forced the Nazir's men to leave Cooch Behar.

There are several seals and signatures on this memorandum. Among them, those of Maharani Kāmatesvari, Satyabhama Devi the grandmother of the ruler, Kumar Bhagvantanārāyan Sachinandan Mustofi, Kalānath Dharmādhyakṣa, Viśnuprasād Bakshi, Ramratna Sarma and Madhab Sarma are worthy of mention. Nothing was said about Khagendranārāyan's "accesion" and his striking coins by Kumar Bhagvantanārāyan, Sachinandan Mustofi, Kalānath Dharmādhyakṣa and Viśnu prasād Bakshi in 1788 A. D. before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.⁽²⁵⁾ Reference has already been made to the "Roydad-i-Badiyat Sree Khagendranārāyan Kunwar O Sree Syamacharan Ray" ("An account of oppressions by Sree Khagendranārāyan Kunwar and Sree Syamacharan Ray") written by Sibnārāin Ray, the Ukil of the ruler. An old copy is in the record room of the State Council. In the seventh article, it is said that Khagendranārāyan became the ruler and issued coins and struck a seal in his name, and the following persons were witnesses to these facts;—Pir Mohammad (the son of Ukil Din Mohammad), Sachinandan Mustofi, Harnandan Mustofi and others. Harnandan and Sachinandan gave evidence before the Commissioners but their statements did not refer to the "account". In a letter which the Board wrote to Mr. Moore on the 13th May 1784 A. D., stress was laid on the undue influence of the Nazir, his making his own son Yuvaraj and his policy towards Gosvami and Lahiri.

(25) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 125, 151, 152, 155.

Khagendranârâyan told the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet: " * * (and) to prevent the disgrace of the infant Raja, I sat upon the Raja's Masnad, and had it proclaimed that I had become Raja ; besides doing this without driving the Raja from the Rajbari I could not have become Raja. The Goshain is my enemy ; he now possesses the whole authority of the Raj. The Mint is under him, he can easily coin money with my name impressed on them. " (26)

Reply of the Nazir.

Regarding this, the Commissioners observed,—

" It is not proved that he coined money in his own name * * it may be added that from the Ranny's own complaint recently and personally made to ourselves, it is evident that the Nazir Deo, after this pretended usurpation had taken place, made use, notwithstanding, of the Raja's seal so that such usurpation can not be said to have been complete. It does not appear from evidence that the deaths of the Raja and Ranny were ever meditated by Nazir Deo ; and the Ranny herself does not seem now disposed to insist on that charge. " (27)

At the end of 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.) Mr. Peter Moore came as Collector to Rungpur in place of Mr. Goodlad.

Mr. Moore and Gosvami.

Immediately after Mr Moore reached Rungpur, he formed ideas regarding Khagendranârâyan, and as a result Gosvami received favour. The Râjopâkhyâna records that Gosvami and Lahiri sent two Ukils who received Mr. Moore at a place to the south of Dinajpur. They gave many presents and an exhibition of fire-works at the night. Mr. Moore stayed in a house in Dhap in Rungpur which was purchased from Mr. Purling for Rs. 24,000. The house and its garden were

(26) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 25—26.

(27) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 194.

decorated. Gosvami's presents are said to have been carried by 500 persons (?) to Mr. Moore.

Amrit Singh and Gosvami.

Gosvami also won over Maharaja Amrit Singh, the Dewan of Mr. Moore, by paying him a large sum of money. The Maharani had sent information to the Council alleging plundering of the State by Khagendranârâyan and his misappropriating the Chaklajat Zemindaries. In 1784 A. D. under orders of the Council, the right to administer the raj, and the royal seal, were taken away from Khagendranârâyan and given to the Maharani. It was determined that the zemindary of Chaklajat belonged to the Maharaja. (28) The Petbhata lands of Khagendranârâyan situated in the Zemindary were confiscated. At the request of the Maharani, Mr. Moore appointed some Telenga guards to protect the Maharâja. (29)

Dewan Gangaprasad was entrusted with an enquiry into the charges against the Nazir, (30) and he found them to be

The Nazir's downfall.

true. Though summoned, the Nazir did not appear before Gangaprasad. Instead he started for Calcutta with Syamchandra to seek redress, but the men sent by Mr. Moore arrested them enroute and brought them to Rungpur. Mr. Moore did not accept the objections of the Nazir, and made him and Syamchandra over to Gosvami. Under Gosvami's orders they were brought to Cooch Behar and imprisoned. The Râjopâkhyânâ says that under orders of Mr. Goodlad, the Nazir and Syamchandra

(28) Report of the Board written in 1784 A. D. and the letter dated the 28th May 1784 A. D. by Mr. Moore.

(29.) Letter dated 1st Chaitra 1191 B. S. written by Mr. Moore. At this time the rulers and zemindars of Bengal employed Telengas from the north of the Madras Presidency as their body-guards and palanquin bearers.

(30) An old paper without any signature written on the 14th Asar 1191 B. S. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 23, 26.

were confined in a place called 'Gudam' in Cooch Behar. The Nazir escaped but was caught in the house of Syamchandra Ray and again taken to Rungpur. Under Mr. Moore's orders the Nazir was again made over to Gosvami. In the month of Baisakh 275 Rajshah (1191 B. S.) he and Syamchandra were sent in fetters to Cooch Behar, and Mr. Moore held the trial in the presence of the infant Maharaja. The Council ordered the Nazir to be removed from the post of Nazir, and the whole of the Cooch Behar State and the Zemindary of Chaklajat to be regarded as belonging personally to the Maharaja. Kumar Jibendranârâyan, the son of Dewan Deo Surendranârâyan, was appointed Nazir, and the trial of Khagendranârâyan was stayed until the attainment of majority by the Maharaja. The infant Maharaja expressed his wish to Mr. Moore that Khagendranârâyan be sentenced to death. Later Khagendranârâyan and Syamchandra were liberated and the Maharani took over administration of the kingdom. (31)

There was for a time no obstacle to the ambitions of Gosvami. His enemy a prisoner, he seemed to have taken inadequate precautions, with the result that on the morning of the 26th Chaitra 1191 B.S. the news spread through the whole town that the Nazir had escaped. Gosvami immediately sent out parties to capture the Nazir, and wrote a letter to the Devaraja of Bhutan for this purpose; but all his efforts were in vain. No news was forthcoming as to the whereabouts of the Nazir. The Devaraja replied that Khagendranârâyan had

Escape of the Nazir.

Letter of Devaraja.

(31) Rājopākhyāna, Pratyakṣa Khanda, Adhyāya 3. In the statement given by the Maharaja's party before the Commissioners it has been mentioned that the Maharaja himself dismissed Khagendranârâyan and confiscated his Jaigir (M. C. Report Vol. II, page 23). In the statement of both parties, there is no mention of the trial of Khagendranârâyan by Mr. Moore. The account of the Nazir's being twice captured is also not supported. The Maharaja's party said that the Nazir

not come there, and even if he had, it would not have been possible to make over one who had sought protection and shelter, to Gosvami. He (Gosvami) was a Lāmâ guru (spiritual preceptor). It was his duty to see that good feeling existed in the royal family, and if in this connection it was necessary to send information to the Council, he should do so if only on religious grounds. The glory of Gosvami, as befitting a Lāmâ, could increase thereby. He would surely arrange to preserve the wealth of the Nazir. ⁽³²⁾ But this letter from Devaraja bore no results.

Khagendranârâyan had fled to Assam (which was at that time outside the dominion of the Company) but fortune did not favour him. Even in his living

The Nazir in Assam.

incognito, he was a sport of fortune. Even in that place his destiny was increasing the darkness of his life. At this time there was a revolt of the Moamaria Vaisnava sect in Assam. At last the rebels defeated Gaurinath Sinha the Âhom King and made a person of their sect king (1787 A. D.). The residents of lower Assam also were not satisfied with the Âhom rule and taking advantage of this revolt, they were desiring to re-establishment of the dynasty of Visvasinha in lower

Possibility of gaining kingdom.

Assam. A man named Haradatta was the leader of the dissatisfied subjects and Khagendranârâyan was able to gain his sympathy. There was a daughter of Haradatta named Padmakumari having marks on her person considered to be auspicious. There were talks about her being married to the son of Khagendranârâyan and this son becoming the king of lower Assam. The Kumar had gone to Assam with this object.

escaped without having appeared before Dewan Gangaprasad. When he was re-arrested, he again escaped, (M. C. Report Vol. II, pages 23, 26).

(32) Letter dated 13th Roj of Asvin Chand in 278 Rajsaka written by the Devaraja.

At first king Gaurinath got help from the Company to subdue the revolt in his kingdom. But later on for some reason, the Company refused to help the king. But, destiny as if to witness another act in the drama of Khagendranârâyan's life, arranged to make the authorities of the Company agree at last to help king Gaurinath. The revolt of the Moamarias was subdued by the force of the Company and king Gaurinath being in a great degree freed from obstacles was re-established on the throne (1795 A. D.). The party of Haradatta having occupied almost the whole of Uttarakula, came to be known as Dundia (rebels). But they were dispersed at last in battle and with this all hopes of Khagendranârâyan were shattered. ⁽³³⁾

Gosvami was not able even with great efforts to discover where the Nazir had hidden himself. Many had suspected that he was under the shelter of

Proclamation of Gosvami.

Bulchandra Barua, the zemindar of Rangamati. ⁽³⁴⁾ A rumour was also circulated that he was hiding in Khurbarry. However the all powerful Nazir of Cooch Behar being bereft of honour and properties was seeking shelter here and there being afraid of his very life. Tired and helpless he at last got some peace in retiring to the kingdom of Assam. Really speaking, at that time the mental condition of the Nazir was not sound. He was repeatedly sending letters praying to be excused in a pitiful tone from his place of hiding placing all the faults which were attributed to him sometimes upon himself and sometimes upon Syamchandra. ⁽³⁵⁾ But all these were in vain. His prayers were

(33) Assam Burunjee by Rai Gunabhiram, pages 160—167.

(34) The zemindar of Rangamati is now known as the zemindar of Gauripur (in the district of Goalpara). Raja Srijukta Prabhat Chandra Barua is the present descendant of Bulchandra Barua.

(35) An old copy of a letter praying for being excused dated the 26th Kartic is preserved among the old papers of the State Council, Cooch Behar.

like a cry in wilderness. Meanwhile Sarvānanda Gosvami published a proclamation on the 18th Asar 276 Bazar (1192 B. S.) mentioning that it was an order by the Maharaja. An account of all the evil deeds of Gosvami and the information that his rights to the Naziran land have been forfeited were mentioned. To prove the truth of the account given in the proclamation, relatives of the king and many officers of the king had signed the same. ⁽³⁶⁾

When Khagendranārāyan escaped, Syamchandra Ray was sent to Rungpur and Mr. Moore made him over to the court of the Nawab for trial. In the trial, Syamchandra was sentenced to imprisonment, but the pleader for the Nazir submitted

Trial of Syamchandra.

an application to the Governor-General and the Council against this decision and under their orders Nawab Muzufferjang summoned Syamchandra and made a detailed enquiry regarding his offence. As a result of this enquiry, Syamchandra was released and the judge who tried him was dismissed. ⁽³⁷⁾ In 1786 A.D. Mr. Macdowall came as Collector of Rungpur in place of Mr. Moore. Meanwhile, Baidyanath Sadangi and Ramkanta Chakravarti the pleaders of the Nazir had gone to Calcutta and were continually praying before the Company for restoration of the previous powers of the Nazir, his Naziran lands and the Chaklajat zemindary. At that time Gorachand Basak was the Dewan of the Nazir. Mr. Macdowall summoned Kumar Birendranārāyan, the son of the Nazir, there. He had got complaints from the king's party against Birendra also. Mr. Macdowall promised Birendra that he would bring about good relations between the royal family and the family of the Nazir. But in reality nothing took place. Staying in Rungpur

(36) This proclamation is preserved among the old papers of the State Council.

(37) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 26.

for about a year. Birendra returned to Balarampur.

After the return of Birendra from Rungpur (1787 A.D.) the Maharani went to bathe in the Ganges accompanied by Sarvānanda Gosvami. As this was against the custom of the family and thought to be a matter of disgrace, many principal personages of the royal family became very much dissatisfied with Gosvami and the Maharani. The Nazir mentioned before the Commissioners that the mother and the grandmother of the king summoned Birendranārāyan to save the family from disgrace by removing the king and the Maharani elsewhere. (38) None supported internally the domination of Gosvami in the work of administration and his influence over the Maharani. The people believed that by the machinations of the Maharani and Gosvami, king Dhairyendranārāyan was rendered incapable to manage the administration. Even half a century later, Major Jenkins heard such a report. (39)

Taking advantage of the aforesaid opportunity Marichmati Aye with the hope of recovering the lost glory resolved to risk her very life in fulfilling her desire. The path followed by her was not only full of obstructions but its end was also terrible. However, she started to re-establish the rights of the family of the Nazir, by freeing the Maharani and the Maharaja from the influence of Gosvami. At that time the family of the Nazir was suffering indescribable misery for want of food and clothing. Still, Marichmati Aye collected by some means three thousand rupees and summoned the leaders of

(38) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 26.

(39) "Long before his (Rajah's) death he was reduced to such a state of imbecility, as was currently believed, by the machinations of the Ranees and Gosvami, that he was quite incapable of performing any of the duties of his rank." Major Jenkins' Report, page 33.

dacoits. At that time many dacoits in the disguise of Sannyasis resided in Churla, Bhitambar and Goybari near Balarampur. They were gained over by gifts of money. A small number of Barkandaz soldiers was also collected. Bhagabantanârâyan, the eldest brother of the Nazir, had a great liking for battle. Four or five hundred men under him became ready to go to Cooch Behar. The Commissioners stated regarding Marichmati:—

“ * * * With respect to the latter (adherents of Nazir Deo) it is proved by the evidence brought in support of the charges against Marichmati, the aunt of the Nazir Deo, that she did actually with the assistance of Ganesh Gir (since dead) collect a number of Sannyassies and other troops for the purpose of seizing the Raja and Ranny and bringing them to Balarampur, and that Dungar Deo, the brother of the Nazir, accompanied these troops to Behar. ” (40)

At that time forty sepoys under Captain Duncanson stayed in Cooch Behar on behalf of the Company. Gulab Sing was their Subedar and they were paid by the king. The king himself had also some Barkandazes and Palwans. The news of starting of Bhagavantnârâyan to Cooch Behar spread about eight or ten days before he reached Cooch Behar. When this information was sent to Captain Duncanson in Rungpur he refrained from coming to Cooch Behar, raising various objections. In a letter sent before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet by the king's party it is mentioned :—

“ When I was alarmed that my enemy Coghindra Nârâyan had collected a number of troops, I wrote to Captain Duncanson to come to Behar. He replied, that, until he could collect some money he had lent, he would not come to Behar. ” (41)

(40) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 198.

(41). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 54.

In answer to this complaint Captain Duncanson wrote to the Commissioners :—

"I frequently proposed going to Behar in the beginning of June, but the Collector urged by needlessly injuring my health for the Gossain's idle fears," (42)

Both Lahiri and Gosvami went to Rungpur leaving the charge of protecting the king with Rupchandra Bara Kayasth Karji. They also failed to send the Captain to Cooch Behar. So they tried to collect forces as many as possible and

Arrangement on behalf of the king.

send the same to Cooch Behar. Meanwhile as the news of Bhagavantanârâyan's coming to Cooch Behar was spreading everywhere, the Maharani was very much anxious and afraid. Fearing a plunder of the palace, she began to make arrangements to send money and jewellery to Gosvami in Rungpur through Krisnânanda Bhandar Thakur and Ramgopal Sarkar (an officer of Gosvami). She also summoned Subedar Gulab Sing and instructed him to remain very careful. Gulab Sing in return did not fail to give assurance to the Maharani.

Early in the morning of the 32nd Jaisth 1194 B. S. Bhagavatanârâyan and Ganes Gir simultaneously besieged the Palace and the mint with soldiers. (43)

Siege of the Palace.

On that day, there were thirty (according to another view, twenty) sepoyes of the Company present in the palace and the rest were engaged

(42). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 75.

(43). Mercer and Chauvet's, Vol. II, pages 1, 142. According to another view, this took place in the month of Asar (Ibid, Vol. II, page 107). It is written in Râjopâkhyâna, that this happened at the end of Baisakh 1193 B. S. or 277 Rajshaka (Pratyaksha Khanda, Adhyâya 4). It is mentioned in a Wakka executed by Ramchandra Barakayasth Karji on the 1th Baisakh 279 Rajshaka that the disturbance regarding capture of the king took place in 278 Rajshaka (1194 B. S.). In the paper in which a promise was forcibly taken from the king and the Maharani when they were under detention in Balarampur, the date of this incidence is mentioned as the 19th Asar 278 Rajshaka.

in different works in other places. At the very outset, the principal officers like Krisnânanda Bhandar Thakur and Rup-chandra Bara Kayasth Karji, the protector of the king, fled away.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the number of men who came with Bhagavantanârâyan. In the Râjopâkhyân it is written that about four thousand soldiers came. According to Gulab Sing, the number of soldiers was four thousand and according to a sepoy under him the number was two hundred and according to a Tehsildar named Dharmanârâyan Raha, the number was one thousand. But according to Mr. Glazier, the number of soldiers of Bhagavantanârâyan did not exceed five to seven hundred. Whatever it might be, on receiving the news of the coming of Bhagavantanârâyan, Gulab Sing ordered the sepoys under him to take up arms. Bhagabantanârâyan called Gulab Sing to him. Gulab Sing went to Bhagavantanârâyan and coming back from him, said "Bhagavantanârâyan has come bringing written orders from Raja Amrit Sing, the Dewan of the Collector. So there is no necessity to oppose him." The Maharani being agitated with this news promised to give Rs, 1,000 and a Tâzi horse (a horse from Tâz a place in Arabia) as reward to Gulab Sing to gain him over to her side. But Gulab Sing did not advance (to oppose the enemy) in spite of this.

Regarding the complaint of Gulab Sing's being gained over by Bhagavantanârâyan, the Commissioners have written :—

Behaviour of Gulab Sir g.

"They (the Commissioners) find from the examination of Golap Sing himself as well as from the evidence adduced in support of the charge against him it is fully proved that he was shamefully deficient in his duty when he permitted the party under Dangar Deo to carry off the Raja and Ranny from the place of their residence without any endeavour on his part to resist, so flagrant an act of violence of which the Force under his command consisting independently of his own sepoys, of a considerable

number of Burkundauses was fully adequate to the prevention, the spirit of the former and their readiness to support their Commanding officer in defence of the charge entrusted to his care strongly manifests their sense of the baseness of his conduct, and to the indignation they felt at the scandalous desertion of his duty, he himself has borne unwilling testimony * * * that he was in league with the party whom he so unwarrantably allowed to seize and carry off the persons of the Raji and Ranny from under his immediate protection and which he was bound by every tie to defend." (44)

Finding the door open, the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Bhagavantânârâyan entered the palace, but Bhagavantânârâyan himself did not cross the door. (45) When the men of Bhagavantânârâyan entered inside, a scuffle began between them and the king's party and a Nayek of the king's party was wounded. The sepoy of the Company got excited at this but Gulab Sing pacified them by threats and reproaches. Dharmanârâyan Mukhopadhyaya, the officer of Gosvami, could not make Gulab Sing engage in fight in spite of many persuasions. Even ten sepoy were not got from him on request to guard the Andar. The Maharani finding no other way took shelter in the temple of Madanmohan with the grandmother of the king and the infant king. Many maid-servants also entered that temple through fear of their lives. When the attacking party reached there, Bastiram and Sivabansi two sepoy of the Company began to fire their rifles and bullets were also showered by the attacking party. One Mahut was killed and a bullet pierced the hand of a maid. Then Gulab Sing removed the sepoy Bastiram and Sivabansi elsewhere. (46)

(44). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 195.

(45). Witnesses of the king's party mentioned before the Commissioners that Bhagavantânârâyan himself did not cross the door (M. C. Report, Vol. II, pages 131, 133). It is written in Rājopākhyāna 'Bhagavantânârâyan began to enter the palace with his soldiers crossing the door.' Pratyakṣa Khanda, Adhyāya 4.

(46). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 113, 118. Report of the Nawab Adalat dated the 27th Paus, 1194 B. S.

The men of Bhagavant had besieged the temple of Madanmohan. When the Maharani and the grandmother of the king broke the bamboo walls of that room and were trying to escape, some female slaves also followed them. Before

Capture of the king.

they could advance to some distance, some Sannyasis and Barkandazes of Bhagavantanârâyan opposed them and made them captives. By this means, they gained their end. Immediately Bhagavantanârâyan placed Satyabhama Devi the grandmother of the king and the infant king on a palanquin and sent them to Balarampur and the Maharani was compelled to follow the palanquin on foot.⁽⁴⁷⁾ After this, the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Bhagavantanârâyan plundered the palace and they misappropriated whatever they got. Gulab Sing started with the king to Balarampur with a Havildar and ten sepoy's but after advancing some distance, this Havildar and seven sepoy's returned. On the next day, Gangaram Havildar went to Balarampur with eight sepoy's. Raghunath Bakshi the officer of the king, Rajaninath Barkayet of the Public Works Department and Khidmutgar Mukundaram went to Balarampur with the king. Later on, Thakur Murungia and Laksmi Murungia also went there.

(47). It is written in Rājopākyaṇa Adhyāya IV that Marichmati Aye was aware of the evil design of the Nazir's party. At that time, she suddenly came to Cooch Behar. She was filled with grief seeing the distress of the Maharani and falling at her feet requested her to get up in her own palanquin and bewailed saying that the dynasty of the Nazir will be destroyed for this oppression to the master by the servant. This fact was not disclosed during the enquiry of the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet or in the testimony of witnesses given before the Nawabi Adalat in Rungpur. Even the Maharani or Marichmati Aye did not mention this in their own statements. This is also against the probabilities. It has been mentioned elsewhere that Marichmati was the leading character in the incident of the capture of the king.

When the king, Maharani and Satyabhama Devi, the grandmother of the king, were taken to Balarampur, Marichmati Aye, Bhagavantânârâyan and Birendranârâyan kept them as captives through some Sannyasi guards. At first, food was given to the captives at the interval of two or three days. There was also no proper arrangement for their bed. Some days after, Sajwal Jabardast Sing on behalf of the Collector of Rungpur wrote a letter to Birendranârâyan asking him to send the king, Maharani and others to Cooch Behar. Marichmati Aye became very much angry and excited at this and told the Maharani that this letter was written owing to the efforts of Sarvânand Gosvami, Kasinath Lahiri and Sibu Ray, that the soldiers of the Company might also come, and that Gosvami, Lahiri, Sibu Ray, Sristidhar, Jagarani (?) and the Ukil of Calcutta should be dismissed. Raghunath Baksi was compelled to write this order of dismissal and on this Marichmati Aye forcibly put down the seal of the king and the Maharani. The prisoners were not always surrounded by guards. If they expressed dissent in any proposal of Marichmati, guards were placed on them and various threats were given. The Maharani and the grandmother of the king remained without food for the first three days. After this they were compelled to take rice. The food offered was very bad and as a result of eating this food, the Maharaja was attacked with dysentery.

Once Marichmati, Bhagvanta and Birendranârâyan asked the Maharani to write a letter to the Collector of Rungpur.

She refused to do this. For this reason a Sannyasi aimed a blow by a sword at her. At that time the infant king was sitting on her lap. The Maharani having bent down her head the uplifted weapon missed its aim and struck a post of the room. On another day, all were made to get upon a boat with

the object of drowning them, but as the grandmother of the king protested they were brought back. A threat was also given that they would be killed by being thrown under the feet of elephants. Marichmati herself threatened the Maharani by holding a sword and a shield.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Being terrified by the various acts of oppression as mentioned above, the Maharani at last agreed to conclude an agreement. On the 15th Asar, the Maharani made over a document to Birendranârâyan in which it was written : "A quarrel is going on between us for three years owing to the machinations of Gosvami. Your father was made a captive. From today, all misunderstanding ends. I swear that your father will get the allotted share of the kingdom and the Chaklajat zemindary, etc." On the 19th Asar a deed showing

Execution of a deed of partition.

shares regarding this arrangement was drawn up, In the same it was written that 5 anna $17\frac{1}{2}$ Ganda share of the kingdom belonged to the king, 9 Annas $2\frac{1}{2}$ Gandas belonged to the Nazir and one anna belonged to the Dewan. Raghunath Bakshi wrote two copies of this document. In the first, seals of the Maharaja and the Maharani were affixed and in the second, the seal of Maharaja alone was affixed.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Besides these, some blank papers had also been sealed. Rajaninath was sent to Gosvami in Rungpur to bring salary of the Sannyasis in the name of the Maharani. Apprehending the coming of the Company's soldiers to rescue the king, Marichmati ordered Makhanlal Jamadar, Ganes Gir and Doman Sing that if any one of her party was wounded on

(48). The District of Rungpore, page 44. The Maharani herself had made such a statement.

(49). The original of these two Ekrarnamas, (deeds of partition) have been preserved amongst the old papers of the State Council.

the arrival of Mr. Hill and Ichharam Subedar to rescue the king on behalf of the Company, they should immediately kill the king and his mother.

On the 12th June 1787 A. D. Sibnârâyan Sarma, an officer of the king, informed Mr. Macdowall, the Collector of Rungpur, that Nazir Khagendranârâyan was collecting forces against the king, but on the morning of that very day the men of the Nazir attacked the palace and took the king and the Maharani as captives to Balarampur.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Collector came to know about this in the afternoon of the next day, and he immediately ordered Major Dunn to send soldiers to Cooch Behar. The Collector sent a letter in the name of the Nazir and requested him to send at once the king and the Maharani in safety to Cooch Behar. It was also written in that letter that otherwise he would be killed with his whole family. After this, the Collector ordered Lieutenant Hill who had come from Dinajpur to proceed to Cooch Behar with a body of sepoys. But he could not at all leave Rungpore owing to heavy floods.

Meanwhile, Marichmati Aye and Kumar Birendranârâyan tried to gain symyathy of the Collector by addressing him letter after letter. Marichmati Aye tried to gain over the Collector Mr. Macdowall to her side by sending a horse as a present and a letter of request through her Ukil Sadânanda Nag. At first, Sadânanda was welcomed there but he was afterwards imprisoned. The Collector wrote to Birendranârâyan in reply that if the king and the Maharani were sent back to Cooch Behar, justice would be done to them. The Collector also received a letter signed with the seal of the king and the Maharani to the effect that Sarvânanda Gosvami was unfaithful, that he had

(50). Letter from the Collector of Rungpore to the Governor General in Council, dated the 14th June, 1787. Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

destroyed the kingdom, that he had been dismissed, that she had come there with the king and the quarrel which had so long existed with the Nazir family, had been amicably settled. The officers of the king of Cooch Behar also got a letter signed by the king and the Maharani. In the same there was a mention of the settlement of the quarrel with the Nazir and a request had been made therein to send back the Company's soldiers.

When letters like these were being exchanged, the Collector Mr. Maedowall sent Sajwal Jabardast Sing with soldiers to Balarampur to bring the Maharaja and the Maharani. Through him, he sent letters to the Maharaja, the Maharani, Marichmati Aye, Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan. The Collector had ordered the Sajwal that on return of the Maharaja and the Maharani, the remaining amount of the dues of Ganes Gir, the leader of the Sannyasis, for their labour would be paid, that Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan should be arrested, for then it would be easy to rescue the Maharaja and the Maharani, but if any act of oppression be done to them, Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan should at once be killed. (51) In connection with the capture of the king, the Collector also issued Perwanas to the zemindars of Rungpur to the effect that they should not give any help to the rebels but should keep a keen eye towards them and send all information in due time to him.

With the object of opposing Jabardast Sing, many Sannyasis and Barkandazes of the rebel army assembled in Nazirganj, six miles to the southwest of Balarampur. When Jabardast Sing reached there, a man handed over a letter to him saying that it was sent by the king. It was written in the same that he should not advance further but should proceed to Cooch

(51). Private instruction to Ray Zubberdust Sing dated the 4th July, 1787.—Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-1788.

Behar. He was also informed that if he started towards Balarampur, Marichmati Aye will set fire to her own house and destroy her own life and the lives of the whole of the Nazir family, the Maharaja and the Maharani. After this, Jabardast Sing stopped all negotiations with the Nazir family and issuing a proclamation occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the name of the Company. Finding that it was impossible by easy means to rescue the king and the Maharani, the Collector at the end of July sent Lieutenant Hill to the help of Jabardast Sing and after this, gradually Captain Rotton, Lieutenant Duncanson, Wright and Major Dunn with a large number of sepoy were engaged in rescuing the king.

On the 16th Sraban 1194 B. S. about two thousand Sannyasis and Barkandazes belonging to the party of the rebels attacked the sepoy of the Company at Nazirganj. But as a result of a counterattack many men of the rebels were wounded and they ran away and their Danka and flag fell into the hands of the Commander of the Company's forces. The rebels subsequently recaptured Nazirgunj but Lieutenant Hill again occupied it. After capturing Nazirgunj, Lieutenant Hill besieged Balarampur. At that time three sides of Balarampur were surrounded by the river Chekdara. Owing to excessive rains the country on all sides appeared to be full of water. Placing soldiers on all sides of Balarampur, Lieutenant Hill closed the way to the removal of the king and the Maharani elsewhere and stopped all connections between the residents of the town and the outsiders.⁽⁵²⁾ At that time in Balarampur there were about 150 Sannyasis and 500 Barakandazes among the rebels. Besides these, there was a possibility of the addition of 500 more Sannyasis. Lieutenant Hill wrote to his superior

(52). Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

officer that the men of the Nazir were threatening that they would kill the king and the Maharani if the Company's soldiers attacked Balarampur. At this time the soldiers of the king and the Company were camping at Bholarhat and Tufanganj. The rebels attacked both these places. Though at first they put Lieutenant Duncanson into great difficulty by attacking Tufanganj, they were forced to retire later on.

When Balarampur were besieged by the soldiers of the Company, the rebels within the town lost hope to some extent. Though they were making various proposals for retuning the king and the Maharani, they practically did not do anything but merely gained time in this manner. At midnight on the 26th August they sent information to Captain Rotton that next morning they would produce the king, the Maharani and Marichmati Aye before him and make necessary negotiations but he refused to discuss other matters with the rebels.

On the 27th August Captain Rotton wrote to the Collector of Rungpur that on the morning of that day when Gayes Mahammad Sardar and others sent by him were returning from Balarampur after discussing the rescue of the king with Ganes Gir and Makhanlal, Ichharam Subedar heard about a clamour regarding the removal of the king and the Maharani to a different place. He with a Jamadar and a Havildar ran towards the room where the king was staying. The Sannyasis were raising their swords upon the king and the Maharani to kill or threaten them but immediately on seeing the men of the Company, they gave up that resolve and attacked them and two sepoys were wounded. But as a result of counter-attack Makhanlal and twenty to thirty Barkandazes and soldiers of the rebel party were instantly killed and the rest while attempting to cross the river by swimming were drowned. After this Subedar Ichharam brought the

king, the Maharani and Marichmati Aye before Captain Rotton at about 8 A. M. (53)

After much search, Bhagavantânârâyan, Durlabhram Ghose, Ganes Gir and some Sannyasis were arrested and made captives. Besides these many other people were imprisoned. Captain Rotton seized one elephant, some horses, some weapons and some utensils from Balarampur. He wrote that the followers of Ganes Gir had taken from Balarampur an elephant loaded with money. On the next day he sent the king and the Maharani to Cooch Behar. One hundred and fifty three persons were arrested being connected with the above-mentioned affair. The Captain sent them to Rungpur. A letter was also addressed to the Naib Suba for their trial in the Nawabi Adalat. (54) Receiving a complaint that Kumar Baikunthanârâyan, the uncle of the king, had connection with the Nazir's party in the seizure of the king, he was also brought to Rungpur and confined with Bhagvantânârâyan and Marichmati Aye pending orders from the Governor. (55) Gulab Sing, the Subedar of the Company, was also suspected as having helped Bhagvantânârâyan in the

(53). "Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Behar Rajah, and the Ranny, and the mother (aunt ?) of Nazir Deo are now in my possession. * * * *

This morning at day-break my messenger told me they could not prevail upon Gunes Gheer or Muchin Lall to accept of the terms offered. In a little time I heard the report of the firing of a few Musquets and shortly afterwards a sepoy informed me that Incharam Soubadar had got possession of the personages now with me and would immediately send them to my camp if thought proper—I desired him to do so and they arrived here about eight o'clock in the morning."

Letter from John Rotton, Captain, to the Collector of Rungpore, dated, Camp opposite to Balarampore, the 27th August, 1787.—Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

(54). The District of Rungpore, page 44; Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

(55). Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

seizure of the king and orders were issued to send him to Calcutta for his trial by the Court Martial. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ Balchandra Barua, the zemindar of Rangamati, (at present Gauripur) within Goalpara and his son Barchandra Barua were also suspected of having assisted Nazir Khagendranârâyan in the seizure of the king and their houses were also searched for this reason. As a result of this search, some letters written by Khagendranârâyan, his son Birendranârâyan and Marichmati Aye were found. Subsequently they were arrested and imprisoned and sent to the Nawabi Adalat at Rungpur for their trial. ⁽⁵⁷⁾

In December 1787 A. D. a petition to the following
 Complaint by the King's effect was submitted to the Board by the
 party. king's side :

In last Jaisth, Khagendranârâyan Kumar, his aunt Marichmati Aye his brother Bhagavantanârâyan, and his son Kumar Birendranârâyan plotted with Kumar Baikunthanârâyan and with the help of Ganes Gir the leader of the Sannyasi dacoits, attacked and sacked the palace and seizing the king and his mother confined them in Balarampur. Gulab Sing, the Subedar of the Company's guard, also joined them and for that reason, he did not make any attempt to protect the king. The signature and seal of the king and the king's mother were obtained by force on some blank papers in Balarampur. Khagendranârâyan and Birendranârâyan are hiding themselves but Baikuntha Nârâyan, Bhagavantanârâyan, Marichmati and Ganes Gir have been arrested and are in custody. Gulab Sing also was arrested but Captain Duncanson has released him. The offenders should be adequately punished and all of them should be kept in custody."

(56). Letter from W. M. Duncanson, Commt. in Cooch Behar to the Governor General of India and the Commander in Chief, dated the 18th December, 1787. — Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

(57). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol, II, pages 121—124.

Letter from the Government to the Collector of Rungpore, dated the 20th September, 1787. Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

The Collector of Rungpur also got a report that the Nakh might attack the territory under the Company.

On the 22nd January 1788, the Revenue Board passed orders for an enquiry regarding this affair of the seizure of the king. Messieurs Laurea Mercer and Jean Louis Chauvet were appointed Commissioners to enquire into the matter and information of this was given to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, the Maharani and Nazir Khagendranârâyan. The Board pardoned all the offences of Khagendranârâyan and issued a proclamation for his surrender within six months. After this, on the 3rd May 1788 A. D. the Commissioners began the enquiry in Rungpur. They were asked to enquire into twenty-four points. Among these the following formed the subject-matter of the enquiry: the real rights over the kingdom of Cooch Behar of the king, the Nazir and the Dewan, the rights of the king regarding maintaining a mint and administering the kingdom, the condition of the treaty with the Company as agreed to by the king, and the ascertainment of the real owner of the Chaklajat zemindary.

The Commissioners left Rungpur on the 7th May and came to Mogalhat, and began to hold enquiry there from the 16th May. Sibnarayan Ray and Krisnaprasad were appointed pleaders on behalf of the Maharaja and the Maharani.

On the other side, Baidyanath and Nimaicharan were pleaders for the Nazir; Durgaprasad and Santanarayan were pleaders for Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua; Brajanath and Nimaicharan Ghosh were pleaders for Marichmati and Chaitanyacharan Ghosh and Ramkanta Sarkar were pleaders for Bhagaranârâyan.

The Nazir was hiding himself in Assam. He received the Perwana to appear before the Commissioners and reached Sikarpur some miles off from Mogalhat. From there, on the 29th May he wrote to the Commissioners regarding assurance of his own safety and appeared before them on the 5th June. He prayed for release of other prisoners but this prayer was not granted. On the 11th June, Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan, Marichmati Aye, Durlabhram Ghosh, Sadânanda Nag, Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua were brought under guard from Rungpur to Mogalhat. On the 14th June, a petition was filed on behalf of the Nazir that only the Chhatranazir was entitled to appoint a king. Nine and half Annas of the kingdom belong to the Nazir. He has concluded the treaty with the Company. Sarvânanda Gosvami and the Maharani plotted with the Collector Mr. Moore and has wrongfully deprived him from that share and the Chaklajat zemindary. (58)

Receiving the complaints of both parties and replies to the same, the Commissioners summoned witnesses. The names of fiftyone witnesses were mentioned on behalf of the Nazir. Among them Mirza Mohammad Taki and Timfa Suba are worthy of mention. (59). A list of nineteen witnesses was filed on behalf of the king. Names of some officers of the king were

Evidence adduced by
either party.

(58). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 10, 13-16.

The account of gaining over Mr. Moore by Gosvami and the gaining over of Amrit Sing, the Dewan of Mr. Moore, by bribe is also given in Râjopâkhyâna, (Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyâya 3). As the Commissioners let off the Nazir from all charges, Khasnavis Lahiri protested against the same; (Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyâya 6). But this is not written in the proceedings of the enquiry. At the very outset, the Revenue Board pardoned Khagendranârâyan. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 2.

(59). A person named Mohammad Taki was the Dewan of the Collector of Rungpur at that time. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 48.

also in this list. Many of the witnesses cited in the lists filed by the parties were not examined. Sepoys under the Company and some Sannyasis gave evidence on behalf of the king and many important documents were filed by both parties. There was not much inconvenience in the work of investigation. Only Captain Duncanson while exchanging letters with the Commissioners tried from beginning to end to avoid an enquiry regarding himself. He also did not give candid replies to the questions put to him. (60). A complaint was lodged against him by the king's party that he lent money to the king and realised interest at an excessive rate and did not make any attempt to protect the king from the hands of the Nazir.

At the beginning of the enquiry, the Commissioners learnt the extremely distressed pecuniary condition of the Nazir and forwarded a request to the authorities of the Company for granting him and his dependants some monthly allowance. According to their wishes an arrangement was made to grant a monthly allowance of Rs. 500 to the Nazir from the Collectorate of Rungpur till the conclusion of the enquiry.

Most of the evidence was taken in Mogalhat. The Commissioners came to Cooch Behar on the 22nd September and the accused persons were also brought there. Evidence was also taken in Cooch Behar from the 27th September to the 17th October. The soldiers who formed the guard under Captain

Monthly allowance of
the Nazir.

Enquiry in Cooch Behar.

Mirza Mohammad Ta ki was the zemindar of Kulaghat within Rungpur. Mr. J. Digby, the Collector of Rungpur, wrote a letter to the Revenue Board on the 30th December 1809 for appointing Rammohan Ray as his Dewan. It was written in that letter that Mirza Abbas Ali the son of Mirza Mohammad Taki was willing to stand surety for Rammohan Ray.

(60). "Lieutenant Duncanson continued throughout this correspondence to evade the enquiry, and to decline affording satisfactory reply to our letters." Commissioners' letter to the Government, dated the 10th September, 1788. *Memoirs* and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 92.

Duncanson gave evidence in Cooch Behar. The Commissioners went to the palace and asked the Maharani several questions. Sibprasad Mustofi made over written replies to the Commissioners and they returned on the 21st October to Mogalhat with the prisoners. Nazir Khagendranârâyan, Bhagavantanârâyan, Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua, Durlabhram Ghosh and Sadananda Nag did not admit the charges imputed to them. Gulab Sing and Captain Duncanson also denied their guilt. Marichmati Aye not only denied her guilt but urged that no woman under the protection of the Company was arrested. So this matter should also be a subject of enquiry of the Commissioners.

When the enquiry was finished, the Commissioners submitted a long report to the Governor General Lord Cornwallis on the 10th December 1788. It is recorded in that report that the king was the only owner of the kingdom and that the existence of any title of the Nazir Deo or Dewan Deo to any portion of the same, could not be admitted. Though they might have possessed some portions of the kingdom for the performance of their duties, there is no necessity to continue the system any longer. (61) The Chaklajat zemindary was the king's property in the 'Benami' of the Nazir. Regarding Gosvami, they stated :—

"The Rani was notoriously governed by the influence of Goshain Sharananda, a man who having no natural connections with the country * * * etc. (62)

(61). "For maintaining the army the Nazir and for judicial work the Dewan used to get a particular share of the revenue from the land. The residue was spent for the king's own purpose". Remark by the Canoongo of the Company dated the 25th Magh 1190 B. S.

(62). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 188.

The Government passed a resolution on the 13th May 1789 A. D. agreeing with the aforesaid report. The Board mentioned: "With respect to the charge of rebellion preferred against the Nazir Deo, the Board cannot but be of opinion that the disturbances excited in Cooch Behar, if they can properly be said to come under that appellation, did not prove so much from a desire in the authors of them to throw off their allegiance to this Government, as to suppress the power of their own immediate competitors for the management of affairs of the infant Raja. It must also be observed that as the parties were by treaty wholly independent of this Government with respect to the internal Policy of the country, any disturbances existing amongst themselves could not be considered as an offence against the laws of this Government to which they were now (not) subject." (63) It was decided as mentioned below:

"That he informs the Rajah that the Governor General in Council has assumed the temporary management of this country, with a view to prevent its being ruined by the ignorant and designing men; and that as soon as he is capable of taking charge of it, he will be restored to the full management thereof, and to all the independent rights and privileges which have been secured to his family by the treaty of 1772. * * * The Governor General in Council is also pleased to direct that the control of Board of Revenue over the Commissioner shall not be extended beyond the limits prescribed to them with regard to the resident at Benares." (64)

At this time a Commissioner was appointed with a monthly salary of Rs. 1,500 to manage the administration of the State of Cooch Behar and he was ordered to train the king properly in the work of administration. The work of collecting

(63). 'Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 203.

(64). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 205.

tribute due from the State of Cooch Behar to the Company and the work of the Chaklajat zemindary were taken over from the Collector of Rungpur and placed in the hands of this Commissioner. The Commander-in-Chief of the Company was ordered to place a company of sepoy in Cooch Behar under the Commissioner.

At first the Raikat and subsequently the Chhatra Nazir placed the real heir of the king on the throne. But gradually

Comparison of the conditions.

this came to be regarded as a meaningless function and only as a peculiar custom of the family. It could not be supported by the past method of action that the Nazir could make whomsoever he chooses to be the king or Yuvaraj. This also was quite unreasonable. Selfishness and uncontrollable desire to regain his lost glory deprived the Nazir of all power to distinguish between right and wrong. It could not be inferred that there was any reprehensible motive under the new act (of appointing a Yuvaraj) at the time of the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan as such an action was not taken at the installation of Dharendranârâyan when his father was a captive in Bhutan. But this behaviour of the Nazir was subsequently used as a weapon against the Nazir by Sarvânanda Gosvami to support the latter's object. The selection of a Yuvaraj by the Nazir was also against the family custom. Under these circumstances, by protesting against the aforesaid action of the Nazir, Gosvami and Maharani did what was just. Gosvami and men of his party did not scruple to bring a charge that at the bottom of the evil deed of Khagendranârâyan lay a secret cherished desire to gain the kingdom by assassinating the king. About half a century later, Munsî Joynath Ghose reiterated this. But it was established by evidence adduced by both parties before the Commissioners who made an enquiry regarding the seizure of the king that the main object of

the family of the Nazir was to destroy the influence of Gosvami and rescue their own lost glory by threatening the Maharani and the King after confining them. The Commissioners mentioned that this quarrel originated over a dispute as to the rights to administer the kingdom on behalf of the minor king.

Though the family of the Nazir threatened to kill the king and the Maharani in various ways, they really did not do this. The Commissioners also

End of the Nazir and
Gosvami.

mentioned that it was not proved by witnesses that there was any real intention to kill the king and the Maharani. The infant king and the Maharani were confined in Balarampur for about two and a half months. Had the Nazir's family any real desire to kill the king, none could have saved them at that time. The object of keeping the Maharani and the king in confinement in Balarampur even after the Maharani was made under force to write out a promise to making over the Chaklajat zemindary and nine anna share of the kingdom (to the Nazir), could not be anything more than to destroy the influence of Gosvami. As a result of the assumption of charge (of the administration) by the authorities of the Company, the reprehensible desire of Sarvānanda Gosvami to manage the administration was destroyed and Nazir Khagendranārāyan also did not get back his previous wealth and influence. Whatever might be his personal loss or the loss for his descendants at this arrangement, the Government had done justice in refusing to admit the claims for special shares for the Dewan and the Nazir in the kingdom.

The main object of Gosvami was to manage the administration himself behind the Maharani who acted as the guardian of the minor king. Most of the principal officers of the State took his side, some out of fear and some to gain their private ends. On the other hand, the appointment of his own son as

by the Nazir, his sitting on the throne and his oppression of the Maharani were causes of great displeasure to the people. It was for these reasons that he got into difficulties and became completely devoid of support.

Owing to the evil desire of exercising absolute power over the people of Cooch Behar, Sarvânanda Gosvami and Nazir Khagendranârâyan kept the fire of unrest burning in the country for more than twenty years. But the responsibility of the Collectors of Rungpur was not less in this matter. After half a century, Major Jenkins wrote:

Responsibility of the
Collector.

"The Nazir Deo, who had solely projected and negotiated the Treaty with the English Government, was entirely set aside, through the intrigues and influence of the Rani and the Gossien with the Collector of Rungpore and the Nazir Deo, deprived of his rank and all his possessions, was driven a fugitive from the country." (65)

However, at last all this unrest disappeared with the exertions of the Officers of the Company.

(65) Major Jenkins' Report, page 33.

Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet have written in reply to item 3 of their enquiry:

"That the present Nazir (Khagendra Nârâyan) Deo was himself the original projector as well as negotiator of the treaty".

CHAPTER XVII.

BHUTAN DUAR.

In ancient times, the country of Bhutan was ruled by independent small chieftains but no historical account of that period is available. About the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D. a disiciple named Noanamgi of the Tibetan History of Bhutan. Lama brought the whole of the Bhutan country under his absolute control. He was very powerful and the people revered him much. Noanamgi made good arrangements for the rule of the country of Bhutan and promulgated his own religious tenents there. The belief of the Bhutiyas is that after the death of Noanamgi, three seperate Lamas have sprung from his soul, body and word and whenever any of these three Lamas died, he reappeared again and again by assuming a new body. They were respectively known as Lama Gisatu, Lama Sabdong and Lama Rimbuchi. When Lama Gisatu died in about 1762 A. D. his reincarnation was not discovered. When Mr. Bogle, an officer of the East India Company, went to Bhutan in 1774 A. D. Lama Sabdong was a boy only seven years old. So at that time, it was Lama Rimbuchi who was the sole ruler and the chief priest of Bhutan. In Bengal he was known as the Dharmaraja and the Bhutiyas considered him as Buddha himself.⁽¹⁾

Babu Krisnakanta Basu mentioned in the account of his travels in Bhutan (1815 A. D.) that up to the 17th century the Koch tribe resided in Bhutan. At that time a Sannyasi named

(1) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 33-42, 191-202.

Lamsapto came to Bhutan and conquering it by his superhuman powers, came to be known as Dharmaraja and the minister appointed by that Dharmaraja is called Devaraja. The account given by Mr. Scott, the Judge of Rungpur, who was a contemporary of Babu Krishnakanta Basu has been taken from the aforesaid account.

The substance of the history of Bhutan given by Mr. (later, Sir) Ashley Eden in 1863 A. D. who heard the same from Chibu (Sibu ?) Lama of Sikkim is as follows :—

About two hundred years ago under the orders of the authorities of Lhasa, some Tibetan soldiers came from the valley of the Sampu river to Bhutan and began to reside there. At that time Bhutan was in the possession of Tefu (Koch) tribe. The Tefus were defeated in battle with the Tibetan soldiers and were driven to the low land. The descendants of those among the Tefus who did not leave Bhutan, are now doing menial work in Bhutan. Later on a Tibetan Lama named Seftun Lafa came to Bhutan and securing royal power came to be known as Dharmaraja and introduced some good rules for administration of the kingdom. Some years later, another Lama named Farchu Dupen Septun came from Tibet to Bhutan and gradually assumed the royal power in Bhutan and becoming 'Dharmaraja' separated himself from his family. The descendants of this family are being honoured in Bhutan as Chuje or the highest persons in the Lama family. The Minister appointed by Dharmaraja is called Devaraja and about a hundred years ago the then Devaraja became strong and was famous as Deb Jeedah.⁽²⁾

It has been mentioned before (following the Vanavali of Samudranarayana of Durrang) that when Narasinha, the eldest son of Maharaja Visvasinha, the founder of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, was driven away by his younger brother

(2) Bhutan and story of the Doar war, pages 7-10

Naranārāyan, he went to Bhutan and became the Dharmaraja in that place. To manage the work of administration, he created the post of 'Deva' and divided the whole country of Bhutan into three parts named Daga (Daka), Tongsa or Tongsu and Paro and placed these under three Pallas (Penlos).⁽³⁾

In 1586 A. D. Ralph Fitch, an English merchant, had given some account of Bhutanta Desa (Bottenter) and its Dharmaraja (Dermain). The real name of Bhutan is 'Bhotanta' from its being situated on the south of Tibet. Bhotta or Bhot means Tibet. So the southern extremity of Tibet is called Bhotanta (Bhot + Anta). Bhotanta has subsequently been corrupted into 'Bhotan' and 'Bhutan' in common parlance. In 1627 A. D. Stephen Cacella, a Christian Missionary, went to Bhutan (Potenti) and met Dharmaraja (Droma Rajah). At that time Dharmaraja was 33 years old and he was the ruler of the country and the chief priest. Siha-buddin Mohammad Talis the companion of Nawab Mirzumla (1661 A. D.) collected an account in his work ' Târikh-i-Âsâm '

(3) When the Dharmaraja died in 1905 A. D. his reincarnation was not discovered. According to practice, under these circumstances, Devaraja rules the kingdom and exercises authority in religious affairs. But the then Devaraja having not expressed his inclination to do so, Tansu Penlo became the supreme lord of the country and the Government of India supported him. This Penlo was very powerful and a friend of the British Government. In 1904 A. D. he helped the Tibetan Mission sent by the Government of India and himself went to Lhasa. In 1905 A. D. the distinction of K. C. I. E. was conferred on him and being invited he went to Calcutta in 1905 A. D. on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta. In 1907 A. D. the said Tansu Penlo Sir Ujin Wangchak declared himself to be the sole ruler of Bhutan and at the same time the right of inheritance of his descendants was declared. In the treaty concluded with the Government of India in 1910, he had been acknowledged as the ruler of Bhutan and the amount of Rs. 50,000 which the Government of India annually paid to the authorities of Bhutan was doubled and made one lac. In this treaty, complete independence in the internal administration of Bhutan has been acknowledged and it has been determined that the advice of the Government of India will be taken in foreign affairs. In 1911 the king of Bhutan being invited went to the Durbar in Delhi held by the Emperor of India and received the distinction of K. C. S. I. on that occasion.

Lands of the Thunderbolt, Chap. XX.

from the Bhutiyas. In that account it is written that the Dharmaraja of Bhutan was 120 years old at that time, he lived on milk and fruits and was always engaged in prayers. Persons engaged under him stayed in different parts of the kingdom and ruled the country. There is a mention that three persons sent in 1659 A. D. by the Duke of Muscovy went to China through Bhutan. They met the king of Bhutan.

The Lamas exercised authority in all matters in Bhutan. Besides the Lamas there is another class of priests in that country named 'Geleng'. The Lamas selected a minister to manage the administration. The Bhutiyas called him 'Kusudebu' and in Bengal, he was known as Devaraja. The Devaraja was compelled to consult the Lamas in matters of war and treaty. In 1767 A. D. the then Kusudebu became powerful and denying the supremacy of Lama Rimbuchi kept him under surveillance and concluded treaties with the king of Nepal and Tisu Lama of Tibet. This Kusudebu or Devaraja was commonly known as Devayadhur.⁽⁴⁾ As at this time the seventh Dalai Lama of Tibet was a minor, a person named Gisab Rimbuchi acted as his guardian.

Getting support from Gisab Rimbuchi, Devayadhur in the hope of obtaining favour of the Emperor of China promulgated his royal seal in Bhutan. Devayadhur was very eager to conquer and plunder foreign territories. He took possession of Sikkim and directed his power towards the kingdom of

(4) In the letter written to the authorities of the Company in 1774 A. D. Tisu Lama has mentioned him as Deha Terrea. Captain Turner has called him Daib Jeeder. It is inferred that the original word was 'Devayoddhā.' It has been mentioned before that Sanskrit language was in use in the country of Bhutan. A king of Nepal was known as "Girvāna-yoddhā" (1799 A. D.) History of Nepal Page 283. The meaning of Sanskrit word 'Girvāna' is God or deity.

Cooch Behar. At this time the family feuds of the ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar re-appeared in a new fashion and Devayadhur taking advantage of this opportunity arrested the king and the Dewan and imprisoned them in Bhutan (1770 A.D.). But as his motive was not fulfilled even by this act he advanced to attack Cooch Behar with eight or ten thousand soldiers. Tisu Lama of Tibet requested him repeatedly to desist from this. The other Lamas of the country and also the ministers did not support this invasion of Devayadhur, but he disregarded the objections of all and attacking Cooch Behar came out victorious in battle (1772 A. D.). Almost the whole of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was conquered by him and he placed soldiers in many places near the border of Rungpur.

The authorities of the Company were greatly agitated seeing this rise of the Bhutiyas and settlement of their soldiers very near their own territory. Just at this time the royal family of Cooch Behar and the subjects sent a letter to them praying for help. (5) Consultations about a treaty took place between them and Nazir Khagendranârâyan as guardian of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan the minor son of the king imprisoned in Bhutan but before these were concluded Captain Jones came to Cooch Behar with his forces. (6) The Bhutiyas fighting

(5) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 136 ; Introduction, page LXVII.

(6) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 1 (Note).

In the Treaty with Cooch Behar, the king's party signed on the 6th Magh 1179 B. S. (16th January, 1773 A. D.) and the Company's party signed on the 5th April 1773 A. D. But in the letter written to Sir George Colebrooke in England by Governor Mr. Warren Hastings from Fort William on the 15th January 1773 A. D. it is mentioned that war has begun and in some places accounts of victory have also been given. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I. page 279.

In the following letters also, an account of the war has been mentioned : Letter dated 21st November, 1772 from the Collector of Rungpur to the Revenue Council ;

against the forces of the Company were defeated and retiring gradually assembled in the fort of Cooch Behar and from there opposed the Company's forces with great vigour. But Captain Jones conquered the fort of Cooch Behar though he incurred heavy losses. In reality, the rescue of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was not so easy as was originally supposed by the Company. The Bhutan army and the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Raikat took shelter in the hilly forests in the Himalayas extending from the extremity of Assam to the western boundary of Tirhut and made themselves safe over a great extent.

Conquest of the fort of
Cooch Behar.

When Captain Jones informed the Governor about the condition of war, reinforcements arrived from many places (7) and the Company's forces attacked their opponents in their place of hiding and succeeded gradually in weakening their resistance. Owing to continual attacks, they dispersed and took to flight. When the Bhutias took shelter in their own country and Raikat Darpadova fled to the jungle, the Company's party became victorious almost everywhere. They razed the fortresses of Bhabaniganj and Chekakhata to the ground. When the sepoy of the Company were staying in the unhealthy plains at the foot of the hills, they suffered much from ill health and disease, and Captain Jones and other Commanders also were attacked with malaria. (8)

Letters dated 21st and 24th December 1772 from Captain Jones to the Governor ; Letters dated 23rd December 1772 and 5th January 1773 from the Revenue Council to the Circuit Committee of Rungpur. Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773,

(7) Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, pages 296, 297, 306 ; Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page VIII ; Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

(8) Colonel Sir John Cuming was attacked with disease and died after a long time (Embassy to Tibet). Very probably he acted as the Commander in the second battle.

Devayadhur was conducting the war, staying at Buxa. The Lamas of the country and the ministers were dissatisfied with him for his attacking Cooch Behar and the people also were displeased with him owing to his various acts of oppression.

End of Devayadhur.

Another main cause of dissatisfaction was the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the emperor of China in Bhutan. During the rule of Devayadhur which existed for a short time, the palace at Tasisudan was destroyed by fire and he greatly oppressed the people for rebuilding a beautiful palace there within one year. When Devayadhur with his army was engaged in war with the Company, the Lamas and people of Tasisudan combined against him and selected a new Kusu-debu (Devaraja). Tisu Lama informed Devayadhur at Buxa about this but he was defeated in battle and being baffled in his desire escaped to Lhasa by a different way. Afterwards he sought security through the shelter of Tisu Lama. Under the orders of the new Kusu-debu, officers who were on the side of Devayadhur were arrested and punished. The new Kusudebu also prohibited the use of the seal of the emperor of China in Bhutan. Devayadhur with the object of regaining his lost glory and fighting the Company joined with the kings of Nepal, Assam and Srihatta. They also promised to help

Another attempt of
Devayadhur.

Devayadhur, but as his own army was lost, all his evil desires were frustrated. The period of five years passed by Devayadhur in independently ruling his country were occupied almost wholly in battles.

When Devayadhur escaped after being defeated, the condition of the Bhutiyas was completely changed. In the proposal of the treaty made before the authorities of the Company by the Bhutiyas during the pendency of war, there was a condition that they should get the whole of the

Tisu Lama and his letter.

kingdom of Cooch Behar and the Company should give up the Perganna of Baikunthapur. They also tried to conclude a secret treaty with the king of Cooch Behar independently of the Company. On the other hand, Nazir KhagendranârAyan claimed the whole of the territory up to the base of the hills as within the kingdom of Cooch Behar and mentioned that it was necessary to establish the rule of the king over Baikunthapur as the Raikats were merely the officers of the king. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan and the newly appointed Devaraja became very eager to conclude a treaty with the Company and re-establish the former amity with the king of Cooch Behar. Tisu Lama of Tibet became an intermediary in this work and sent a Tibetan named Peima and a Sannyasi named Purnagir Gosvami as messengers with a letter and presents to the Governor in Calcutta. (9) The sense of the letter was as given below :—

" * * * Information was repeatedly sent to me that there is an enmity between you and Diha Teriar (Devayadhur). I have also heard that the reason of this is that he began plundering your territory in the border and other acts of oppression. He has been born of a sect which is savage and uneducated. Instances are not rare of offences of this nature having been committed in the past by this sect. So he has committed this offence out of greed. It is not unnatural that at present he has followed the previous instance. He might have done plunder and other acts of injury in the border of Bengal and Behar. You have sent soldiers for retaliation of this. It is needless to mention that his army was defeated and many persons have been killed. You have conquered three forts and he has been adequately punished. It is an absolute truth that your soldiers have become victorious, and at that time, if you had liked you could have annihilated him

(9) Tisu Lama sent the following objects as presents to the Governor : Some gold and silver coins, some bags containing gold dust, best musk, woollen cloth of short width of Tibet, silk cloth of China, some gilt skins on which there was the figure of the eagle, the royal sign of Russia.

Purna Gir or Puran Gir was a Rajput and a resident of Kanauj. He became a Sannyasi in his young age (1752-53 A. D.) and travelled over many places in Asia and Europe. The authorities of the Company granted him a village named Asapur as Jaighr.

within two days. For, under those conditions he had no power to oppose your attack. Now, I have taken charge of acting as a mediator on his behalf. I am informing you that this Deha Terrea is protected by the very powerful Dalai Lama of this country, and as the Dalai Lama is now a minor the charge of administration of this kingdom is in my hands. If you again attempt to attack the kingdom of Deha Terrea, the Lamas and the people of their country will be excited against you. So I am requesting you to refrain from all acts of enmity against Deha Terrea after this, showing respect to our religion and customs. If you do this, you will show much favour and friendship to me. I have rebuked him for his past conduct and have warned Deha to refrain from the habit of doing evil deeds in future and have requested him to remain always sub-servient to you. I believe that he will act according to my advice, but it is also necessary that you should show pity and favour to him. I am an ordinary hermit. The custom of our sect is to pray for the welfare of mankind and specially for happiness and peace of the residents of our country with rosary in my hand. At this moment I taking off my head-gear request you again that in future you should desist from all acts of enmity against the Deha. The bearer of this letter is a Gosain. It is needless to mention that he will inform you about all other matters and I hope that hearing the same in detail, you will support the same.

The prevalent custom of this country is to worship God, who is all powerful. Poor people like us can never be equal to you in any respect by comparison. As some articles were in stock, I send the same to you as souvenir. I hope that you will accept the same. " (10)

This letter written by Tisu Lama was received by the Governor on the 29th March 1774 A. D. After this, a treaty was concluded between the Devaraja and the East India Company under the following terms. This treaty may be said to be a copy of the proposals written by the Butiyas. There

(10) Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page IX.

It is inferred from reading this letter of Tisu Lama that he pleaded for Deha Terrea (Devayadhur) as an intermediary. The treaty was subsequently concluded with another Devaraja.

is not the slightest indication anywhere of the king's party in Cooch Behar having any connection when this treaty was concluded:—

**“Proposals from the Bhootan Deputies
for a Treaty of Peace.”^(H)**

“1st.—That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river.

“2nd.—That, they have the lands of Kirmutee (Kyranti), Luckipore and Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belonged to them.

“3rd.—That, they will deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, who is confined with him.

“4th.—That, being marchants, they shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.

“5th.—That they will not make any incursions into the country nor molest the Ryots, that have come under the Company's subjection.

“6th.—That, if any Ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Company's territories, they will deliver them up upon application being made for them.

“7th.—That, in case they or those under their Government shall have any demands upon disputes with any inhabitant of those or any part of the Comany's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the Magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

“8th.—That, in case the company should have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people whom they send shall be protected.

“9th.—That, there shall be a mutual exchange of prisoners.”

Treaty with Bhutan. (1774 A. D.)**** Articles of a Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Deva Raja or Raja of Bhutan.***

" 1. That, the Honourable Company, wholly from consideration for distress to which the Bhutias represent themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbours, will relinquish the lands which belonged to Deva Raja before the commencement of the war with the Raja of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward of the lands of Chichakhata and Paglahat, and to the westward of the lands of Kyranti, Maraghat and Luckeepore.

" 2. That, for the possession of the Chichakhata province, the Deva Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangan horses to the Honourable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the Cooch Behar Raja.

" 3. That, the Deva Raja shall deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.

" 4. That, the Bhutias, being merchants shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.

" 5. That, the Deva Raja shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect, whatever, molest the ryots that have come under the Honourable Company's subjection.

" 6. That, if any ryot or inhabitant whatever, shall desert from the Honourable Company's territories, the Deva Raja shall cause them to be delivered up immediately upon application being made to him.

" 7. That, in case the Bhutias, or any one under the Government of Deva Raja, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any of the inhabitants of these or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them by an application to the Magistrate who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

" 8. That, whatever Sannyasis are considered by the English as an enemy, the Deva Raja will not allow to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories, or through any part of his; and if the Bhutias shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the Resident on the part of English in Cooch Behar and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sannyasis into these districts as any breach of this treaty.

" 9. That, in case the Honourable Company shall have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people they send shall be protected.

" 10. That, there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

" This treaty to be signed by the Honourable President and Council of Bengal, and the Honourable Company's Seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deva Raja on the other part." (12)

The following signatures on the part of the Government of India are appended to this treaty:—Warren Hastings, William Andersey, P. M. Daires, J. Lawrel, Henry Goodwin, H. Graham and George Vansitart.

Besides driving away the Bhutias from the extremity of the territory occupied by the Company and the rescue of the kingdom of Cooch Behar, there was another object of the Company in being engaged in war in 1772-1773 A. D.

The object of the Company. That object was to make convenient arrangement for extending their trade. There was a centre of Tibetan trade in the town of Rungpur. Merchandise worth from two to two and half lacs of rupees were annually exchanged there. (13) The only

(12) Aitchison's Treaties.

(13) The value of merchandise which passed through Nepal was three or four times of this. In 1831, the value of the same was 33 lacs of rupees. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 52, 53 (Foot Note).

The pice of merchandise exchanged between Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan and Bengal in 1914 was Rs. 2, 04, 09, 000. Bengal Administration Report, 1913-24, page 92.

way for taking these articles was through Cooch Behar and when war broke out between the king of Cooch Behar and Devayadhur, that way was closed. This was thought to be a great loss to the Company who lived on trade. So immediately the war began, the Governor was eager to open this way for trade. The self-interest of the Bhutiyas also was suffering. So they also had special reason to agree to the proposals for trade made by the Company. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Seeing the excellent handicraft of the presents sent by Tisu Lama to the Governor at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, his desire to establish permanent trade relations with Tibet was further increased. He believed that this desire would be fulfilled by the treaty of 1774.

When friendship with Tisu Lama was established, the Governor was thinking of means to establish trade relations at this opportunity with Bhutan, Tibet, Kashmir and even China. He did not waste much time, but after a few days (13th May 1774) he sent a young English Civilian named Mr. Bogle as his deputy towards Tibet. Besides the purpose of trade George Bogle was ordered to enquire regarding agriculture and fauna of the aforesaid countries, the condition of the territory between Tibet and Siberia, the current of the Brahmaputra river and the advantages and disadvantages of taking boats on the same and other matters. A Kashmiri Mahomedan named Mirza Mohammad Sattar and Dr. Hamilton accompanied Mr. Bogle. Mr. Bogle reached Cooch Behar at the end of May passing through Mursidabad, Dinajpur and Rungpur. He resided there for some days and

Bogle Mission.

(14) Letter from Mr. W. Hastings to John Purling Esq., dated the 31st March, 1773.

"Indeed there is every reason to suppose the Bhutans would be glad to come into our terms, in order to secure a communication for their merchandise into Bengal by the passes through the Cooch Behar province, which are the only inlets from the country." Memoire of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 296.

went to Tasisudan the capital of Bhutan by the path through Chokakhata and Buxa. On the 12th October Mr. Bogle went from Bhutan to Desiripagi in Tibet and met there Tisu Lama.

Mr. Bogle went from Desiripagi to Tisulambu (near Sigasti) and stayed there up to the 8th April, 1775. Tisu Lama received him with great honour. But he was not able to send him to Lhasa the Capital of Tibet. Owing to the defeat of Devayadhur, the authorities of Lhasa were not pleased with the "Firingis" and the representative of the emperor of China also did not consent to the visit of foreigners to Lhasa. At this time the seventh Dalai Lama was a minor and Sisab Rimbuchi was his representative and it was he who opposed Mr. Bogle's visit to Lhasa. (15)

In June 1775, M. Bogle returned to Bengal through Tasisudan and Cooch Behar. Though his embassy in Tibet did not yield any result, the authorities of the company did not lose hope. They believed that it was a great benefit to establish friendship with Tisu Lama. The Governor General Warren Hastings became very attentive to preserve friendship with Tisu Lama. As Tisu Lama expressed a great desire to Mr. Bogle to establish a Buddhist monastery on the Banks of the Ganges near Calcutta, the Governor General agreed to this. This monastery

Buddhist monastery on the
banks of the Ganges.

was established in Gooserie near Calcutta on the west bank of the Ganges. This place is now called 'Bhot Bagan'. Purna Gir Gosvami was the first priest of this monastery. The Devaraja of Bhutan also assented to establish trade relations with the Company and this was a matter of great satisfaction for the Company, for at that time it was only through Bhutan that the articles of merchandise passed.

(15) Two years after the death of the 6th Dalai Lama (1758 A.D.) Tisu Lama declared this boy as the re-incarnated Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China supported the same. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 130.

Whatever might have been the results of Bogle Mission, the expectations of Mr. Warren Hastings were not fulfilled by the same. He again sent Dr. Hamilton, the companion of Mr. Bogle, to Tibet in January 1776. Dr. Hamilton attempted to enter Bhutan through Katalbari and Laksmiduar, but being unsuccessful, went there through Buxa. Meanwhile, a quarrel had begun between the king of Cooch Behar and the Raikat of Baikunthapur on the one side and the Devaraja of Bhutan on the other regarding some places situated in the present western Duars.

Hamilton Mission.

In July 1777, Dr. Hamilton again went to Bhutan to congratulate the new Devaraja and returned from there in September. In this manner Mr. Hastings was trying to establish and preserve trade relations with Bhutan and Tibet ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In April 1779, Mr Bogle was again employed in a Mission to Tibet. But at that time Tisu Lama was not in Tibet. He had gone to Peking, the capital of China, accompanied by Purna Gir Gosain. For this reason Mr. Bogle had to postpone his visit to Tibet. Tisu Lama had requested Mr. Bogle to proceed to Canton by sea to strengthen his own friendship with the Company. But as Tisu Lama suddenly died in Peking, Mr. Bogle could not go either to Tibet or China.

In the beginning of 1783 Captain Turner was ordered to proceed to Tibet to finish the work which had not been completed there. He also entered Bhutan by the path followed by Mr. Bogle through Cooch Behar and Buxa. Samuel Davis, an Engineer, Dr. Robert Sanders and

Turner Mission.

In the letter sent by Tisu Lama to the Governor, he mentioned himself as the representative of Dalai Lama, but he did not succeed to send Mr. Bogle to Lhasa.

(16) " Thus Warren Hastings prevented the opening made by Mr. Bogle from again being closed, by keeping up regular inter-course with the Bhutan rulers, by maintaining

Purna Gir Goswami were his companions. Meanwhile Tisu Lama had a re-incarnation, that is to say, a boy was ascertained to be the re-incarnated Tisu Lama. Captain Turner went from Bhutan to Tisu Lambu in Tibet. There he first met the representative of Tisu Lama and then he saw the (boy) Tisu Lama. At that time the age of Tisu Lama was not more than eighteen months. But as the Captain heard that though Tisu Lama was unable to converse, he could understand the substance of the conversation of others, he made a speech of moderate length before that boy. The Governor General's sorrow for the disappearance of the Lama in China and delight for his reappearance in Tibet were expressed. He did not also fail to request the boy Tisu Lama to strengthen his previous friendship with the Company. Captain Turner also was not able to go to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. So he returned to Bengal through Bhutan in March 1784. As a result of the enquiry by Dr. Hamilton, it was settled that Jalpesh and Ambari Falakata will be given to the Devaraja. Under orders of the Governor General, Captain Turner made over this territory to Devaraja.

The authorities of the Company were fully aware that before the attack of Devayadhur, the kingdom of Cooch Behar extended from the extremity of the district of Rungpur on the south to the base of the hills on the north. And Mr. Hastings was not at all reluctant to mention this fact again and again. ⁽¹⁷⁾ In the letters written by Mr. Purling

The area of the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

a correspondence with the Tisu Lama, and by means of the annual fair at Rungpore. " *Narratives of the Bogle Mission*, Introduction, page LXX.

(17) Para 4 of a letter, dated the 15th January, 1775, from W. Hastings Esqr. to Sir George Colebrooke; " A proynce (Cooch Behar) lying between Rungpore and the mountains of Bhutan. "

Para 18 of a letter, dated the 9th March, 1773, from W. Hastings to Josias Dupre Esq.,

to the President of the Council from Chekakhata on the 13th and 25th January 1773 when the war was going on, he wrote that according to the statement of the Nazir, for sixty years following a treaty between the king and the Bhutiyas, the latter were in possession of the land at the base of the hills and for this they delivered five horses annually as tribute to the king. This was in vogue even up to the time of Raja Rajendranârâyan nine or ten months ago. These lands are very fertile and Sâl trees, paddy and cotton were grown on the same. Mr. Purling reported to the Council on the 17th and 21st February from Chekakhata that this territory belongs to the king and the land fourteen miles to the north up to Santarabari (under the Buxa hills) is within the kingdom of Cooch Behar. In the reply sent by the Council of the Company dated the 11th March to Mr. Purling, there was an order to occupy the whole of the cultivated land keeping the hills as the boundary. (18) As the discussions regarding treaty of the Company with the Bhutiyas progressed, their

" Which (Cooch Behar) lies between their (Bhotan) mountains and Rungpore and has been for some years in their possession. "—Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I. pages 279, 306.

(18) Letters dated Chichacottah, the 17th and 21st February 1773, from Mr. C. Purling to the President and Council of Revenue at Fort William.

" The Ryots have all retreated from their houses, but I entertain not a doubt of getting them to return and to acknowledge the Rajah's sovereignty under protection of the Hon'ble Company. There is not a doubt but this is the actual property of the Beyhar Rajah, and is by far the richest and best cultivated country I ever beheld.

" The extent of the Rajah's territories lays to the northward as far as Santarabaries being fourteen miles within the Jungul which lays to the northward of this Fort "

Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

Letter, dated Fort William, the 11th March, 1773, from Mr. J. Stewart, Secretary to Mr. Charles Purling.

" Sir, I am Commanded to signify to you the orders of the Board in reply to your Sunday letters of the 25th Jan and the 15th, 17th and 27th ultimo that in your operations regarding Cose Beyhar you are to assume the possessions of all the cultivated country extending to the foot of the hills at the frontier line of Bengal on that side. " Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

abovementioned view regarding the boundary was gradually changed. Mr. Hastings has written :

" The Bootias have solicited peace, offering to give up the whole open country requiring only the possessions of the woods and low lands lying at the foot of the mountains, without which they cannot subsist, and the liberty of trading duty-free as formerly to Rungpur as soon as the peace should be concluded. Their proposals were received about three days ago, and orders were immediately returned to Mr. Purling to accept them. " (19)

There was a talk at that time that a treaty should be concluded keeping intact the boundaries of both the kingdom as fixed before. (20)

Being defeated in battle, the Bhutiyas were driven away from the low lands and took shelter in the hills (1753 A. D.).

Afterwards, in their written proposals
The claim of the Bhutiyas. for treaty with the Company they mentioned in the first para :—

" That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to the north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river. "

and in the second para :—

" That, they have the lands of Kirmutu (Kyranti) Luckipore add Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belong to them. "

(19) Letter from W. Hastings to Laurence Sullivan, dated the 20th March, 1774. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 395.

(20) " They (Council) yielded, without hesitation, to the intercession of the Lama and consented to a peace with the Bhootias upon the easy terms of replacing the dominion of each Government, within its former boundaries " Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page XII.

According to this in the treaty concluded between the Company and Devaraja in 1774, it was written that even Maraghat which was not mentioned in the proposals of the Bhutiyas should be made over to Devaraja, but the names of the Saraidanga river and Dalimcote were not mentioned therein. In the first para of this treaty, it was written : " The Honourable Company will relinquish the lands which belonged to Deva Raja before the commencement of the war with the Raja of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward of the lands of Chichakhata and Paglahat, and to the westward of the lands of Kyranti, Maraghat and Luckeepore." In the second para it was mentioned " That, for the possession of the Chichakhata province, the Deva Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangan horses to Honourable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the Cooch Behar Raja. "

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty (1775 A. D.) and even when quarrels began between the king of Cooch Behar and the Devaraja regarding some places within the Duars, the Bhutiyas made a complaint regarding the land situated at the bottom of the hills.⁽²¹⁾ The Dinajpur Council judged all these disputes (1777 A. D.) following the Treaty of 1774 A. D. and the Hastbud of the kingdom of Cooch Behar settled by Mr. Purling in 1773 A. D. It has been written in that decision :

Decision of the Council at
Dinajpore.

" The Talooks of Chichakotta, Paugula Hat, Luckeeduar, Kyranty and Maraghat are to be held by the Bhootas in the same manner as they possessed them before the war." ⁽²²⁾ A Bhutiya Officer named Naphapama for the Devaraja and an

(21) Extract from the Governor-General's Minute, the Revenue Department, under date, the 6th April, 1779.

" A. The first (No. 1) relates to the lands at the foot of the Bhootan mountains about which representations were made to this Government on part of the Bhootas about four years ago." Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 6.

(22) Letter from the Dinajpore-Council to Governor General, dated, the 28th May, 1777. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 1.

Officer named Hararam Sen for the Company fixed the boundaries of the Taluks. (23) No account has been given anywhere that anyone on behalf of the king of Cooch Behar was summoned or joined in this fixing of the boundaries. If we remember the uncommon eagerness of Mr. Hastings to please the Bhutiyas and the leanings of Hararam Sen, it is difficult to say whether the above work of fixing the boundaries was impartially done.

In the maps prepared by Major Rennel (1779 A. D.) Mr. Tassin (1841 A. D.) and Surgeon Rennie (1865 A. D.) the situation of the abovementioned Dalimkote, Laksmipur and Keranti have been shown. In the maps prepared by Captain Turner (1784 A. D.) and Major Rennel it is mentioned that Sankos is another name of the Saraidanga river. During the time of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1805 A. D.) the Alaikuri river was called the Saraidanga. The Alaikuri river flowed through Buxa Duar and joining the Garam river on the north-west of the present town of Alipur (Duar) came to be known as the Kaljani in its lower portion. Almost the same has been shown in the map of Mr. Tassin.

Dalimkote is now situated on the southeast of the district of Darjeeling and Keranti is situated on the north of the district of Jalpaiguri. Laksmipur was situated in the hilly tract on the southwest of Bala, on the northwest of Jaygaon on the west of the Torsha and on the east of the Mujnai river. (24) This place was about 20 to 25 miles on the north from the

(23) Hararam Sen was the founder of the zemindar family of Dinia within Rungpore. Hararam was the Dewan of Mr. Purling for a period and that of Devi Sing for some time. It has been mentioned in " Murshidabad Kâhini " that Hararam was accused of being an abettor of the oppressions made by Devi Sing and was sentenced to undergo imprisonment for one year and he was expelled from Rungpore and Dinajpur. (Pages 531, 532).

(24) Laksmipur is called ' Lakipur ' by local people. There was another place named Keeti Laksmipur far away to the south of the aforesaid Laksmipur. Many places bearing the same name are found in the Dnars.

present northern boundary of the State of Cooch Behar. Laksmiduar is a separate place. It is shown in the maps of Captain Turner and Mr. Tassin as situated in a hilly country. It was situated on the north of Jaygaon and on the east of the Torsa. Dr. Hamilton in 1776 A. D. and Mr. Manning in 1811 A. D. followed the path through Laksmiduar when proceeding to Bhutan. In the Hastbud settled by Mr. Purling which was mentioned by Dinajpur Council while enquiring into the claim of the Bhutiyas, it is stated that Rs. 5,288 was fixed as revenue of zillah Laksmipur which is within the kingdom of Cooch Behar and a fort was constructed there.

The places called Duars situated in the southern valley of the Bhutan hills and on the north of the present State of Cooch Behar are like the Pergannas of Bengal and each Duar was subdivided into several Taluks. These places were called Bhutan Duar by Englishmen. The situation and extent of the Duars as shown in the maps of Surgeon Rennie and Mr. Tassin are almost the same, *e. g.* Dalimduar was between the Tista and the Dharla; Jamir or Moynaguri Duar was between the Dharla and the Jaldhaka; Chamurchi Duar was between the Jaldhaka and the Mujnai; Laksmiduar was between the Mujnai and the Torsa; Buxa Duar was between the Torsa and the Raidak and Bhalka Duar was between the Raidak and the Sankos river. Keranti was in Dalimduar; Laksmipur and Maraghat were in Laksmiduar; Chekakhata was in Buxaduar and Puglahat was in Bhalkaduar.

It is not mentioned in the proposals of treaty made by the Bhutiyas, in the treaty of 1774 A. D. or in the decision of the Dinajpur Council that Chamurchi Duar and Jamir or Moynaguri Duar situated on the west of Laksmipur or Laksmiduar was within the kingdom of the Bhutiyas. The

Situation and extent of the Duar.

Chamurchi and Moynaguri

breadth of these two Duars from the east to the west was not less than 25 to 30 miles. The Bhutiyas did not mention any boundary of the territory on the west as demanded by them. They only claimed that the two places named Dalimkote and Keranti belonged to them. When they began to increase their demand later on, they got Moynaguri Duar in 1784 A. D. and Chamurchi Duar in about 1819 A. D. under orders of the authorities of the Company. Though places like Falakata and Bagribari situated on the east of the Tista were far away on the southeast of Dalimkote and Keranti the Bhutiyas gradually got also these (about 1779 A. D.).

The Bhutiyas in their original proposal claimed "the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills to the north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river". If this river was considered throughout its length as the northern and north-eastern boundary of Cooch Behar, the territory of Bhutan would have extended up to the extremity of the Baharband zemindary situated on the northeast of the district of Rungpur and under the Company's own possession. (25) But whatever may have been the reason, this river was not mentioned in the treaty. It was only written that the lands to eastward of Chichakhata and Paglahat will be relinquished to the Bhutiyas. Major Rennel in his map has shown the Saraidanga river as the north-eastern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

(25) An officer of Devaraja named Bhulla instituted a case before Mr. Bogle against Kanta Babu the zemindar of Baharband claiming that a place named Bholarhat in Rungpur is within the kingdom of Devaraja. At first he won the case (1779-81 A. D.) But afterwards according to the prayer of Kanta Babu, Mr. Moore upset this decision (1784-86 A. D.). When Devaraja objected to this, the authorities of the Company determined that Bholarhat was within the territory of the Company and gave possession of it to Bhulla (1787 A. D.).

Chekakhata is within Buxa Duar and was situated on the north-east of the Saraidanga river. Paglahat is within Bhalkaduar and was situated at least twenty miles off from the Saraidanga river on its east. Bhalkaduar was divided into eighteen villages and it was the Jaigir of Kumar Bhairabnârâyan of Cooch Behar.

The Dinajpur Council gave the Taluks Chekakhata and Paglahat to the Bhutiyas but the Bhutiyas also got Taluks Chikliguri and Bholka situated about 7 or 8 miles to the south of the above-mentioned Taluks and all the Taluks up to Majherdabri about 10 to 12 miles on the south of the same (1800 A. D.). It is found in the map of Major Rennel prepared at that time that the Saraidanga river flowed towards the south and a little towards the southeast. But really no river of the Duars flows to the east. Had this river been taken as flowing to the east and Chekakhata and Paglahat situated on its northern (left) bank given to the Bhutiyas, the lands on its southern bank should naturally have been included in the kingdom of Cooch Behar. But really this was never done. The authorities of the Company gradually made over to the Bhutiyas the Taluks on the southern (right) bank of the aforesaid river named Parorpar, Tapsikhata, Panchkholguri, Kamsinggaon, Chakoakseti, Sonapur, Raichenga and others (1815 A. D.).

The map of Major Rennel was printed in England in 1779 A. D. This cannot be accepted as proof in determining the exact boundary of any district in Bengal. According to the proposal of the Bhutiyas, the Saraidanga river has been shown in this map as the boundary of Cooch Behar, but in the treaty this river was not accepted as the boundary. Probably Major Rennel was not aware of this. So it is inferred that this map was drawn before the treaty, that is to say when

The map of Rennel.

the kingdom of Cooch Behar was in possession of the Bhutiyas. This map is also not correct regarding other places of the kingdom. The famous place named Dewanganj within Cooch Behar and situated on the west was shown in this map to be within the kingdom. The Collector Mr. Glazier had mentioned that in Rennel's map there were mistakes regarding many places within the district of Rungpur (1872 A. D.). In the resolution of the Governor General dated the 6th April, 1779 A. D. this map has been accepted as a proof regarding the boundaries of Cooch Behar and Bhutan but even the places Raichenga, Bagribari etc. shown in this as within Cooch Behar and the place Jalpes shown as within the zemindary of Baikunthapur were given to the Devaraja of Bhutan.

Whatever land might have been ceded to the Bhutiyas, local conditions did not support this. Maraghat was given to Devaraja mentioning the Bhutan Treaty and the decision of the Dinajpore Council. Even then, there were roads, temples, office buildings, tanks etc. constructed by the king of Cooch Behar within it. The Commissioner Mr. Digby has mentioned this (1809 A. D.). At this time Maharaja Harendra-nârâyan attained majority and took possession of some of these places. When Mr. Digby supported it, the Government made over Maraghat to the king. (26)

When Devayadhur attacked the kingdom of Cooch Behar, Raikat Darpadeva helped him and for this there was an agreement between them. The places (Ambari-Falakata and Jalpes) which Darpadeva promised to make over to Devayadhur as a reward for getting Cooch Behar, were demanded

(26). Letter dated the 19th October, 1809 from the Deputy Parshian Secretary to Government to the Deva Rajah of Bhootan. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 194.

by the Bhutiyas and even these were made over to the Devaraja under orders of the Company. (27) One hundred years before this time, the celebrated temple of Jalpesvar was constructed by a king of Cooch Behar. In the report (1790 A. D.) sent to the Board by Mr. Purling when he was the Collector of Rungpur for the second time, he wrote after mentioning that there was a temple of the Hindus in Jalpes, that he never heard of any claim of the Bhutiyas over Jalpes and Ambari-Falakata. (28) Really speaking these places had no connection with the proposals for treaty sent by the Bhutiyas, the treaty of 1774 and the decision of the Dinajpore Council. Still Dr. Hamilton decided that the Bhutiyas were entitled to get these places. He mentioned among other things, that if these places were given to the Bhutiyas, there will be great advantage regarding trade. (29) Later English critics have repeatedly mentioned that Jalpes and Ambari-Falakata were made over to the Bhutiyas without any justification. (30)

(27) Eastern India Vol. III, pages 420-421.

Jalpes is situated on the east of the town of Jalpaiguri and Ambari-Falakata is on its northwest. There is another Falakata on the east of Jalpaiguri.

(28). The District of Rungpore, page 45; Cooch Behar Select Records Vol. I, page 11.

(29) "And he (Dr. Hamilton) came to the conclusion, after taking evidence, that equity demanded their restoration to Bhutan. He reported that if restitution was made, he would probably be able to induce the Dev Raja to fulfil his agreement with Mr. Bogle, and only to levy moderate transit duties on merchandise." Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXX.

(30). Eastern India, Vol. III, page 221.

"I am afraid, that on this occasion the friendship of the Bhutanese was purchased at the expense of the Bykuntpore Zemindar." Mr. Eden's remarks.

"The Jelpaish tract on the left bank of the Teesta river in Bootan was undoubtedly part and parcel of the Bykuntpore Zemindaree * * * improperly given up to the Bhootas."

Lt. Governor Sir F. Halliday's remarks.—Bhutan and story of the Boor War, pages 36, 403.

The Bhutiyas again began to claim Maraghat against the decision of Mr. Digby alleging that Rammohan Ray, the Dewan of the Collector of Rungpur and Munshi Hemayatulla were bribed.⁽³¹⁾ At this time Mr. Scott was the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and he arrived at a different conclusion regarding Maraghat. In his opinion only the Mouza of Maraghat and not the Gerd of Maraghat belonged to the ruler of Cooch Behar. So he sent a proposal to the Government for making over some Chalas or lands (3065 Bighas) within the Mouza to the ruler of Cooch Behar and the Gerd (Division or Perganna) Maraghat on all sides to the Devaraja. The Government agreed to this (1817 A. D.).⁽³²⁾ In this way the Taluk Maraghat given by the Dinajpur Council to the Bhutiyas was subsequently changed to Gerd Maraghat. But Mr. Scott could not wholly disregard the signs like roads, tanks, temples, office buildings etc. constructed by the ruler of Cooch Behar. Probably for this reason these Chalas were divided into Taluks Magurmari, Gosairhat and Gadong. So it cannot also be said that these were made over in any particular locality. As a result of Gerd Maraghat having come within the Dominion of Devaraja, the north-western boundary line of the kingdom of Cooch Behar has been removed from four to seven miles on the south of the aforesaid Chalas.

(31). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, pages 17-18.

Rammohan Ray was temporarily the Dewan of Mr. Digby for about one and half years from November 1809 to March 1811. Afterwards Munshi Hemayatulla was appointed the permanent Dewan. (Letter written by Mr. Digby to the Revenue Board). Rammohan Ray (later on, Raja) becoming the Dewan of Mr. Digby came with him to Cooch Behar in February 1813 A. D. Rājopākhyāna, Partyaksa Khanda, Adhyāya 15.

(32). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 57 ; Vol. II, pages 21—24. The number of the Chalas has not been mentioned as the same everywhere.

To support his own view, Mr. Scott had relied on other documentary evidence besides the treaty of 1774, the decision of the Dinajpur Council (1777 A. D.) and the map of Major Rennel. But he had not given a detailed account of these documents in the letter written by him. It has been mentioned before that after the death of Dharendranârâyan the Mahaharaja of Cooch Behar, his father Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan got the Chaklajat zemindary as heir and received a Sunnud for the same (1773 A. D.). In that Sunnud, the names of the Chaklas were not mentioned. In the Sunnud it was simply written 'the zemindary of Sarkar Cooch Behar'. We have already explained what was meant by Sarkar Cooch Behar (Chapter XIV). Mr. Scott was unaware of the divisions of Rungpur at the time of Mughal possession. He inferred that this Sunnud was regarding the kingdom of Cooch Behar, and he sent an English translation of this Sunnud to the Sudder and drew the attention of the Government to this (1819 A. D.) But, whatever might have been the reason, the authorities did not fully meet his wishes.

Whenever any officer supported the claim of Bhutiyas regarding the Duars, he quoted as proof the treaty of 1774 A. D. and the decision of the Dinajpur Council. The "lands" of five names mentioned in the first para of the treaty to be made over to Devaraj have been changed into "Taluks" in the decision. The boundaries or the area of the Taluks have not been mentioned in the decision but the authorities of the Company from this have given about 1800 square miles of land divided into six Duars (about 80 miles in length and 20 to 30 miles in breadth) to the Bhutiyas. That there were many

Six 'Duars' from five 'Taluks'.

other Taluks of different names besides these five Taluks within this territory at that time is proved by relevant papers. (33)

The 'lands' of Chekakhata as mentioned in the first para of the treaty and the 'province' of Chekakhata as mentioned in the second para are not identical. It is naturally understood that the 'lands' in the first para comprise a small area and the "province" in the second para consists of a bigger area. The lands in the first para belonged to Devaraja. He got possession of the province mentioned in the second para promising to pay tribute for the same. The Dinajpur Council did not apparently differentiate between aforementioned expressions "belonged to" and "possession" or understand the distinction in their import. They merely stated that Devaraja should hold as before the five Taluks. As a result of this finding, another point for decision arose which in practice fell into the hands of Nabhapama and Hararam Sen for final settlement.

The Bhutiyas mentioned in their proposals that "the lands of Kyranti, Luckipore and Dalimcote, all of which adjoin the jungle under the hills..... always belonged to them." But they did not mention that they had the same rights to the land on the northern bank of the Saraidanga river (Chekakhata and Paglahat). On the contrary they agreed to pay a tribute of five Tangan horses for the possession of the Chichakhata province. So according to the statement of the Bhutiyas themselves and the treaty it is proved that the latter territory was not within the dominion of Bhutan, but within the kingdom of Cooch Behar. According to the Treaty concluded between the Devaraja and the Company in 1774 A. D. this tribute was

(33). Claims of the Buxa Duar Subah ; Answer of the Behar Rajah to the above ; Letter dated the 11th May, 1787 from J. Adam, Secretary to the Government to the Collector of Rungpore.

held to be payable to the Company, but it is nowhere mentioned when, for what reason and under what circumstances the ruler of Cooch Behar who was really the owner of this territory was deprived of his right to get this tribute.

Whatever might have been written in the Treaty of 1774 and the decision of the Dinajpur Council, even if the terms of the same were strictly adhered to, probably the northern boundary of the State of Cooch Behar would not have been pushed back as in the present. Though in the two documents as mentioned above the names of the five lands or Taluks to be made over to the Devaraja were specifically mentioned the Governor General Mr. Hastings stated in 1779 :

"There can be no doubt that the lands in question fall within the Bhootan frontier. Part of them are expressly named in the treaty; others, in the survey of that frontier, are placed in the Bhootan country and altogether they are trifling and not worthy to stand as an obstacle to the friendship and satisfaction of a neighbouring State." (34).

The decision of the Dinajpur Council also was not strictly fulfilled.

"This decision of the Dinagepore Council totally disallowed the right of the Bhootas to Phalakatta and their present lower possession on the east bank of the Teesta which are situated much to the south of the boundaries fixed by the decree; but it seems to have been at that time deemed politically expedient to conciliate the good disposition of this State." (35)

(34) Extract from the Governor General's Minute in the Revenue Department, under date the 6th April, 1779.

(35) Extract from a letter from Mr. Sisson, (para 22), dated the 18th March 1815, Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 8.

There was no lack of eagerness on the part of the officers of the Company to please the Bhutiyas in places other than the Bhutan Duars. All the difficulties in the cotton trade between the Bhutiyas and the subjects of the Company were removed under orders of the Governor General. At that time there was a "Bhutiya fair" established at Rungpur. Under orders of the Governor General, the Bhutiyas sold and purchased articles there without paying any toll, and they got free residence for men and horses etc. of their party. This fair went on up to 1831-32 A. D. ⁽³⁶⁾ Under orders of the Dinajpur Council, the ruler of Cooch Behar was prohibited from coining more than twelve thousand Narayani coins every year (1775 A. D.). For this reason the number of Narayani coins having decreased in the market, inconvenience was felt by the Bhutiyas in their trade. When they expressed their eagerness to get Narayani coins, the authorities of the company arranged to pay them the same from the Rungpur Treasury. The ruler of Cooch Behar used to bring after capture escaped criminals from the Duars; but as the Bhutiyas raised objection to this, this custom was discontinued under orders of the Company, (1779 A. D.).

The Bhutiyas offered silver and in exchange had Narayani coins manufactured from the mint at Cooch Behar. The ruler of Cooch Behar allowed this as a favour or in friendship. Finding a good opportunity, the Bhutiyas claimed in the Durbar of the Company (1785 A. D.) that they were entitled to have coins prepared from the mint at Cooch Behar and Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rungpur, supported this. The kingdom of Bijni was within the dominion of the Mughal emperor and accordingly the Company got possession of the same. During the rule of the Mughal emperor, the Raja of Bijni acknowledged

(36). This place near Mähiganj was known for a long time as Bhutiya-mehal.

the supremacy of Devaraja over Bijni Duar (not the State of Bijni) and began to pay tribute to the latter. In 1791 A. D. when the Raja of Bijni was killed, the Devaraja nominated his successor. The English Government at first did not support this nomination, but afterwards assented to it. The Tista river flowed on the western and the Sankos on the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Exchange of merchandise took place between Bengal and Bhutan by boats which passed over these rivers and the ruler of Cooch Behar realised tolls for the merchandise. In 1827, under orders of the Company's Government, realisation of toll for merchandise in passing boats by the ruler of Cooch Behar, was forbidden,

Really speaking, the then authorities of the Company did not fail to express in the plainest language that their only object was to please the Devaraja at any cost. They mentioned in the clearest language on the 21st January 1785 :

Pleasing Devaraja at any cost.

"In consequence of which representation, the Government on the 21st Janury, 1785, directed that the Deb Rajah be put in possession of all the villages of Falacotta &c. and in the orders issued to the Committee of Revenue, without entering into the merits of the Deb Rajah's claims, we have thus readily acceded to them, as a pledge of our wish to oblige him and to keep up the good understanding that has long subsisted between the Bhootan Government and ours." (37).

"And Mr. Goodlad writes in 1782 — 'I have never gone to the Presidency, but Mr. Hastings has particularly, enjoined me not to suffer anything to happen that could give the least umbrage to the Bhooteas'." (38)

(37). Extract from a letter from Mr. T. Sisson, (para 24), dated the 18th March, 1815.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 9.

(38). The District of Rungpore, page 45.

Probably Lord Cornwallis did not support this policy of Mr. Hastings and in some matters, he passed orders for carrying out the decisions of the Dinajpur Council. (39) But by this, the influence of the policy of Mr. Hastings did not completely disappear.

The boundaries fixed by Nabhapama the officer of the Bhutiyas and Hararam Sen the officer of the Company, were not assented to by the Raikat of Baikuntapur. Nazir Khagendranârâyan also on behalf of the ruler of Cooch Behar did not assent to this. Later on, Maharaja Harendranârâyan after attaining majority recovered most of the Taluks from the Bhutiyas but about this the Bhutiyas were constantly preferring complaints to the Durbar of the Company. For the said reason, neither of the parties could preserve unopposed and continuous possession of the said territory from the beginning of the war, But at last under orders of the Company both the ruler of Cooch Behar and the Raikat were forced to relinquish their possessions.

In this manner as the Company assumed supremacy over Chekakhata and gave the other places to the Bhutias, the area of the kingdom of Cooch Behar dwindled into a third of what it was previously. The lands which were gained by the Bhutias had no similarity with the physical conditions of real Bhutan. On the contrary these lands were

(39). "With regard to the first, we direct that you revert to the adjustment of the boundaries, as settled at the time that Mr. Harwood was Chief of the Dinagapore Council, * * * excepting the Talooks of Jilpaish and Phalacotta". Letter dated the 11th May 1787 from Mr. Adam, Secretary to the Government to the Collector of Rungpore.

similar in nature to the open plains of other places in Bengal and almost all the residents of these places were Bengalis. (40)

The twenty-nine witnesses named by Devaraja to fix the boundary of Maraghat in 1815 A. D. were residents of Moynaguri, Bhothat and Maraghat. Though many advantages have been available for a long time for living in the British dominion, the number of the real Bhutia tribes has not increased even up to the present. In 1901 A. D. about seven thousand of this tribe lived in different places in the northern extremity of this territory. It has been mentioned before that the northern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar extended up to the base of the hills. Mr. Hastings had mentioned this again and again. But within a few years and mainly according to his wishes this boundary line has been shifted from the base of the hills to about 20 to 25 miles to the south.

A few days after the return of Captain Turner from Bhutan (1785 A. D.) Mr. Hastings left his service and went to his own country. After his leaving service, trade relations of the Company with Tibet were on the verge of extinction, and owing to a particular incident, this connection was severed for ever. At the time of the conquest of Cooch Behar by Devayadhur, Prithvinârâyan the Gorkha king had conquered the kingdom of Nepal. After the death of Prithvinârâyan (1788 A. D.) the Nepalese had attacked Sikkim with the help of the ruler of Morang and after this event they suddenly attacked Tibet with eighteen thousand soldiers and occupied and sacked Tisu Lambu. Tisu Lama took shelter in Lhasa and from there prayed for help from the emperor

(40). "Which (Dooars) formerly and naturally belonged to Bengal, but which was partly wrested from the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, and partly ceded by us at the end of last century." Mr. Eden's remarks.

Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 155.

of China. According to this prayer, under orders of the emperor of China 70,000 Chinese and Tartar soldiers sent to recover Tibet drove away the Nepalese from Tibet and crossing the Himalayas entered into Nepal (1792 A. D.).⁽⁴¹⁾ When the attacking Chinese forces came near the capital of Nepal, the king of Nepal prayed for a treaty being concluded and when he agreed to pay annual tribute regularly and indemnity for the war, the Chinese army left Nepal. The king of Nepal at this juncture prayed for help from the Company but Lord Cornwallis did not agree to give him assistance. Still, the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army wrote to Peking that the king of Nepal fought with him with the help of the soldiers of the Company. The Emperor of China was very much displeased learning this and according to his order entrance of Indians to Tibet was strictly prohibited.⁽⁴²⁾

Restriction to enter Tibet.

Along with the closing of the way of the officers of the Company to Tibet, a big territory (the Duars) on the southern valley of the Himalayas got out of their control. From the criticism of the above-mentioned incident the real intention of the handing over of Bhutan Duars to Devaraja, was disclosed. That which was formerly mentioned as justly due to the Bhutiyas, came to be subsequently termed by English critics as 'lost' property and they laid the blame on the Governor General, who succeeded Mr. Hastings for the loss of all these territories. It was mentioned by the critics:

Criticism regarding Duars.

"But for officials the way to Tibet was permanently closed

(41) When the Chinese army attacked Nepal they used a kind of gun made of skin. These could not fire shots more than five or six times. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXVII.

(42) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXIX; Embassy to Tibet, pages 437—442.

while the countries on the southern slopes of the Himalays were alienated by the change of policy from that of Warren Hastings to that which has prevailed since. The former was a policy of constant and watchful vigilance; of firmness combined with conciliation; and of persistent resolution to keep open friendly relations and to encourage trade. The latter is one of indifference and neglect, varied by occasional small but disastrous wars, which are waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabble about boundaries." (43)

Considering all the circumstances, the above criticism does not appear to be fair. Mr. Hastings was able to establish friendly relations with Tisu Lama. But Tisu Lama was not really the supreme authority in Tibet. He was even unable to send Mr. Bogle to Lhasa. The friendship of the Company with Tisu Lama had a motive behind it or it might be said that it was a personal friendship. At the intercession of Tisu Lama, the victorious army of the Company were removed from the boundary of the kingdom of Bhutan in 1774 A. D. The Bhutias had not to pay any indemnity for being defeated in battle. On the contrary, they were the gainers. The courtesy and liberality of the Company at that time were very pleasing to Tisu Lama. There might be a difference of opinion whether he was reincarnated after his death or whether he was really possessed of wisdom when he was only one and a half year old, but proof is existent to show that the speeches made by Captain Turner before him for preservation of friendship were all in vain. At least after the war between China and Nepal, the British never found any other opportunity to deliver speeches of a similar nature.

The tortuous policy of Warren Hastings regarding Bhutan did not yield any result. It is a matter of doubt whether the

(43) Narratiyes of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXX.

kingdom of Bhutan would have gone to the hands of the next Devaraja, had Devayadhur been not defeated by the Company. For this reason, it was natural for the Dharmaraja and the new Devaraja to be greatly attached to Englishmen. In addition whenever they preferred any complaint in the Durbar of the Company regarding the Duars against the Raikat and the ruler of Cooch Behar, they almost always gained their point. Even the Governors-General who succeeded Warren Hastings yielded to many such demands from the Bhutiyas. After death, the Dharmaraja used to change his body and the post of the Devaraja was filled by nomination. Some descendants follow and respect to some extent the action of their forefathers but it can not be expected in every case that succeeding office holders will equally respect the actions taken by their predecessors.

With the change of the former Dharmaraja and Devaraja, the Bhutiyas were either gradually forgetting the good services of the Company, or they began to be indifferent towards the same. On the other hand, the power and inclination to satisfy their demands were gradually dwindling on behalf of the Company. Except keeping the road to Tibet open, there was no great advantage in trade with Bhutan proper. So there was no further necessity in keeping the Bhutiyas satisfied in any way.

It is established by the subsequent behaviour of the Bhutiyas that they understood the fulfilment of all their demands by the officers of the Company who were merely guided by the policy of their trade, as the result of the weakness of the Company. The prowess of the British shown in 1773 A. D. and their friendly appearance in 1774 A. D. became gradually obliterated from the memory of the

Bhutiyas.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It has been mentioned before that the Government had made over certain places of Maraghat to the ruler of Cooch Behar according to the report of Mr. Digby. The Bhutiyas considered this as an exception to the policy that whatever was demanded would be got from the Company and they were greatly astonished and enraged at this. As a result of this resentment they repeatedly attacked the kingdom of Cooch Behar in 1808, 1809 and 1811 A. D. and sacked the villages situated on its frontier and made the same the scene of horrible massacres.

Depredations by the Bhutiyas. These depredations were only temporarily suspended owing to the advent of the soldiers of the Company.

From this time there was a beginning of the change of relations between the Company and the Bhutiyas. After this the crossing of frontiers and raids became the chief subject of discussion between both the parties.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In 1811 A. D. an English traveller named Mr. Thomas Manning entered Bhutan through Laksmiduar. His object was to proceed to Tibet. Mr. Manning did not get any obstruction in Bhutan. He was well-versed in the treatment of diseases. As a reward of treatment of some of the Chinese soldiers staying at the border of Tibet, he was able to proceed to Lhasa with the help of their Commander and reside there for some months. Coming to know about this, the authorities at Peking forced him to return to Bengal.

(44) 'All memory of the visits of Bogle and Turner was entirely obliterated.'

Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXIV.

(45) "Instead of friendly intercourse, the history of the relations between the British and the Bhutanese has been one of local disputes about frontiers and raids," Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXII,

After this, those who went as messengers of the Company to Bhutan, did not proceed with the object of extending trade in the garb of friendship. They went there in the name of establishing peace or in pursuit of financial policy. The authorities of the Company were fully aware that a large sum will have to be spent if war began. So they tried to settle the disputes by maintaining an amicable attitude towards the Bhutiyas. But the Bhutiyas took advantage of this and gradually began to increase their claims and raids. Under these circumstances, it is noteworthy that Mr. Manning did not meet with any obstruction in Bhutan.

When Mr. Soott was engaged in discussing the boundary (1815 A. D.) he sent his officer Babu Krishnakanta Basu for this purpose as a messenger to the kingdom of Bhutan. Babu Krishnakanta Basu

Krishnakanta Mission.

went to Punakha through Sidli or Chirang Duar but his mission did not yield any result. The Bhutiyas wanted to have their claim satisfied and asked for more. They were not in the least ready to accept any reasonable compromise by making any sacrifice. They began raids over a land 250 miles long which was under the British and near the Bhutan hills. The kingdom of Cooch Behar also was not free from

Raids by the Bhutiyas,

these raids. In 1832 A. D. the Bhutiyas captured five males and fourteen females from the family of an influential subject of Cooch Behar named Wali Mahammad and took them to Bhutan.

With the intention of stopping these raids, the Government sent Captain Pemberton again to Bhutan (1838 A. D.). He went to Punakha through Tansu on the way by Dewangiri. Dr. Griffith and Mr. Isin Black were his companions. Far from establishing peace or stopping the quarrels, the Bhutiyas did not

Pemberton Mission.

even make an outward show of courtesy to Captain Pemberton. The honour received by other ambassadors of the Government in Bhutan did not fall to the lot of Pemberton. Baffled in his desire, he had to return to Bengal through Buxa. That Bhutiyas race which was mentioned by Warren Hastings as simple, high-minded and of mild nature, was called half a century later by his own countrymen as savage and unworthy of education and training.⁽⁴⁶⁾

After the return of Captain Pemberton, the kingdom of Cooch Behar and the places occupied by the Company were continually raided by the Bhutiyas. In disputes between Cooch Behar and Bhutan the Government was acting so long as intermediary. About 50 to 60 miles of land of the Bhutan Duar was connected with the northern boundary of Cooch Behar. The ruler of Cooch Behar had established several Thanas to protect this territory. But really speaking no great benefit was derived from these thanas. There were always disturbances in portions of this vast territory. In 1884 A. D. the Bhutiyas attacked the house of Sakalu Pradhan of Tenganmari near Kseti and plundered many properties belonging to him. This was brought to the notice of the Government and Mr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling sent a report to the Government about this.

In this manner, the Bhutiyas gradually began to occupy many places in Cooch Behar and Baikunthapur. The Bhutiyas fixed the boundaries of their territory according to their own will, and took away the crops from these lands by force.⁽⁴⁷⁾

(46) Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 395; Narrative of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXIV.

(47) "The conduct of the Bhutias, in forcibly carrying off the grain from this land, and in putting up marks to define it as belonging to them, cannot, now that

In 1848 A. D. they again crossed the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar near Kseti. The raids in the places near Assam Duar had so much increased that the Government had no other alternative than to decide that it was better to occupy the whole territory. In 1841 A. D. Lord Auckland took possession of the whole of Assam Duars by force and passed orders for payment of ten thousand rupees to the Devaraja as compensation. In this manner the Government also took possession of Ambari-Falakata promising to pay compensation (1842 A. D.). By this means, though a portion of the Government's own territory became safe, the State of Cooch Behar remained as it was before. Really speaking, the Government did not derive any permanent result from the aforesaid arrangement.

The Government in their efforts to protect the lives and properties of their subjects were only getting insult and injustice from the Bhutiyas.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Major Jenkins, the Agent of the North-eastern Frontier Provinces, requested the Government to take possession of all the Duars of Bengal without delay. In

their claims have been examined, be considered otherwise than as a deliberate encroachment on our frontier, and as a fresh instance of the mode by which they acquired a great deal of territory from Cooch Behar and Bykuntapore in former days, when this part of our frontier was so much neglected by us." Mr. Campbell's letter of the 6th March, 1845, to the Government of Bengal. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 117.

Mr. Bogle when he went to Bhutan has mentioned that a river about eighteen miles to the north of the town of Cooch Behar was the boundary between the kingdoms of Cooch Behar and Bhutan (Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 14—15). But the present boundary on the north is not more than twelve miles from the capital. At the time of Mr. Digby, Dhopguri was at the border of the State (Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 210). At present this place is some miles away from the boundary line and is within the Duars.

(48) Mr. Campbell's report:—"The whole history of our connection with Bhutan is a continuous record of injuries to our subjects all along the frontier of 250 miles, of denials of justice, and of acts of insult to our Government." Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page C.

1856 A.D. Lord Dalhousie decided that it was desirable to occupy permanently Ambari-Falakata and Jalpesh. But owing to the Sepoy Mutiny, no action was taken regarding this. Meanwhile the raids did not cease. In 1857 A. D. the Bhutiyas repeatedly attacked the houses of Sakalu Pradhan and others near Kseti and plundered properties worth twentyone thousand rupees and took several persons as captives to their own country. In 1857 A. D. the Bhutiyas attacked and sacked five other different places in Cooch Behar. The 'Katma' of Moynaguri was the principal leader of this raid.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the list of raids committed by the Bhutiyas which was prepared by the Fouzdari Ahilkar (District Magistrate) of Cooch Behar in 1859 A. D. and sent to the Government, it was mentioned that within two years there were thirtythree raids in which forty persons were made captives and various kinds of properties were plundered.

At the end of the Sepoy Mutiny, the Agent of the North-eastern Frontier Provinces again requested the Government in 1859 A. D. to take possession of the Duars. At this time Maharaja Narendranârayan was the ruler of Cooch Behar. He was a

(49) Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 402.

A man named Hargovind was the Katma or local officer of Moynaguri under the Devaraja. The Katmas (Nebu) were under Jampens or Subas. The officer higher than Jampens were called Penlow and the whole Bhutan kingdom was ruled by three Penlows (governors); e.g. on the east—Tangsu Penlow; in the central portion—Daka Penlow and on the west—Paro Penlow. Tangsu, Daka and Paro are merely the names of three different places. There was supremacy of the Council of Ministers and the Devaraja over the Penlows. Hargovind Katma was the nephew of Haridas and a Bengali. He revolted against Devaraja and collected Gurkha and Hindusthani soldiers and collecting arms from the Company's territories fought and obtained a victory over the Bhutiyas. He agreed to make the Moynaguri territory occupied by him subject to the Company and pay Rs. 50,000 annually as tribute but the authorities of the Company did not consent to this at that time (1836 A. D.). Subsequently Hargovind acknowledged supremacy of the Devaraja.

Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, pages 16, 389.

very strong ruler. In the list of properties plundered by the Bhutiyas sent to the Government by him in 1861 A. D. there was mention of seventeen elephants. In that year the Bhutiyas captured and took away four Mahuts of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar from a place near Moynaguri. In 1858 A. D. the Bhutiyas plundered many properties from Taluks Chhat Bhaika and Deutikhata and took away as captives Ratibar Mandal and six other subjects of Cooch Behar. The local guards were not successful in opposing the Bhutiyas. At about the same time the Bhutiyas seized and took to their own country a well-to-do subject of Cooch Behar named Ramdulal Basunia. After this, at about the same time the Bhutiyas attacked the villages Madhurbhasa and Pundibari. In both these places many properties were plundered and they wounded some of the guards at Pundibari and took away one of them as a prisoner.

Seeing the aforesaid distress of his subjects, Maharaja Narendranārāyan sent 50 sepoys under Subedar Bisweswarnath and Jamadar Bhabaniprasad Sing against the Bhutiyas. The soldiers of the king attacked the Bhutiyas in a place named Madari and defeated them and made two of them captives. The remainder of the forces of the enemy took to flight. After this incident, both the Devaraja and the Dharmaraja sent letters expressing friendship to the ruler of Cooch Behar but no permanent result accrued from this. The number of prisoners was gradually increasing. In 1863 A. D. when Mr. Eden was going to Punakha he saw some Bengali prisoners in a place named Pemthong near Paro and he was of opinion that they had been residents of Cooch Behar. At this time it was inferred that in Bhutan the total number of prisoners taken away from the territories of Cooch Behar, Sikkim and that under the Company exceeded three hundred. The Bhutiyas released the prisoners on getting ransom and for this reason they

Counter-attack by the
Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

paid particular attention to the capture of wealthy and respectable people. In February 1862, the Bhutiyas again crossed the boundary of the State of Cooch Behar and sacked the territory. The Maharaja, according to the terms of the treaty prayed for help from the Government, Orders were issued by the Government to send two regiments of soldiers. But as it was the rainy season, the Maharaja wrote that it was unnecessary to send forces.

In 1863 A. D. the old policy was again followed. Mr. Eden started for Bhutan as an ambassador of the Government and Chibu Lama of Sikkim, Captain Austen, Captain Lance, Dr. Simpson and Mr. Power became his companions. Mr. Eden went to Punakha from Darjeeling through Dalimkot and Paro. On this occasion, the Bhutiyas created obstacles from the very commencement of his visit. The result of this visit of Mr. Eden was quite the contrary to his expectations. The Bhutiyas urged that the whole of Assam Duars belonged to them and claimed for its restitution. When Mr. Eden disagreed with this proposal, the Bhutiyas stopped his rations and forcibly made him write out a deed of relinquishment and in an ungentlemanly manner insulted him in various ways. After this, Mr. Eden saved himself by leaving Bhutan with great difficulty and after overcoming many obstacles.

On the return of Mr. Eden, there was no other way than to declare war. The Government proclaimed on the 12th November 1864 that the whole of the Bhutan Duars were permanently taken possession of by them. Arrangements for war were simultaneously begun. Learning of this news the authorities of Bhutan sent a letter to the Government laying the whole blame upon the interpreter Chibu Lama and denied

Proclamation of occupation
of the Duars.

the whole fact of the use of force to Mr. Eden and insulting him.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Government had to collect about ten thousand soldiers to take possession of all the Duars of Bengal and Assam. The whole army was divided into four sections. The soldiers of Gauhati and Goalpara were moved under General Mulcaster the Commander of the eastern side and the soldiers of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar were led by General Dunsford the Commander of the western side. Arrangement was made to attack the country of Bhutan simultaneously from four places. The soldiers of Gauhati attacked Dewangiri. The soldiers of Goalpara attacked Bisensing. The forces of Cooch Behar attacked Buxa and Bala and the soldiers of Jalpaiguri attacked Chamurchi and Dalimkot. The forces of Jalpaiguri occupied Moynaguri and Domohani and in December 1864 A. D. took possession of

(50) Bhutan and Story of the Doar War. page 157.

Chibu Lama was the interpreter in Eden Mission. The substance of the afore said letter was, that the Bhutiyas did not understand what he explained to either party. It is needless to discuss that Chibu Lama was unfit to act as an interpreter or that he was a person whose nature was to adopt unfair means. But in open Durbar-Tangsu-Penlow smeared wet flour on the face of Mr. Eden and dragged him by the hair; one Jampen threw chewed betel into the mouth of Dr. Simpson, and Mr. Eden was forcibly made to sign a deed of treaty. There was no necessity of an interpreter to understand the import of these incidents. There was no novelty in the aforesaid denial of the Bhutiyas. Owing to the various oppressions of the Bhutiyas, the ruler of Cooch Behar was forced to acknowledge obedience to the Company in 1773 A. D. In the letter written by the Dharmaraja in Rajsaka 267 (1776 A. D.) to the king of Cooch Behar it was mentioned that the king was unfairly made a prisoner and put to suffer misery. The Bhutiyas also told Mr. Bogle in 1774 A. D. words to the same effect but when quarrels regarding boundaries began (1787 A. D.) they plainly wrote in the letter sent to the Company that the Nazir acknowledged the supremacy of the Company on the plea of disputes of the subjects, (Cooch Behar Select Records Vol. I., page 2). In the letter sent in 1815 A. D. to the Durbar of the Company by the Bhutiya authorities, it was written that the king of Cooch Behar had concluded a treaty with the Company, quarrelling with the Devaraja (Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 17).

Dalimkot and Dhamsong without any fight. Colonel Haughton, the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, was the political officer of this force. At this time, the Dharmaraja declared war against the king of Sikkim laying blame upon Chibu Lama of Sikkim and Mr. Eden. He issued a general order to the people to take up arms against the British to protect their own kingdom. After this the British forces occupied Chamurchi after a feeble fight. The Commander of the British forces got a letter from Devaraja in this place. In it there was an advice to refrain from battle as well as a threat.⁽⁵¹⁾

On the 28th November 1864 A. D. a regiment under Colonel Watson went from Cooch Behar and took possession of Chekakhata. From this place they attacked and occupied Buxa on the 7th December. Under Lieutenant Hedayet Ali there were 700 infantry 35 cavalry and two six-pounder guns of the ruler of Cooch Behar.⁽⁵²⁾ Lieutenant Ali with Colonel Watson first camped at Chekakhata and then at Alipur. His soldiers fought

(51). Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 182.

It was written in this letter that unless the English cease from fighting, twelve terrible deities will appear with soldiers and seven thousand of these will be established at Chamurchi, five thousand in Dorma, nine thousand in Buxa and one lac two thousand in Dalimkot.

(52). The town of Alipur (at present subdivision) in the Duar, was named after Lieutenant Hedayat Ali.

Before 1864 A. D. the condition of the army of the king of Cooch Behar was inferior to that of the army of the Company. In 1864 A. D. Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur was a minor and Colonel Haughton the Commissioner appointed by the Government was managing the administration. When arrangements for the Bhutan war began Colonel Haughton appointed Lieutenant Hedayet Ali of the Government army as the Commander-in-Chief of the Cooch Behar army at a salary of Rs. 500 in place of Bisweswar Nath Sing (the descendant of Rupan Sing) who was the Commander of the King's forces. Under the training of Lieutenant Hedayet Ali, the forces of the Maharaja were considered an efficient army. For success in Bhutan war, 136 of these soldiers got medals and in 1875 A. D. Lieutenant Governor Sir Richard Temple highly praised this army after inspecting the same.

getting great praise. While taking possession of Buxa, one soldier of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar showed special valour and was rewarded by the Government. Colonel Watson returned to Santarabari keeping 100 soldiers of the ruler of Cooch Behar to protect Buxa. After this he took possession of Bala Duar.

About this time when Buxa and Chamurchi were occupied, General Mulcaster started to fight from Gauhati. His forces also took possession of Dewangiri after a nominal fight. (53) Colonel Richardson started for battle from Goulpara. The fort of Bisensing was situated 42 miles from Sidli. The way to it was extremely bad and the place was unhealthy. General Mulcaster joined with Colonel Richardson to conquer Bisensing. They occupied the fort of Bisensing when it was left by the enemy and keeping some soldiers there returned to Sidli. In this manner the whole of Bhutan Duar was occupied by the Government almost without any fighting.

But in the end the Government could not enjoy the fruits of the Bhutan expedition without fighting. Before many days had elapsed it was learnt that the Bhutiyas were making preparations for a battle to recapture all the Duars from Dewangiri to Chamurchi. At first the Government did not believe this news but when it was known that the information was reliable, Tangsu Penlow himself attacked Dewangiri (30th January 1865 A. D.) After a battle continuing for some days the British soldiers were defeated and forced to retire from Dewangiri. On their return journey to the plains they fell into great distress having lost their way in the darkness of the night. They were forced to leave some guns, and these were seized by

(53). At this time, a monastery at Chamurchi was full of religious manuscripts. In a monastery at Dewangiri also there were many thousand manuscripts of the Bhutiyas and in the house of the Jamphen of that place there were several manuscripts in Tibetan language.

Tangsu Penlow, In this battle Tangsu Penlow gave evidence of his great valour. Five thousand Bhutiya soldiers were engaged in this battle. Among them some were residents of Khamba within southern Tibet. Some soldiers of the British were made prisoners. On many occasions the Bhutiya leaders fought hand to hand with British Generals and in this the Bhutiyas showed more efficiency.

The Bhutiyas did not desist after recapturing Dewangiri. They attacked the British forces almost simultaneously to recapture Bisensing, Buxa, Bala and Chamurchi. At that time in the whole of the Duars there were only 1300 British and 2000 native infantry and 160 men of the artillery on the side of the English. To help them additional soldiers were sent without

Recapture of the Duars.

delay from Meerut, Lucknow, Calcutta and Dumdum and the former commander-in-Chief was changed. The helping soldiers reached the Duars in March and the soldiers under General Tytler recaptured Bala, Buxa and Chamurchi. General Tomba reconquered Dewangiri and destroyed the Bisensing fort.

To maintain unresisted possession, soldiers were placed in Tezpur, Kumarikata, Rangia, Gauhati, Dima, Buxa, Bala, Patlakhawa, Chamurchi, Dalimkot, Jalpesh and Darjeeling. Afterwards the British force was removed from Chamurchi and the charge of protecting this was made over to the soldiers of the ruler of Cooch Behar. When the rainy season was over, the British soldiers again prepared for battle. When more than seven thousand of their soldiers divided into two sections were ready to attack Punakha and Tangsu the Devaraja agreed to conclude a treaty. According to the

Conclusion of a treaty.

terms of the treaty (11th November 1863 A. D.) the Government permanently occupied the whole of the Duars and they agreed to pay Rs. 25000 to the Devaraja annually as compensation. It was also

settled that if in future no wrong was committed by the Bhutiyas, this amount would be doubled.

When all the Duars of Bengal and Assam were occupied by the Government, the possession of lands on the south of the hills by the Bhutiyas was completely extinct. It has already been mentioned that before the kingdom of Cooch Behar was attacked and occupied by the Bhutiyas in the 18th century, its area was more than 3200 square miles. After paying the cost of war and half the revenue every year to the Company and in exchange for independence, the portion that was saved was only 1317 square miles. Some portion of the remaining territory was taken possession of by the Company themselves and most of the lands were given to the king of Bhutan by their decision.

Area of the kingdom of
Cooch Behar.

Under the treaty of 1774 the whole territory of Chekakhata was not included within the dominion of Bhutan. Only 'possession' of this was given to the Devaraja. There is no mention whether there was any consideration of the previous occupation or claim of the king of Cooch Behar to it or whether any one preferred any claim to it on behalf of the minor king when the Company established their occupation over this territory in 1864 A. D. In the battles of 1864-65 A. D. the forces of ruler of Cooch Behar greatly helped the Government and the Maharaja had to spend about one and a half lac of rupees annually for this. (54)

(54), "When the cost of accoutrements, Marching Batta and compensation for dearness of provisions and the pay of the men is taken into the consideration, it will be proved, that this army costs the State not less than 1½ lakhs a year or half of the income of the State,.....but he (Captain Ally) has not resided in Cooch Behar for a month together since December 1864 and I confess that I do not see that either he or his army has done any good to this State."

Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State, 1864, written by Mr. H. Beveridge, Offg. Deputy Commissioner of the State.

"The Cooch Behar troops did good service in the Bhutan Campaign and Captain Hedayat Ally, their Commandant, has obtained the thanks of Government and the title of Khan Bahadur for his exertions, but they were a heavy burden on the State."

Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State, 1865.

For this help many persons from the king's Commander-in-Chief to ordinary soldiers were rewarded by the Government,⁽⁵⁵⁾ but the ruler or his kingdom did not get any share of the reward. With the occupation of the Bhutan Duars by the Government, the State of Cooch Behar has been freed for ever from raids of Bhutiyas, but the charge of stopping such raids was long before taken up by the Government of the Company under the treaty.

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(55). The charge of administration and protection of the Bhutan Duars was made over to Captain Hedayet Ali. In 1883 A. D. he got as a reward 41,754 acres of land in Maraghat and Laksmipur within the Duars on condition of paying revenue on half rates for 30 years. His representatives are enjoying from 1902 A. D. 28,495 acres of land on condition of paying the revenue (Rs. 7,897) for twenty years. Captain Hedayet Ali was a resident of Danapur. Subsequently he was gradually promoted to the grade of Colonel.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COOCH BEHAR TREATY.

During the reign of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan, the independence of the dynesty of Visvasinha was again curtailed.

During the reign of Maharaja Laksmî nârâyan, the supremacy of the Mughals was first established on the kingdom of

Cooch Behar, but Maharaja Modnârâyan recovered his independence. In 1773 A. D. Nazir Deo Khagendranârâyan in the name of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan acknowledged the supremacy of the Company and concluded a treaty with them. For concluding this treaty Khagendranârâyan was rebuked by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan as the treaty was considered to be detrimental to the prestige of the Maharaja. This rebuke might be befitting a descendant of Visvasinha, but at that time there was no other way to save the throne of Visvasinha than by seeking the support of the Company. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that Khagendranârâyan acted like a far-sighted statesman in concluding this treaty on his own responsibility.

When Nazir Deo Khagendranârâyan concluded the treaty with the Company, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan the father of Dharendranârâyan was a prisoner in Bhutan. For this reason Rajendranârâyan who was made a king by the Bhutiyas did not get proper honour and respect from the people.

Condition of two kings.

Even those who were in favour of installing Dharendranârâyan as the king, did not consider him to be a permanent ruler. When Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan returned from Bhutan Sarbânand Gosvami the Rajguru and Kasinath Lahiri the Khasnavis requested him to sit on the throne.

After the death of Rajendranârâyan Sarbânanda Gosvami the Rajguru and Kasinath Lahiri the Khasnavis requested Nazir Khagendranârâyan to make Kumar Dharendranârâyan the son of the imprisoned Maharaja, king in order to diminish the influence of the Bhutiyas. ⁽¹⁾ Had not the Bhutiyas attempted to make another nominee of theirs king, it is doubtful whether there would have been any necessity to make Dharendranârâyan king. Whoever might be the person in whose name the treaty was to be concluded, the officers of the Company regarded Dhairyendranârâyana as king and Dharendranârâyan as merely his representative. ⁽²⁾ This attitude of theirs is expressed in the third para of the treaty with Bhutan made in 1774 A. D.

The Treaty (1773 A. D.)

"Durrindernârâyan, Raja of Cooch Behar, having represented to the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta the present distressed state of the Country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Rajas, who are in league to depose him, the Honourable the President and Council, from a love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of sepoy, and a field-piece for the protection of the

(1). Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adhyāya 17.

(2). "During which time Dharendra Narayan, his (Dhairjendra Narayan's) eldest son, officiated." Report of the Company's Canoongo written on the 25th Magh 1190 B. S.

said Raja and his country against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on :—

- “1st.—That the said Raja will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpore Rs. 50,000 to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.
- “2nd.—That if more than Rs. 50,000 are expended, the Raja will make it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended that it be delivered back.
- “3rd.—That the Raja will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies, and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal.
- “4th.—That the Raja further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one-half of the annual revenues of Cooch Behar for ever.
- “5th.—That the other moiety shall remain to the Raja and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.
- “6th.—That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Raja will deliver a fair hastabud of his district into the hands of such person as the Honourable the president and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual Malguzary, which the Raja is to pay, shall be established.

"7th.—That the amount of Malguzary settled by such person as the Honourable the East India Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

"8th.—That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense.

"9th.—That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Court of Directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever.

"This treaty signed, sealed, and concluded, by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth day of April, 1773, on the one part, and by Durrindernârâyan, Raja of Cooch Behar, at Behyar Fort, the 6th Maug, 1179, Bengal style on the other part."

It is not known what was the language of the original treaty. It appears to be probable that it was written in Bengali or Persian which was current at that time as Court language. Among the old papers in the State Council there are five Bengali copies (almost worn out) of the treaty. The Government of India wrote a letter on the 23rd December 1861 to the Government of Bengal and took two copies from the same. A copy of this preserved copy is printed in the Appendix ⁽³⁾.

In the heading of this copy, it is written 'Copy 25th Magh 1220'. At the end it is mentioned that the seal and signatures were put in Calcutta on the 4th

(3). The word 'Joyes' as printed in Appendix in the preamble of the copy to the treaty is inferred to be 'Joyel'. 'Jayel' is an Arabic word meaning 'later'. [In the original, the word is 'Jayel'. Translator.]

December 1772. (4) On the left side there is signature of Dharendranārāyan and on the right there are signatures of Warren Hastings, William Aldersey and Richard Barwell.

The Nazirs who preceded Kumar Khagendranārāyan held the royal umbrella over the head of the king at the time of installation. Besides this they were Commanders-in-Chief of the royal army.

Right of the Nazir
Nazir Khagendranārāyan also was performing this work of administration according to the previous custom. Acknowledging subjection to a foreign power, agreement to pay tribute and conclusion of a treaty are most important political affairs. Before this we never find in the history of Cooch Behar that any State Officer or the Nazir concluded any treaty on the above terms. Afterwards when the British Government was administering the State of Cooch Behar as representative of the minor Maharaja Nripendranārāyan, they did not acknowledge that Nazir Khagendranārāyan had any right to grant a land on behalf of the king. (5)

(4). In the aforesaid copy the date of conclusion of the treaty is mentioned as the 4th December 1772. In Rājopākhyāna and in the report of Mercer and Chauvet dated 1788 (Article 5) it is mentioned that the treaty was concluded in 1772 A. D. A copy of the treaty concluded in that year was sent by the Government in 1814 A. D. to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar. In it there is a blank in the place where the date and month is written. (Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 244). Buchanan Hamilton also has mentioned that the treaty was concluded in 1772 (Eastern India, Vol. III, page 421). It is mentioned in the letter written by Mr. Ahmuty dated the 10th January 1801 to the Revenue Board that treaty was made in 1772 A. D. or 1179 B. S. Major Jenkins has written in his report (1849 A. D.) that the Treaty was concluded in 1772. In other places also besides these, there is mention that the treaty was made in 1772 A. D.

In the copy of the treaty printed in 'Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement' by Srijukta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri the following appears in the 3rd part: "Subjection to the will of the English East India Company." but the words "will of" do not exist in any of the abovementioned copies. In the English copies the names of persons who signed on behalf of the Company are also absent.

(5). Letter dated the 6th May 1874 written by the Commissioner Sir William Herschel, Letters and Proceedings having the force of Law, page 13,

The East India Company got the rights to realise revenue from Bengal, Behar and Orissa under a Sunnud from the emperor of Delhi in 1765. At that

Trade of the Company.

time the authorities of the Company had no intention to administer the country.

Their only object was to earn money by trade like ordinary merchants. Under the conditions then prevailing it was necessary to maintain a force for the collection of revenue. In their own interests, therefore, the East India Company took control of the forces of the country. The administrative and judicial work were performed as before by the officers of the Nawab in the name of the emperor of Delhi. In the treaty concluded with the Nawab of Bengal in 1770 A. D. sanction of the Nawab was taken for appointment of the Naib of the Provinces. On certain occasions the officers of the Company interfered with the administrative and judicial work of the Nawab. At first the Directors of the Company in England did not approve active interference in the administration or extension of dominion. They did not even support the treaty regarding division of the kingdom of Nawab Sujauddowla of Oudh. The Directors were not of opinion that the policy of extending their dominion in this country was beneficial.

In 1771 A. D. there was an attempt to conduct the collection of revenue of Bengal under the direct management of the Company. But as proper arrangement of

Ruling the country in the name of the Emperor of Delhi.

the work could not be made in this manner, the charge of this work was placed after four years in the hands of Naib Suba Reza Khan. At that time the Directors gave advice that it was better to manage affairs regarding battle with foreign powers or matters akin to this, in the name of the Nawab. Accordingly, the Governors of the Company issued necessary orders in the name of the Nawab and bearing his seal and signature. In the

Sunnud granted by the authorities of the Company in 1776 A. D. to Dhairvendranârâyan the Maharaja of Cooch Behar regarding the zemindaries situated in Sarkar Cooch Behar (districts of Rungpur and Jalpaiguri), the date was put down as the 17th year of the reign of the titular emperor (Saha Alam) of that time. At that time and even long after this (1789-90 A. D.) the authorities of the Company had coins struck in the mint at Murshidabad in the name of emperor Saha Alam. "In all the letters sent by the Collectors of Rungpur to Cooch Behar for money due to the Company, after the conclusion of the treaty with the king of Cooch Behar, there were seal and signature of the contemporary Naib Kazi. But owing to continual interference by the officers of the Company the old and effete administration of the Nizamat Sarkar was gradually becoming dislocated. In 1779 A. D. the Naib Suba attempted to establish his absolute power over the Civil and Criminal departments but did not succeed. In 1790 A. D. the dual administration ended in Bengal and the East India Company assumed absolute authority over Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

At the beginning of the aforesaid dual administration the treaty was concluded between the Company and the king of Cooch Behar. (1773 A. D.). At that

Conditions of the treaty. time only the Company had a powerful army in Bengal. It has already been mentioned that besides gaining money, the authorities of the Company had not at that time any desire to establish authority or extend their dominion, and for this reason in the terms of the Cooch Behar treaty, no other object than to realise money was disclosed. There was an undefined expression regarding 'subjection' of the king, but it may be that this was written for facility in realising money. There is no mention in this treaty that any rights or power befitting an independent king like declaring war, concluding treaty, striking coins, maintaining

an army, internal administration etc. were curtailed or that political connections with other royal powers were prohibited. The treaty with the Bhutiyas in 1774 A. D. was also a treaty regarding trade but some extra terms were included in the same to prevent quarrels and dissensions between the two countries,

The treaty concluded with the Company by the king of Cooch Behar in 1773 A. D. is now seen printed in English.

Undefined language.

In the Bengali copy of this treaty preserved in Cooch Behar (which has already been mentioned) it has been mentioned in the third para "Maluk Kochbihar sube Banglar motaluk havek". The authorities of the Company very soon found out that the language of the Cooch Behar treaty was vague and undefined. In 1788 A. D. the Government of Lord Cornwallis asked the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet to enquire along with other matters, into the nature of the Treaty. After a detailed enquiry the Commissioners submitted a report on the 10th November 1788 A. D. Their opinion regarding the same is clearly expressed in the following portion of that report :—

"It will be admitted, that under a liberal construction of the apparent object and spirit of the Treaty no advantage can justly be taken of the loose and undefined expressions of 'subjection' and 'annexation' above mentioned to the prejudice of the less powerful contracting party. That no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own Government was intended, is obvious from his having been left in possession of the two great characteristics of sovereignty, the right of coining money impressed with his own name and the administration of justice, and from these considerations collectively, our construction of the Treaty, is, that Cooch Behar was thenceforward to be regarded in the light of a Tributary District, deriving protection from the State to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights ; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence un-impaired." (6)

Receiving the above opinion of the Commissioners the Resolution of the Revenue Board and the Directors. Government of Lord Cornwallis passed the following resolution on 13th May, 1789 :—

"From the above abstract of the principal articles of the Treaty the Board cannot but be of opinion with the Commissioner, that no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own Government was intended by it, but that Cooch Behar was thenceforward to be regarded in the light of a tributary district deriving protection from the State to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence unimpaired," (7)

This explanation and opinion of the Board were sent by them on the 10th August 1789 to the Court of Directors in England. The Directors supported this and informed the Board on the 19th May 1790 A. D. :

"Your last Despatch of the 10th August 1789 has acquainted us with the result of the Deputation to Cooch Behar, and of the measures you adopted in consequence which have met with our approbation." (8)

This explanation of the Treaty was not liked by some Governors-General. Though they were unable to go against the abovementioned decision regarding the power and the rights of the king, yet they did not desist from passing adverse criticism against the same. The Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet have mentioned that the interest of the weaker of the contracting parties might suffer if the stronger party be

Adverse criticism.

(7). Resolution by the Government on Cooch Behar Report, 13th May, 1789. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 202.

(8). Extract from letters from the Court of Directors dated the 19th May 1790 (para 25).

placed in the position of a judge. Hints regarding this might be found in the adverse criticisms. The Government of Wellesley mentioned in 1802 A. D. :—

"That the terms of the 3rd article of the Treaty, concluded between this Government and the late Rajah in the year 1772 would warrant the conclusion, that it was the intention of the contracting parties, that the country of Cooch Behar should be ceded in complete sovereignty to the Hon'ble Company. It appears, however, that a much more limited interpretation has been annexed to the conditions of the Treaty." (9).

The Government of Lord Minto has also expressed a similar view in 1813 A. D. (10)

In 1816 A. D. during the time of Lord Moyra discussions again began regarding the explanation of the treaty and the rights of the the king. It was then decided :

"On a careful revision of the terms of the Treaty 1772, the Governor General in Council has satisfied himself that it will not fairly bear the construction in which alone (independently of the Rajah's violation of the fundamental principles and stipulations of the Treaty) the British Government could claim the right of exercising the powers above described." (11).

This was in principle in accordance with opinion of the Government in 1789 but even after this interpretation, adverse criticisms by the officers of the Government did not cease.

(9). Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council in the Revenue Department, dated the 26th August, 1802.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 133.

(10). Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council under date the 7th August, 1813.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, pages 225-231.

(11). Extract from the letter from the Secretary to Government to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, dated the 24th February, 1816.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page, 97.

On the contrary, it can be shown from discussions regarding this Cooch Behar Treaty that they on certain occasions proceeded to act beyond their powers without thorough enquiry. The interpretation of the treaty, as made by Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in 1862 A. D., surpassed all the previous adverse criticisms. It is not mentioned whether he was aware of the previous interpretations or whether he paid any consideration to the same. His view was :—

“The Rajah of Cooch Behar appears to misunderstand his position. By the Treaty of 1773, his predecessor acknowledged subjection to the British Government and allowed Cooch Behar to be annexed to Bengal Accordingly, a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Cooch Behar was made and continues in force to this day.

“Therefore, although the Rajah of Cooch Behar has been permitted to conduct the civil administration of the district as he pleases, and has been exempted from the jurisdiction of all British Courts and from the operations of the laws in force in other parts of Bengal, he has no claim to consider himself in the light of a ‘high Contracting party’ with the British Government, or otherwise than a subject of Her Majesty, bound to be firm in his allegiance, and to obey the orders of constituted authority.” (2).

No ‘liberal construction’ as mentioned by the Commissioners, is necessary in understanding the real import of the third and the eighth articles of the Treaty if these are read together. It is mentioned in the third article that Cooch Behar will be annexed to Bengal. If this expression be interpreted as sufficient in showing that the independent rights of the king are hereby abolished, there cannot be any necessity for writing the eighth article. The meaning of the latter mentioned article is very clear. No far-fetched interpretation is necessary. It is

(12). Extract from the letter No. 223 T. from the Offg. Joint Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Agent to the Governor General, N. E. F. dated the 30th July, 1862, (paras 4 and 5.). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 154

mentioned in the same: "That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense." If under article 3 the kingdom of Cooch Behar being annexed to Bengal becomes the territory of the Company, there cannot be any necessity in future for the king to protect that kingdom from outside invasion or pay any cost for help of soldiers sent with that object by the Company. It is not found whether this eighth article was a subject for discussion by the adverse critics. But the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet had interpreted the Treaty as a whole. The king of Cooch Behar did not get his kingdom from the Company. In exchange for rescuing his kingdom from his enemies, he out of his own accord curtailed his own rights in certain matters by the treaty. It is natural that except in these matters, his rights and powers on other matters would remain unimpaired. It is not desirable to prove that these rights were transferred or extinguished with the help of words used in a loose or undefined way.

There are nine articles in the Cooch Behar Treaty (1773 A. D.). It is only at the end of the third article, there

The condition of the Company.

is a mention that the kingdom will be annexed to Bengal. At the time of the Treaty the emperor of Delhi was the ruler of Sube Bangala. The Company collected revenue from it and paid the fixed amount to the Nawab and the emperor and themselves took a portion of the same as costs for protection of the territory and their own profits. This agreement (1765 A. D.) between the emperor and the Company was nothing but an arrangement for collection of revenue. By the Company did not derive any political rights or power to conquer a new kingdom or annex a new territory to the dominion of the emperor.

For these various reasons, the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet did not think it desirable to rely on the two words "annexed" and "subjection" used in a loose and undefined manner and all the authorities from the Government at that time

The real meaning of the Treaty.

and the Court of Directors supported their interpretation. The statement of the Commissioners was not merely a 'liberal construction.' All the circumstances, events and discussions at the time of the Treaty (1773 A. D.) were fully remembered by the officers of the Company even at that time (1788-89 A. D.). Those who attempted to interpret the treaty later on tried merely to depend on the meaning of words. They were not acquainted with the contemporary circumstances or did not pay any attention to the same. Examples can be given from records of the Government what kind of language is necessary to be used in documents regarding annexation of a kingdom. The present Bengal Duars were annexed to the British territory in 1864 A. D. In the Resolution regarding this it was written :

"The Governor General in Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Duars of Bhutan." (13)

In 1862 A. D. the Governor General Lord Canning granted a Sunnud to Maharaja Narendranârâyan, the then ruler of Cooch Behar, conferring rights to adopt a son (14) but according to the terms of the 5th article of the treaty, only the heir of a king can become the ruler and it was also written in the 51 st para in the letter dated the 10th August 1789 from the Board to the Court of Directors that only the rightful

(13). Bhutan and Story of the Duar War, page 162.

(14). Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 294.

heir of the king can become a ruler. ⁽¹⁵⁾ According to Hindu law, an adopted son is considered as equal to a natural born son. Maharaja Narendranârâyan was himself an adopted son. Before this, we have information that Kumar Lalitnârâyan was adopted by Chhatra Nazir Santanârâyan and Kumar Dinanârâyan was adopted by Maharaja Upendranârâyan. But all the adopted sons belonged to the dynasty of Visvasinha. Even those who were made rulers of Cooch Behar by force by the Mughul, emperor and the king of Bhutan (Dinanârâyan and Rajendra nârâyan) belonged to that dynasty.

There is a custom prevalent in Cooch Behar for nominating an heir to the throne when a king has no son. In 1788 A. D. Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet referred to this custom. They mentioned that there was a custom for rulership accepted by all in the royal family of Cooch Behar. But this custom was not followed at the installation of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan by the Bhutiyas. The eldest son of the king becomes the ruler, and when a king has no son, the eldest of the Sapindas becomes the ruler. This custom was introduced at the time of Maharaja Rupnârâyan. But as Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan was an officer of the king, he was considered as unfit to become king and so the fact of his being the eldest was not considered or observed in determining succession. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Ramnârâyan, the younger brother of Rajendranârâyan, had a sore in his finger, so he also according to the family custom could not become king. At the end of the 17th century after the death of king Mahindranârâyan Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan declared himself as king. But he also was of the same class as Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan, that is to say, an officer of the king. So according to the family custom, he also was unfit to become king.

(15). In the Bengali copy of the treaty, 'Santan adi' is written as translation of 'heir'.

(16). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. I, page 181.

While discussing the relations fixed by the the treaty between the king of Cooch Behar and the East India Company, our attention is naturally attracted to certain circumstances. The Company agreed in the Treaty to rescue the king and his kingdom from enemies. The enemy was defeated and the king was liberated but the kingdom was not wholly made over to the king. Besides this, the Government have taken away on different occasions certain rights befitting a king: *e.g.*

Extinction of the rights of the king.

1. Trial of European British subjects committing any offence within the State of Cooch Behar by Courts of the State (1794 A. D.).
2. Striking and circulation of coins in the name of the king (1805 A. D.).
3. Cultivation of ganja and opium in the State of Cooch Behar (1867 and 1871 A. D.).
4. Maintenance of the king's own postal department (1883 A. D.).

The Government have given some monetary advantages for prohibiting the cultivation of ganja and opium and the maintenance of the king's own post-offices.

The Government of the Company according to their resolution dated the 13th May 1789 A. D. took charge of the administration and education of the king till the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan attained majority.⁽¹⁷⁾ Under

(17). "Upon due consideration of the wretched state of the country, as described in the report of the Commissioners, the incapacity of the Rani, the improper conduct of her dependents, and the helpless state of the infant Rajah; the Board cannot but be of opinion that the interposition of the authority of this Government, without any view to its own advantage, but solely to establish good order throughout the country, and restore the Rajah to his independent rights as soon as he may be capable of exercising them, will not only be justifiable under the relation in which he stands to this Government, but consistent with the principles of equity, humanity, and good policy."

Resolution by Government on Cooch Behar Report, 13th May, 1789, Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 203.

similar circumstances they later on took charge of the administration and education of minor rulers. As the suzerainty of the Company was acknowledged over the kingdom of Cooch Behar they always thought that a heavy burden of duty was imposed upon them. (18). It is difficult to say what would have been the end of the kingdom of Cooch Behar, had the authorities of the Company remained satisfied by only sending help of soldiers whenever necessary according to Article 9 of the treaty. Within one hundred years after the conclusion of the treaty, difficulties arose at the succession of each king and it is seen that these were solved by timely and proper intervention of the Government.

(18). (a) Letter from the Government to the Rajah of Cooch Behar, dated the 24th February, 1816, Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 99.

(b) "15.....It must not be forgotten that both the Rajah and the people of his country are under the protection of this Government which is responsible for their welfare."

Letter No. 156, dated the 14th December, 1848, from Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 146.

(c). "I am instructed to acquaint you that the appointment of a British Commissioner to manage the State, during the minority of Nripendra Narayan, is considered by Government to be imperatively called for ———"

Letter No. 1, dated the 15th January 1864, from Offg. Agent to the Governor General, N. E. F. to the Maharanees of Cooch Behar.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 275.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISCUSSION.

After the reign of Maharaja Modnârâyan, when his successors agitated by external and internal revolts were flustered about in search of self-protection, they had but little concern about the vicissitudes of the throne. At last when all these revolts subsided at the expense of an extensive territory and sacrifice of royal blood, there remained only the name of the vast kingdom of Kâmata. Unfortunately historical accounts of that period extending over half a century during which the miserable downfall of the kingdom and royal dynasty took place owing to revolts, are hidden in obscurity. A discrepancy has been found in Râjsaka in a deed of gift executed by Ohhatra Nazir Santanârâyan during this period. The date of this deed is mentioned as 1130 B. S. equivalent to 215 Rajsaka. But according to the system followed by Joynath Ghose 1130 B. S. should correspond to 214 and not 215 Rajsaka. This discrepancy of one year might also be due to clerical error, but it is not reasonable to infer that this happened later than 1130 B. S. (1723 A. D.) even if it be accepted that there was a mistake in the calculation of Râjsaka.

Substances of some old documents are mentioned in the decree of a case in Rungpur regarding the zemindary of Chaklaj in 1778 A. D. Though all of these might not be reliable, in one place we find 228 Râjsaka equivalent to 1144 B. S. and in another 229 Râjsaka equivalent to 1145 B. S. In the records of a case in 1842 regarding a Debutter land of Chakla

Use of dual dates.

Boda it is mentioned that 234 Râjsaka correspond to 1150 B. S. In a colophon in a part of the manuscript of 'Sâttvata Tantra' it is mentioned that it was written in 249 Râjsaka or 1680 Sakâbda. In later times, as the joint use of such dual years was seen, the statement of Joynath Ghosh that 78 Râjsaka is equivalent to 1509 Sakâbda and 994 B. S. is supported. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that in 1510 A. D. Visvasinha when he was a boy nine years old accompanied by a few playmates and being helped by divine power attacked the Kotwal (representative of the Sultan of Gaur) and killed him with his soldiers and became an independent king. "From that time the Râjsaka has begun to run". If we think that help of divine power was imagined to preserve conformity with the past and present time as the real facts could not be ascertained from (the dark recesses of antiquity steeped in) unfathomable oblivion, it may be inferred that in this account of the boyish valour of Visvasinha the history of the inauguration of Râjsaka is also hidden.

Maharaja Visvasinha established himself as an independent ruler of the country. The declaration of independence cannot so easily be made by inauguration of an era, as by issuing coins in one's name.

The founder of Râjsaka. No coin bearing the name of Visvasinha has yet been discovered. Except in a modern Vansâvali (written by Durgadas) no account has been found anywhere of his having struck coins. The number of kings inaugurating an era is very small and only kings having highest talents have inaugurated eras in their own name. Visvasinha was not a ruler of this type. ' Râjsaka has begun ' from his gaining the kingdom, but no mention has been found anywhere that he inaugurated this era. Maharaja Naranârâyan, the son of Visvasinha, was a talented and very powerful king. It will not be unreasonable or against ancient practice if it is to be

inferred that it was probably he that had inaugurated the Râjsaka from the year of his father's declaration of independence. More than one instance of this nature is found in history. (1)

According to Munshi Joynath Ghose the writer of Râjopâkhyâna the first year of Râjsaka corresponded to 1432 Saka, 917 B. S., 921 Hijri and 1510 A. D.

Counting Râjsaka.

It is not mentioned in his work whether he found all these eras written together in any place or whether he calculated the eras from the Râjsaka current in his time. (2) It may be believed that he derived the Hijri era by rough subtraction. The Hijri era is calculated according to lunar month and it is accepted that it has begun from the 16th July 622 A. D. In one hundred years of a solar year, there are 103 years and 24 days of lunar years. So in the first year of Râjsaka (1510 A. D.) it should have been written 916-17 Hijri instead of 921 Hijri.

Munshi Joynath Ghose entered the State service in 286 Râjsaka (1795 A. D.). Ten years before this the boy Maharaja Harendranârâyan was confined for some days in Balarampur by men of the Nazir's party. According to Munshi Joynath Ghosh this event happened at the end of Baisakh in 277 Râjsaka. This popularly came to be called as ' Râjâ-dharâ ' (seizure of the king). It has been mentioned before that the

(1) Though the Hijri and the Christian eras are counted from a specific event, the Hijri era has started 17 years and the Christian era 500 years after these events.

The famous Gupta era (beginning from 319 A. D.) was inaugurated by Samudragupta or his father Maharaja Chandragupta I. But it is counted from the gaining of kingdom by Sreegupta, the first king of this dynasty. The Laksmana era (beginning from 1119 A. D.) is being counted from gaining the kingdom by Vijayasena, the first king of the Sena dynasty.

(2) It has been discussed in the Chapter on Nârâyani Coins (Chapter XV) of this work that Maharaja Prannârâyan in his coins has sometimes used Sakâbda and sometimes Râjsaka. In a document during the time of Maharaja Rupnârâyan (201 Râjsaka) there is mention of an older document executed in 53 Râjsaka.

incident of this seizure of the king actually took place in the month of Jaisth (Chapter XVI).

Mercer and Chauvet were appointed Commissioners by the Company to enquire into the affair of the seizure of the king. It is written in records regarding this enquiry that this seizure of the king took place on the 32nd Jaisth 278 Râjsaka. Munshi Joynath Ghose was in the State service when the marriage ceremony of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan took place. He wrote that this marriage was celebrated on the 27th Falgun 1247 B. S. but in a letter of invitation issued on the occasion of this marriage the date was put down as the 26th Falgun ⁽³⁾. For this and various other reasons, the accounts given by Joynath Ghose cannot always be safely relied upon as true or reasonable.

In the State Sheristas of Cooch Behar and among the public, the dates mentioned by Munshi Joynath Ghose regarding the years of current eras on which the reign of the Nârâyan royal dynasty began, have been accepted. But the manuscript of Râjopâkhyâna is not older than a hundred years. Durgadas Mazumdar in his Râjvansâvali (manuscript) has mentioned only Râjsaka, and Govindadeva Gosvami in the introduction of his Dâmodarcharita (manuscript) has mentioned the years of Sakâbda in giving the time of installation of each king. These two manuscripts are of later date than Râjopâkhyâna. In no other manuscripts except these three Vansâvalis of the aforesaid three writers, the time of the beginning of reign of each king has been given *seriatum*. For convenience of reference, the time of installation of each king is shown in the accompanying table from the three manuscripts mentioned above. The time calculated by proper discussion (in Christian era) in this Chapter is also given against the name of each king.

(3) This invitation letter on the occasion of the marriage, is preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the Malcutchery (in Cooch Behar);

Beginning of reign as mentioned in the three works mentioned above.

Name of king.	TIME GIVEN BY JOYKATH GHOSE.				A. D.	Rājaka mentioned by Durgadas.	A. D.	Sakābda mentioned by Gopabandha deva.	A. D.	A. D. now determined.
	Rājaka.	Sakābda.	Bangābda.							
1. Chandan	...	1	1432	917	1510	1	(B) 1496 (1510)	1417	1495	(A) ...
2. Madan (C)	9	(B) 1504 (1518)	1410	1488	...
3. Visvasinha	...	14	1445	930	1523	13	(B) 1508 (1522)	1430	1508	1496
4. Naranārāyan	...	45	1476	961	1554	45	(B) 1540 (1554)	1450	1528	1533
5. Lakṣminārāyan	...	78	1509	994	1587	93	(B) 1588 (1602)	1506	1584	...
6. Virnārāyan	...	112	1543	1028	1621	133	(B) 1628 (1642)	1544	1622	1627
7. Prannārāyan	...	117	1548	1033	1626	148	(B) 1643 (1657)	1549	1627	1632

8. Modnārāyan ..	156	1587	1072	1665	153	1648 (1662)	1587	1665	...
9. Basudevnrārāyan	171	1602	1087	1680	173	1668 (1682)	1602	1680	...
10. Mahindranārāyan ...	173	1604	1089	1682	175	1670 (1684)	1606	1684	...
11. Rupnārāyan ..	185	1616	1101	1694	187	1682 (1696)	1617	1695	1704
12. Upendranārāyan ..	205	1636	1121	1714	205	1700 (1714)	1636	1714	...
13. Devendranārāyan ...	254	1685	1170	1763	244	1739 (1753)	1685	1763	...
14. Dhairvendranārāyan. (First time)	256	1687	1172	1765	253	1748 (1762)	1687	1765	...
15. Rajendranārāyan (D)	261	1692	1177	1770	259	1754 (1768)	1693	1771	...
16. Dharendranārāyan...	262	1693	1178	1772	262	1757 (1771)	1694	1772	...
14. Dhairvendranārāyan. (Second time)	265	...	1181	1775	266	1761 (1775)	1702	1780	...
17. Harendranārāyan ..	274	1705	1190	1783	270	...	1705	1783	...

In column (A) the years of the Christian era showing the beginning of the reigns of kings numbered 3, 4, 6, 7 and 11 are inseparably connected with the account of their reigns. So in this history the time of reign of these kings has been changed. Maharaja Visvasinha administered the country before 1496 A. D. But it is inferred that he did so in the name of his father. For this reason, the beginning of his reign is calculated from the declaration of his independence (1496 A. D.)

In this Chapter it will be written after discussion that the beginning of reign of kings numbered 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14 was on 1670, 1688, 1717, 1755 and 1763 A. D. respectively. But in the account of their reigns these dates have not been mentioned. In this history the time as mentioned in the Rājopākhyāna has been adopted regarding the beginning of reign of these five kings as well as kings numbered 1, 5, 10, 15, 16 and 17.

(B). The Christian eras in column B, have been calculated according to the figure on the coin of Maharaja Lakṣminārāyaṇ 1509 Saka = 92 Rājśaka) and the probable time of the declaration of independence of Maharaja Visvasinha (beginning of Rājśaka or the first year of it in 1496 A. D.). For convenience of reference, under each of these years, the Christian era calculated according to Rājopākhyāna (1 Rājśaka = 1510 A. D.) has been put down within brackets.

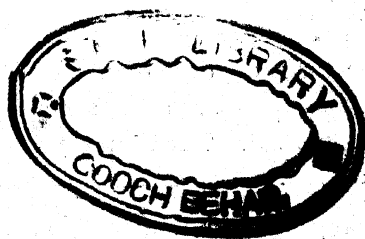
(C). In Rājopākhyāna, the name of king Madan is not mentioned. None except Govindadeva Gosvami has mentioned him as a king. In this history Chandan and Madan have not been accepted as kings of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar.

(D). In Rājopākhyāna it is written that the reign of Rajendranārāyaṇ began in 1693 Sakābda and 1178 B. S. This appears to be a clerical error.

Comparing the Saka eras as mentioned by Joynath Ghose and Govindadeva Gosvami showing the beginning of reigns of kings, we find a great difference in the aforesaid dates regarding three kings (numbered 1, 3 and 4). The difference of figures or Sakâbda is from one to three years in the case of seven kings (numbered 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15 and 16). There is no difference in figures of Sakâbda in the case of six kings (8, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 17).

It will be seen from the table given to show side by side the different views regarding the installation of each of the Nârâyan kings that converting the
Difference of fourteen years. different eras mentioned by Durgadas and Govindadeva regarding the beginning of reign of Maharaja Visvasinha into the Christian era, we arrive at the same year viz., 1508 A.D. According to Joynath Ghose it was (1523 A. D.) 14 Râjsaka, and according to Durgadas it was 1522 A.D. 13 Râjsaka. Under these circumstances, a difference of 14 years is found between the time given by Durgadas and that given by Govindadeva. This difference of 14 years is supported by the coin of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan (1509 Saka=92 Râjsaka).

The figures of Râjsaka in five old documents are converted according to the system adopted in Râjopâkhyâna and



the coin of Lakṣminārāyan into the Christian era. The difference of 14 years as shown below appears as a result:—

Description of documents.	Date of execution in Rājaka.	A. D. determined according to the system adopted in Rājapāthyāna (1) Rājaka = 101 A. D.)	A. D. determined according to the coin of Lakṣminārāyan (22 Rājaka = 109 Saka).	Difference.
1. Waqqa of Chhatranazir Yajmanārāyan Kumar 'Sāksāt hukum pramāna(a).	177	1686	1672	14
2. Ditto.	185	1694	1680	14
3. Waqqa of Bhujadeva Kumar and Chhatranazir Mahijinnārāyan Kumar 'Sāksāt hukum (Pramāna).	188	1697	1683	14
4. Waqqa of Santanārāyan (b).	215	1724	1710	14
5. Perwana of Santanārāyan mentioned in the copy of the decree dated 1778 A.D. in the Chakla-jat case (c).	218	1737	1723	14

(a) 'Sāksāt hukum pramāna' ("proof of the order in presence of") were written before the name of the officer by whom and in whose presence the order for executing the document, was passed.

(b) The time of execution of Waqqa (b) (Order or Amalnama) has been written as 215 Rājaka or 1130 B. S. The figure 1130 appears to be due to a clerical error. It should be 1131.

(c) The Perwana (c) was written in 228 Rājaka and 1144 B.S.

TIME OF MAHARAJA VISVASINHA.

There are the following differences of opinion regarding the time of birth of Maharaja Visvasinha :—

In Akbarnâmâ (approximate)	...	863 Hijri	1458 A. D.
„ Râjopâkhyâna	...	1422 Saka	1500 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Kharganârâyan	...	1430 Saka	1508 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Gandharbanârâyan	...	1430 Saka	1508 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Ripunjaya	...	4610 Kalyabda	1510 A. D.

It has been mentioned before that in 1405 Saka (1483 A. D.) political relations were established between the Âhom king and Visvasinha and in 1419 Saka (1497 A. D.) he met and made friendship with king Suhum-mung of Assam (Chapter VIII).

In some of the coins of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan, the grandson of Visvasinha, the years 1509 and below it 92 have been found together. If 92 Râjsaka was current in Saka 1509 as found in these coins, the beginning of Râjsaka was counted from 1418 Saka (1496 A. D.). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to hold that the birth of Visvasinha took place before 1496 A. D. and he declared his independence in this year. During the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan the son of Visvasinha, the composition of Akbarnâmâ by Abul Fazl began. According to the account given in this work the date of birth of Visvasinha is found to be one hundred years before the reign of Akbar Saka (about 863 Hijri or 1458 A. D.). The words “Pesh-tar âjin yasad sâl” are written in Akbarnâmâ to mention the time

of birth of Visvasinha. Mr. Beveridge has translated this as 'a hundred years before this'. Akbarnâmâ was not written out in any particular year. The work is not even complete as a biography. Composition of this work was continued up to the end of the writer's life (1602 A. D.). So to understand 'Ajin' (this) as written by him, it is against circumstances to take any particular year. In the Urdu and Hindi collection 'Akbarnâmâ' by Munsî Deviprasad Munsiff of Yodhpur it is written in place of the abovementioned words of Akbarnâmâ regarding the account of the birth of Visvasinha Akbar Bâdsâhake *ahâdse* 115 baras pahle' (115 years before the time of emperor Akbar). Munshi Deviprasad has not composed his work following only Abul Fazl. He had also collected materials from famous historians such as Khaja Nezamuddin Bakshi, Molla Abdul Kader Badauni, Khaja Ata Beg Kardani, Moytamad Khan Mir Baksi and Mohammad Kajem Fereshta. Munsî Deviprasad has interpreted the word 'Ajin' (this) as used by Abul Fazl as 'Âhad' (time or reign) of the emperor. This appears to be reasonable. So if we say '115 years before the time of Akbar', it is necessary to subtract 115 from the year of the beginning of the reign of Akbar (963 Hijri).

The figure of the aforesaid year is not the same in difference manuscripts of Akbarnâmâ. 115 is found in the Urdu and Hindi collection of Munshi Deviprasad; 15 is found in the Persian Akbarnâmâ printed in Newal Kishore Press at Lucknow, 100 is seen in the Persian manuscript (copied in 1059 Hijri or 1648 A. D.) preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library in Patna; 100 is found in the Persian text and its English translation printed by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. According to circumstances, the figure 100 should be accepted.

TIME OF MAHARAJA NARANĀRAYAN.

There are differences of opinion regarding the time of Maharaja Naranārāyan as shown below :—

	Beginning of reign.	Death.
Introduction to Dāmodarācharita	... 1450 Saka (1528 A. D.)	1509 Saka.
Assam Buranjee	... 1450 Saka (1528 A. D.)	1506 Saka.
Vansāvali of Kharganārāyan	... 1455 Saka (1533 A. D. )	.....
Vansāvali of Gandharvanārāyan	... 1456 Saka (1534 A. D. )	.....
View of Sir Edward Guit	... ..... ( 1540 A. D. )	.....
Rājopākhyāna	... 1476 Saka (1554 A. D.)	1509 Saka.
Kāmarupa Vansāvali	... 1477 Saka (1555 A. D. )	.....
Vansāvali by Durgadas	... 45 Rajsaka	93 Rajsaka.

It is said that Sri Chaitanya Deva came to Kāmarupa immediately after the installation of Maharaja Naranārāyan. (4) If this be a fact, the reign of Maharaja Naranārāyan began in 1533 A. D. or a little before it. It has been written in the history of the reign of Maharaja Naranārāyan (Chapter IX) that he was reigning from before 1554 A. D.

TIME OF MAHARAJA LAKSMINĀRAYAN.

In the Rājopākhyāna it is written that the reign of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan was from 78 to 112 Rājsaka = 1509 —1543 Sakābda = 994—1028 B. S. (1587—1621 A. D.).

If we take the figure 92 in the coin of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyan as Rājsaka, we must come to the conclusion that as it is jointly written with 1509 Sakābda, 1509 Sakābda was current in 92 Rajsaka and that in this year, his reign began. But according to the opinion of Joynath Ghose, 78 Rajsaka was current in 1509 Saka. We have already mentioned the difference of 14 years between Rājsaka 92 and 78. According to Durgadas, Laksmīnārāyan became king in 93 Rājsaka.

(4) Chaitanyadeva died on the Sukla Saptami Tithi in Asar 1455 Saka (1533 A. D.). It has been mentioned in the account of the reign of Maharaja Naranārāyan (Chapter IX) that there is a difference of opinion regarding the fact of Chaitanyadeva's visit to Kāmarupa.

It has been mentioned in the Chapter on Nārāyaṇi coins that in some coins of Maharaja Lakṣminārāyaṇ there is figure like 1549 Saka (1627 A. D.) We have also stated (Chapter X) that Ibrahim Khan Fatejang the Sibedar of Bengal was killed in a fight with Sahajahan the rebel son of emperor Jehangir in 1033 Hijri (1624 A. D.). Setab Khan has written in his work Baharistan-i-Ghaibi (page 299 Kha) that he got this news while he resided in Hajo with king Lakṣminārāyaṇ, Satrajit and others. Stephen Cacella, a resident of Portugal, came in September 1626 A. D. to Pandu (near Gauhati) and from there he went to Hajo and met king Lakṣminārāyaṇ.

After this, in the letter sent by him in October 1627 A. D. the news of the death of Lakṣminārāyaṇ was mentioned.

From these evidence, it is found that the year in which Lakṣminārāyaṇ died was 1627 A. D. (1549 Saka). According to the view of Sir Edward Gait the time of death of Lakṣminārāyaṇ was between 1627 and 1633 A. D. (5)

TIME OF MAHARAJA BIRNĀRĀYAṆ.

In Rājopākhyāṇ it is written that Maharaja Birnārāyaṇ reigned from 112 to 117 Rājsaka = 1543 to 1548 Sakābda (1621—1626 A. D.).

In the work "Mahapurusa Sankara evam Mādhavadevar Jibancharitra" by Daityāri Thakur, a contemporary of Birnārāyaṇ, it is clearly mentioned that Mādhava Deva stayed in Bihar and at that time Maharaja Lakṣminārāyaṇ was alive. It is written in that work that 'Birnārāyaṇ the son of the king, the mother of the king Aye Dhai' and others

(5) "So we may take Lakṣminārāyaṇ's death to have occurred somewhere between 1627 and 1633 or about 1630 A. D."

The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 43.

met Mādhava Deva and that Mādhava Deva died in 'Behar' (1596 A. D.). It is written in "Sree Sree Damodardeva Charitra" by Nilkantha that the annual Sradh of Dāmodardeva (1599 A. D.) was performed through the efforts of king Birnārāyan (pages 178, 180). In the beginning of the 17th century, Kavisekhar wrote 'Kirat Parva'. The manuscript of this work is in the State Library, Cooch Behar. Its colophons are as follows:—

"In 1527 Saka, the Sun was in Makar (in the zodiac). It was Thursday, the Panchami Tithi in Suklapaksa. Spring entered into the garden, scented winds blew on all sides and Cupid met in word and mind. Birnārāyan is king in his every life. He has taken birth in the city of Bihar assuming a human body." *Page 4.*

"Under orders of Maharaja Birnārāyan, Kavisekhar utters Govinda always." *Page 48.*

"Kamatāpuri (in name) in Bihar is Amarāvati (the city of Gods) whose lord is Birnārāyan Deva." *Page 18.*

According to the quoted extract, the 3rd Magh 1527 Saka (1606 A. D.) was Thursday and Sri Panchami Tithi. According to the table in Jyotiskalpādrum, this tallies with actual date. In the manuscript mentioned above Birnārāyan has been mentioned 'Naresvar' (lord of men or king) and Maharaja.

It is written in Baharistan-i-Ghaibi that when Laksmīnārāyan was imprisoned in Dacca, his son ruled the country but in this work the name of the king's son is not given. According to the account given by the European traveller Stephen Cacella, Laksmīnārāyan was not alive at the end of 1627 A. D. So the beginning of Birnārāyan's reign should be calculated from this year. Before this, it was very probably necessary for Laksmīnārāyan to make over charge of administration to his son Birnārāyan as he himself was extremely busy owing

Beginning of Birnārāyan's reign.

to the raids of T'ariksit. Some support of this is found in the work 'Baharistan-i-Ghaibi' and the account given by Stephen Cacella. During the time of Maharaja Naranârâyan his brother Sukladhvaj was called 'Raja'. The European traveller Ralph Fitch has mentioned Sukladhvaja as 'Raja'. It is not deemed impossible that the poet (Kavisekhar) should have called Kumar Birnârâyan entrusted with the administration, 'Naresvar' or "Maharaja". It has been shown in the account of his reign that most of the accounts regarding Maharaja Laksmi-

Death of Birnârâyan.

nârâyan as given in Râjopâkhyâna are not supported by history. It has been mentioned that the daughter of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan was betrothed to the Ahom king but Laksmînârâyan died before this marriage could take place, (Chapter X). The Âhom king sent a messenger to Birnârâyan (Birnârâyan) the son of Laksmi-nârâyan to bring the princess in the month of Dinchhip (Bhadra) in the era Âhom Taochhingar 41 Lakui Kapchhi (1632 A. D.) but Birnârâyan did not agree to give away his sister. This messenger came to the kingdom of Kamata two or three months before the beginning of Ahom Taochhingar 42 Lakui Dapchen era (1633 A. D.). Under these circumstances, we must hold that Birnârâyan was king up to the middle of 1632 A. D.

TIME OF MAHARAJA PRANNÂRAYAN.

In Râjopâkhyâna the reign of Maharaja Prannârâyan is given as 117 to 156 Rajsaka—1548-1587 Sakabda (1623-1665 A. D.).

A coin dated 1554 Sakabda (1632 A. D.) of Maharaja Prannârâyan has been discovered and this has been mentioned in the Chapter on Narayani Coins. If we accept that his father Maharaja Birnârâyan was alive in 1632 A. D., it must be in that very year that his father died and his reign began. After 1588 Sakabda (1666 A. D.) a king of 'Bihar' sent two persons named Ramcharan and Bhakatcharan as

ambassadors to Assam, but the name of the king, sending these messengers has not been discovered. We have mentioned that Maharaja Prannârâyan sent Ramcharan as an ambassador to Assam but its time is not mentioned. If these two embassies of Ramcharan were one and the same, we may come to the conclusion that Prannârâyan was alive up to 1666 A. D. when the ambassador was despatched. A half-coin of Maharaja Prannârâyan has been mentioned in the Chapter on Narayni Coins. This has been inferred to have been struck in 161 Râjsaka (1670 A. D.).⁽⁶⁾

TIME OF MAHARAJA MODNÂRÂYAN.

It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that Maharaja Modnârâyan reigned from 156—171 Râjsaka. We have mentioned before that an original Sunnud granted by him in 166 Râjsaka and a coin dated 179 Râjsaka have been discovered.

Some old Waqqas have been preserved in the record room (Mahafez Khana) of the State Council and Malcutchery in Cooch Behar. At the top of these there is a seal bearing "Sree" and the words "Sree Sree Maharajar hukum". The name of the Maharaja is in most cases not mentioned.⁽⁷⁾

It is only those cases where any king has granted a new Waqqa acknowledging, changing or enlarging gifts of a previous ruler that the previous Waqqas have been mentioned along with the date of execution. Discussions will be made in this Chapter regarding many Waqqas of this nature. In some of these

(6) Discussions regarding the reading of coins have been made in the Chapter entitled Narayani Coins, (Chapter XV).

(7) The names of kings mentioned as grantors of the Waqqas by the claimants in the Waqqas filed in Settlement cases in 1871 and 1872 were not always correct. As the Lakhiraj Register of the State has been prepared according to this, it is also not free from error. This difficulty has arisen as names of kings were not written on Waqqas.

reference to the previous grantors is made in the following manner:—

" <i>Bâdâ</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Living king who is the father.
" <i>Âgâ</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Preceding living king.
" <i>Svargi</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Deceased king who immediately preceded.
" <i>Ati svargi</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Deceased king previous to immediate.
" <i>Purva ati svargi</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> ...	Deceased king preceding two kings of this nature.
" <i>Bâppâ svargi</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Deceased king who was the grandfather.
" <i>Jetho svargi</i> ∨ <i>Raja</i> "	... Deceased uncle who was king.

As there was a great gap between the predecessors and successors, it was written in a *Waqqa* of Maharaja Rupnârâyan "My predecessor Raja Naranârâyan". (8)

In some *Waqqs* when the names of the Nazir and the Dewan were written their connection with the king granting the *Waqqa* was also mentioned along with the same. For example:—

- "Chhatranazir Bhâyâ Mahijinârâyan Kumar "
- "Chhatranazir Bhâyâ Lalitnârâyan Kumar "
- "Chhatranazir Dâdâ Rudranârâyan Kumar "
- "Chhatranazir Bhâtijâ Khagendranârâyan Kumar "
- "Bâbâ Dewan Kumar "
- "Dâdo Dewan Kumar "
- "Gâburnâzir Bâbâ Lalitnârâyan " etc.

(8) The practice of writing (signifying Isvar) before the name of living kings is still in vogue in Cooch Behar but the adjective ' Svargi ' is not used. In some old *Waqqs* we find " Svargi Maha ∨ jar ".

TIME OF MAHARAJA RUPNÂRÂYAN.

In Râjopâkhyâna it is mentioned that Maharaja Rupnârâyan reigned from 185—205 Râjsaka = 1616—1636 Sakâbda = 1101—1121 B. S. (194—1714 A. D.)

In Râjopâkhyâna the time of the beginning of reign of Maharaja Rupnârâyan has been counted from the death of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan. But this Usurpation by Yajnanârâyan cannot be accepted. After the death of Mahindranârâyan when Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan usurped the throne, it must have taken some time for finishing his quarrels with Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva. It has been mentioned in the account of reign of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan that Yajnanârâyan occupied the throne at least for some time. There is mention of a deed of gift in another deed of gift written on the 11th Magh 213 Râjsaka : " Svargi Rajar Waqqa anurup 200 sakar 15 Jaisther " ("according to the Waqqa dated 15th Jaisth 200 Râjsaka of the previous deceased king"). Maharaja Upendranârâyan reigned in 243 Râjsaka. So it is supported by this that his father and the king immediately preceding him viz. Maharaja Rupnârâyan was living in 200 Râjsaka.

In a waqqa written on the 11th Asar 214 Râjsaka it is written " 198 Sakâr 21 Asar Svargi ✓ Rajar Waqqa ". If 214 Râjsaka be within the period of reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, it is proper to assume that the Waqqa dated 198 Râjsaka was granted by his ' Svargi ✓ Raja ' (the deceased king immediately preceding) i. e. Maharaja Rupnârâyan. There is a Waqqa dated the 12th Magh 216 Râjsaka. The gift by it was not subsequently (in Settlement case No. 1668 dated 1871 A. D.) accepted as valid. There is a

It is written in a Waqqa executed on the 1st Asar 242 Râjsaka: "Sâvargi ✓ jar waqqa anurup dewan Khasnaviser sanad mata 207 sakâr 27 se Srabane daptarer sanad * * e take Svargi ✓ Râjâ waqqa mate daftarer sanade pâwâ chârî bisher jami " (four *Bishes* of land found in the Duftar according to the Waqqa of the deceased king immediately preceding corresponding to Sunnud in the Dufter dated the 27th Sraban 207 Râjsaka according to the Sunnud of Dewan Khasnavis following the Waqqa of the deceased king immediately preceding)' were given.⁽¹¹⁾ 242 Râjsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. So 27th Sraban of 207 Râjsaka falls within the reign of the deceased king immediately preceding him ('Svargi ✓ Raja') viz. Maharaja Rupnârâyan. After this, from the account of the Waqqa mentioned below written on the 28th Chaitra 210 A. D. the time of death of Maharaja Rupnârâyan is found to be at the end of 207 Râjsaka.

Death of Rupnârâyan.

TIME OF MAHARAJA UPENDRANARAYAN.

The reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan according to Râjopâkhyâna was from 205-254 Râjsaka — 1121-1170 B. S = 1636-1685 Sakabda.

In 210 Râjsaka Maharaja Upendranârâyan was ruling. In a Waqqa dated the 23th Chaitra 210 Râjsaka it is written " Sri Radhanath Misra has put the royal Tilak (on my forehead at the time of installation). As a Daksina, I have issued a Waqqa dated the 20th Chaitra 207 Râjsaka granting the said Misra two villages as Brahmottar. But he has not yet got that

Beginning of the reign of
Upendranârâyan,

(11) From this sentence it is found that Waqqa and Sunnud are different documents. As Sunnud was a special document, there was a custom to preserve a copy of this in the Sherista.

land". The old custom of Cooch Behar is that favours granted to persons at the time of installation were immediately written then and there in Waqqas and the Waqqa ordering the cremation of the deceased king was also issued at that time.⁽¹²⁾ Had this Waqqa been issued according to this custom, the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan began on the 20th Chaitra 207 Râjsaka. We have mentioned before that the Waqqa dated the 27th Sraban 207 Râjsaka was issued by his father (' Svargi v Raja ')

In a Waqqa dated the 15th Chaitra 261 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan it is written " Waqqa was granted by Bappa Svargi v Raja on the 26th Baisakh 210 Râjsaka ". 210

Râjsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and he was the uncle of the father of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. So he was Bappa (Bapu or grandfather) of Dharendranârâyan.

213 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. In a waqqa dated the 11th Magh 213 Râjsaka, it is mentioned : " In my Waqqa dated 8th Agrahayan 225 Râjsaka ; in another Waqqa given by me on the 17th Falgun 213 Saka ; in another Waqqa given by me on the 5th Agrahayan 227 Râjsaka ". From this, 243 Râjsaka is found to be within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. It is written in a Waqqa dated the 10th Aswin 244 Râjsaka " Got Brahmottar under my Waqqa dated 21st Jaisth 240 Saka ". So 244 Râjsaka also was within the reign of the aforesaid king.

(12) Account of the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan (Râjopâkhyana, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya I. ; Account of the appointment of Chhatranazir Abhayanârâyan, Radranârâyan and Gaburnazir Khagendranârâyan.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 79, 85.

TIME OF DINNÂRAYAN.

In about 1736 A. D. Saiyed Ahmed, the Fouzdar of Rungpur occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar to make Dinnârâyan 'king'. At first Maharaja Upendranârâyan was defeated in battle

Reign of Dinnârâyan.

and took shelter in the hilly country but later on he rescued his kingdom. In Râjopâkhyâna, there is mention of the king's defeat but there is no mention that Dinnârâyan became king. According to Durgadas, at this time Dinnârâyan was king for eight days. Half a century after this battle, in the account given (in 1788 A. D.) to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, the fact of Dinnârâyan's becoming king has been supported and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also has mentioned (in 1808 A. D.) Dinnârâyan as 'Raja'. From contemporary other evidences also, it is supported that Dinnârâyan became king. At that time there were Mughal territories on three sides of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. So though it might have been possible for a defeated and escaped ruler to collect an army and rescue his kingdom after driving away the Fouzdar it cannot be said that it was done within a short time. For the following reason it is inferred that the kingdom was under Dinnârâyan from 226 to 229 Râjsaka (1736—1738 A. D.).

A Waqqa written on the 25th Bhadra 254 Râjsaka has been ascertained by discussion as granted by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. In that Waqqa there is reference to another Waqqa dated 31st Chaitra 229 Râjsaka and granted by 'Purva ati Svargi Raja'. This 'Purva ati Svargi Raja' can only be Dinnârâyan and not Upendranârâyan or Rupnârâyan.

Purva ati Svargi Raja.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 12th Chaitra 226 Rajsaka (1736 A. D.): " Baba Dewan Kumar ". Though it may be said that 226 Rajsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, this Waqqa could not have been granted by Maharaja Upendranârâyan. Dewan Satyanârâyan and Kharganârâyan were respectively the uncle and brother of Upendranârâyan. In about 228 Rajsaka Satyanârâyan was dismissed and Kharganârâyan was appointed Dewan. Dinnârâyan was the natural son of Satyanârâyan and when this Dinnârâyan became king he wrote in 226 Râjsaka " Baba Dewan Kumar " meaning (his father) Satyanârâyan. Nothing else can be inferred from this. In the aforesaid Waqqa Gaurinandan Sarma (Mustafi) was ' Saksât hukum Pramâna '. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that when war began with the Fouzdar, Khasnavis Mahadev Ray ran away and Gaurinandan Mustafi was appointed Khasnavis in place of Mahadev Ray. But he was removed from this post at the end of the war. For this reason it is not unreasonable to suppose that like Dewan Satyanârâyan, Gaurinandan Sarma (Mustafi) also took the side of Dinnârâyan.

Lalitnarayan was the natural son of Visvanârâyan and the adopted son of Chhatranazir Sântanârâyan. Dinnârâyan by natural relationship and Lalitnârâyan by distant relationship were cousins of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. Lalitnârâyan issued a Perwana on the 21st Bhadra 229 Râjsaka appointing Gauriprasad Sarma as his Naib. This Perwana was supported by a Waqqa of the king on the following 1st Aswin. In this Waqqa granted by the king " Sree Baba Gabur Nazir Lalitnârâyan Konwar and Sree Rasik Ray " are ' saksât hukum pramâna '. In three places of this Waqqa it is written " Baba Gabur Nazir Lalitnârâyan ". The originals of these two docu-

Undefined Waqqa.

ments have not been found. Certified copies of these have been preserved (13). Maharaja Upendranârâyan or (the temporary) Raja Dinnârâyan cannot address Lalitnârâyan as ' Bala '. So it is difficult to ascertain who granted this Waqqa. Considering the relationship, the king who was the grantor of this Waqqa was the father or uncle of Kumar Lalitnârâyan (and accordingly of also Dinnârâyan) and we must hold that Gauriprasad Sarma, Kumar Lalitnârâyan and Rasik Ray were his officers. Another Waqqa dated the 12th Asar 231 Râjsaka in which Rasik Ray was ' sakaat hukum pramana ' has been discovered. Rasik Ray, the son of Rudra Ray, the zemindar of Kakina, within Rungpur, was living at this time and it was mentioned in a connected case that the Petbhata land got by Rudra Ray was granted sometime before this (227 Râjsaka).

There was no difference in circumstances regarding the accession to the throne of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan, Rajendranârâyan and Dinnârâyan. Later on (in 1873 A. D.) the aforesaid Waqqa granted by Dinnârâyan in 226 Râjsaka has been accepted as genuine.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DEVENDRANÂRÂYAN.

The reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan according to Râjopâkhyâna was from 254-256 Râjsaka = 1170-1172 B.S. = 1685-1687 Sakabada.

In a Waqqa dated the 11th Sraban 245 Râjsaka, it is written: " The Sunnud given to you on the 25th Chaitra 244 Saka granting land of two villages as Brahmot-tar, has been placed before the Huzur and proclaimed ". It is not mentioned in this Waqqa who granted this Sunnud. If we take the verb

Beginnin of reign of
Devendranârâyan.

(13) In the certified copies, there is a Persian seal of the Kazi of Rungpur in 1199 B. S. (1792 A. D.),

'given' as related to third person, we shall have to hold that Devendranârâyan became king between 244 and 245 Rajsaka. (14)

On the 15th Agrahayan 246 Rajsaka the Devaraja of Bhutan sent a letter to the king of Cooch Bahar. We find in the same "You, your uncle (Khura) Dewandeo and Nazir Deo".

In the letter dated the 13th Pous of the same year written by the Devaraja to 'Pradhan Karbari' (chief minister) Gaurinandan Mustafi, we find: "Sakkhi (friend) Nazir Deo and Bhai Dewandeo". From this it is established that those who were Nazir (Lalitnârâyan) and Dewan (Kharganârâyan) in Agrahayan and Paus 246 Rajsaka were brothers and uncles of the king. If we do not hold that Devendranârâyan was king at this time, these relationships become improbable.

In a Waqqa written on the 2nd Sraban 248 Rajsaka we find: "You have got 14 Bishes of land as Brahmottar on the 15th Magh 213 Saka from Svargi Maharaja. That Waqqa has become old." 213 Rajsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. According to practice, the king immediately

(14) According to the old style of writing "Dichhe" is not always a verb referring to the third person. In different Waqqas "Karila", "Dili" and "Dila" have been used as verbs referring to the first person and "Dibo", "Karibo" etc. as verbs of the second person.

In old manuscripts of this country, the use of verbs is as follows:

"Beda paksa bâna âr sasanka sakata.

Ârambha karilo markandeya kathâ yata."

Mârkandeya Purana by Pitambar page 2.

"I begin the narratives of Markandeya in Saka 1524."

"Âdiparva Bhârater susobhan pada.

Rachilla Srinath Ram bolâ sabhâsada "

Pages 59, 63, 71.

"The beautiful verses of the Âdiparva of the Mahabharata are written by Srinath.

Courtiers? Say 'Rama'."

In the above colophons 'karilo' should be understood as 'karilem' and 'Bala' as 'Bala'.

succeeding him *viz.* Maharaja Devendranârâyan can mention him as 'Svargi Maharaja'. So 248 Râjsaka is considered as within the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan.

In the manuscript of the work 'Sâttvata Tantra' (page 28) preserved in Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha we find the following colophon :

"Dvija Ramchândra according to the request of the great Dvija Ramananda Deva wrote this desirable Sâttvata Tantra on Saturday in Krishna Paksa in Falgun in Saka 1680 when Sree Sree Devendranârâyan was the king of Bihar, the best of the countries, a part of Kâmarûpa and recognised by persons possessing talents.

Râjsaka of my own country 249. Let there be auspiciousness to me the writer."

This manuscript was written during the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan in 1680 Saka in the original, seshâ means 1,

Riddhi or Aisvarya 6, asta 8 and Kha 0
 = 1680 Saka or 1759 A.D.) correspond-
 ing to 249 Râjsaka. In a Waqqa written

on the 5th Falgun 263 Râjsaka during the time of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan we find: "Getting this in the Waqqa of ati svargi / Raja dated the 7th Sraban 239 Saka." This year can be read 239 as well as 249. If Dharendranârâyan says 'Ati svargi / Raja' he will mean Maharaja Devendranârâyan because the father of Dharendranârâyan was living at this time (263 Râjsaka) and was a prisoner in Bhutan.

In a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 25th Falgun 252 Râjsaka we find: "In the Waqqa containing my order dated the 10th Aashvin 250 Saka." From this Râjsaka 250 and 252 fall within the reign of the same king.

In a Waqqa written on the 22nd Sraban 252 Râjsaka we find: "Getting at present the Waqqa of ati svargi Raja dated 208 Saka". 253 Râjsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja

Rupnârâyan. We have mentioned before that the king preceding the immediate predecessor of a particular king is termed 'ati svargi'. If this be accepted, 252 Rajsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa dated the 27th Bhadra 252 Rajsaka it is written: "You have been given lands of five villages as

Brahmottar by Dado Dewan Kumar as
Mansab of Dado & Dewan Kumar".

Among the members of the royal family, we have found that Satyanârâyan Kumar was first appointed Dewan and he by relationship was the uncle of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Dado (grand-father) of Devendranârâyan. After Satyanârâyan, Khagendranârâyan the brother of Maharaja Upendranârâyan became Dewan. The three kings Devendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan and Rajendranârâyan can address Satyanârâyan as 'Dado', but 252 Rajsaka cannot fall within the reign of the two last mentioned kings. So it is not reasonable to imagine that any one else than Maharaja Devendranârâyan was the grantor of the aforesaid Waqqa (in 252 Rajsaka). Maharaja Upendranârâyan cannot call any Dewan 'Dado'. In 252 Rajsaka Dewan Kharganârâyan was living. So it is against the custom to use the sign & signifying death before his name.

In the certified copy of the aforesaid Waqqa written on the 25th Falgun 252 Rajsaka, we find: "Chhatra Nazir Dada Sree Rudranârâyan Kumarak." Rudranârâyan was a cousin of Maharaja Devendranârâyan and was older than the latter.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANÂRÂYAN (FIRST TIME).

The period of reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan for the first time is mentioned in Rājopākhyāna as 256-261 Rajsaka = 1172-1177 B.S. = 1687-1692 Sakābda.

It is mentioned in Rājopākhyāna that Chhatra Nazir Rudranārāyan performed the installation of Maharaja Dhairyaendranārāyan. Eye-witnesses of this have mentioned the same in 1788 A.D. (279 Rājsaka) before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.

In a Waqqa dated the 25th Bhadra 254 Rājsaka we find: "Bole ati svargi √ jār waqqaya dui bish sāt doner jami mor pitri brahmottar pāyāchhe — e take purva ati svargi √ jar wakka pāwa ihār pitri brahmottar bhog bābad 229 sakār 31 Chaitre vilāti ār tāni kāmāt vilāyat behar taluk Kārisalat". (15) Though 229 Rājsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Upendranārāyan, Dinnārāyan was *de facto* the king at this time. So the use of 'Purva ati svargi √ jār' will not be justified if this deed dated 254 Rājsaka was not granted by Maharaja Dhairyaendranārāyan. Except Dhairyaendranārāyan, Devendranārāyan cannot call the temporary ruler Dinnārāyan 'Purva ati svargi'. So the 25th Bhadra 254 Saka falls within the reign of Maharaja Dhairyaendranārāyan.

In a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 16th Falgun, 254 Rājsaka, we find: "Chhatranazir Bhatija Sree Khagendranārāyan Kumar." Both Maharaja Bhatija Khagendranārāyan. Devendranārāyan and Dhairyaendranārāyan can call Khagendranārāyan Bhatija (nephew), but Khagendranārāyan was not the Nazir or Gabur Nazir at the time of Maharaja Devendranārāyan. Under these circumstances the Waqqa written on the 16th Falgun 254 Rājsaka must be supposed to have been granted by Maharaja Dhairyaendranārāyan or in other words, he was on the throne on this date.

(15). In one place of this Waqqa there are the words "Anti svargi" and in other place "Purva ati svargi".

It is revealed from the evidence of eye-witnesses given before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Khagendra-

Beginning of the reign of
Dhairyendranārāyan.

nārāyan became Gabur Nazir in 254 Rājsaka - on the very day on which the installation of Dhairyendranārāyan took place. (16). It is written in Rājopākhyāna that when Devendranārāyan was assassinated, potters were digging a well near the place of occurrence. (Narakhanda, Adhyāya 13). In Cooch Behar, the time for sinking wells is in the month of Chaitra or Baisakh. So it can be assumed that the reign of Dhairyendranārāyan began from Baisakh 254 Rājsaka.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 25th Sraban 260 Rājsaka "Sāksāt hukum pramāna Sree Sachinandan Sarma". Sachinandan Mustofi was a Principal officer of Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan and was imprisoned with him in Bhutan.

In a Wakka dated the 27th Bhadra 261 Rājsaka we find: "Sāksāt hukum pramāna Haresvar Kārji Khās Dewania".

Imprisonment of Dhairyendra-
nārāyan.

Maharaja Rajendranārāyan appointed Haresvar as Khas Dewania. In this Waqqa there is a mention of two older Waqqas. One was granted by 'Svargi w Raja' on the 5th Jaisth 224 Rājsaka and the other was written on the 27th Falgun 260 Rājsaka. In the last mentioned Waqqa the name of the grantor is not mentioned. So it is reasonable to infer that the two Waqqas dated 27th Bhadra 261 Rājsaka and 27th Falgun 260 Rājsaka respectively were granted by the same king. From this we get the time of Maharaja Dhairyendranārāyan's becoming a prisoner and the installation of Maharaja Rajendranārāyan as between Falgun 260 Rājsaka and Bhadra 261 Rājsaka. Eye-witnesses have mentioned before Commissioners Mercer

and Chauvet that the reign of Rajendranârâyan lasted only for two years and some months (17).

TIME OF MAHARAJA RAJENDRANÂRÂYAN

It is written in Râjopākhyāna that Maharaja Rājendra-nârâyan reigned from 261 to 262 Râjsaka = 1178-1179 B.S. = 1698-1699 Sakabda. 261 Râjsaka is not equivalent to 1178 B.S. or 1693 Saka. This appears to be a mistake in copying. This mistake has also crept in the translation of Râjopākhyāna by Rev. Robinson. (18). According to the calculation accepted by Joynath Ghose, these should be 1177 B.S. and 1692 Sakabda respectively.

Haresvar Karji Khas Dewania was the Pradhan Karbari (chief minister) of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa written on the 22nd Jaisth 261 Râjsaka by 'Sâksât hukum pramâna Haresver Karji Khas Dewania,' it is written "Aga ✓ jar 25) sakâr 19 se Âsvine Waqqa diyâchhe". ("Waqqa was given by the previous king on the 19th Asvin 259 Saka"). Here the adjective 'Svargi' has not been used as really speaking at the time of Rajendranârâyan, Âgâ (the previous) Raja Dhairyendranârâyan was living and was a prisoner in Bhutan.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 14th Chaitra 265 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan: "In the waqqa granted by Jetho svargi ✓ Raja on the 2nd Bhadro 261 Saka, Petbhata was given to you of 4 Bishes of land". Maharaja Rajendranârâyan and Devendranârâyan were both

(17) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 149-151.

(18) Râjopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Chapter 16, English Translation, page 86.

uncles of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. Devendranârâyan was younger than the father of Dharendranârâyan. (19). So Devendranârâyan cannot be "Jetho" (uncle senior in age to father) of Dharendranârâyan. Rajendranârâyan was the "Jetho" of Dharendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa written on the 9th Asvin 261 Râjsaka we find "Jetho svargi ✓ Râjâ". 261 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan and Maharaja Upendranârâyan was his "Jetho".

In another Waqqa written on the 15th Chaitra 264 Râjsaka and bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan we find "Jetho svargi ✓ Raja".

Paramananda Tarkalankar in the 5th page of the manuscript 'Vanaparva' written by him in 288 Râjsaka (1797 A.D.) has mentioned :

"Afterwards his eldest, king Rajendra, the best in all qualities".

In Râjopâkhyâna, Rajendranârâyan has been mentioned as the eldest brother of Dhairyendranârâyan. In the genealogical tables given by Mr. Moore and Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet it has been mentioned that among the sons of Kharganârâyan, Ramnârâyan was the eldest, Dhairyendranârâyan was the second and Rajendranârâyan was the third. All these differences of opinion have been solved by Dharendranârâyan's (son of Dhairyendranârâyan) calling Rajendranârâyan 'Jetho' in a Waqqa granted by him.

There is another Waqqa dated 15th Magh 262 Râjsaka issued by 'Sâksât hukum pramâna Haresvar Karji Khas

(19) Captain Turner came to Cooch Behar in 1783 A. D. He has mentioned Dhairyendranârâyan the father of Dharendranârâyan as "an infirm old man." Embassy to Tibet, page 10.

Dewanis'. So it is to be accepted that Maharaja Rajendranārāyan was living up to this time, for Harewar left his service immediately on the death of Maharaja Rajendranārāyan.

Maharaja Rajendranārāyan died at the end of 262 Rājśaka (1178 B. S.). One eye-witness mentioned before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Rajendranārāyan died in Chaitra 1179 B. S. 1179 is a printing mistake. It should be 1178.

Rupchandra Barakayasth Karji was the maternal uncle of Maharaja Dharendranārāyan and one of the principal officers of the State. A Waqqa in his 'Saksat hukum pramāna' was granted from Balarampur on the 17th Falgun 263 Rājśaka. In it the following is found: "That waqqa given to your father on the 15th Falgun 1178 Saka granting land of half a village regarding other gifts of lands to the priest Sree Nārāyan by the Suttces of Svargi ✓ Raja, has become old." It can be inferred

Death of Rajendranārāyan. from this that the death of 'Svargi ✓ Raja (Rajendranārāyan) as mentioned by Dharendranārāyan and mounting of his wives on the funeral pyre took place on the aforesaid 15th Falgun, or shortly before this.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DHARENDRANĀRAYAN.

In the Rājopākhyāna it is mentioned that Maharaja Dharendranārāyan reigned from 262 to 265 Rājśaka = 1178 to 1181 B.S.

A Waqqa dated 12th Chaitra 262 Rājśaka (1178 B. S. = 1772 A. D.) bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranārāyan has been discovered. It is proved from this that before the 12th Chaitra, Maharaja Rajendranārāyan died and Maharaja Dharendranārāyan became king.

Waqqs dated the 1st Magh and 14th Chaitra, 265 Rājśaka (1181 B.S. = 1775 A. D.) bearing the seal of Maharaja

Dharendranārāyan have been found. It is established from the same that Maharaja Dharendranārāyan was alive at least up to the 14th Chaitra of the aforesaid year.

In the Waqqa written on the 1st Magh 265 Rājsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranārāyan these words are written together :

Some relationships.

"Bappa svargi √ Raja o Baba √ Raja o amar o √ Devai √ Aye Devatir datta o Dado devan kumarer o dada Nazir kumar."

At this time Maharaja Dhairyaendranārāyan the father of Maharaja Dharendranārāyan was living. So the adjective 'svargi' was not used in writing 'Bâbâ √ Raja'. It is also seen that 'Bâppâ svargi √ Raja' and 'Bâbâ √ Raja' were not applied to the same person and 'Dâdo (grandfather) and 'Dâdâ' denote different relationships. Dewan Kharganārāyan was the 'Dâdo' and Chhatra Nazir Khagendranārāyan was the 'Dâdâ' of Maharaja Dharendranārāyan. (20)

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR YAJNANÂRÂYAN KUM R.

It is written in Rājopākhyāna that Yajnanārāyan got the post of Chhatra Nazir after Maharaja Mahindranārāyan became king, (178 Rājsaka) and he died in

Usurpation of Yajnanārāyan 182 Rājsaka (Narakhanda, Adhyāya 10).

Two Waqqas dated 177 and 185 Rājsaka bearing 'Sākṣat hukum pramāna' of Chhatra Nazir Yajnanārāyan have been discovered. It is mentioned in

(20). Dewan Kharganārāyan was not alive in 265 Rājsaka. But in this document the adjective 'Svargi' has not been used before 'Dâdo devan kumar'. In another Waqqa dated 27th Bhadra 261 Rājsaka issued by 'Sākṣat hukum pramāna Hareetâi Kârji Khas Dewania', the king who granted a Waqqa on the 5th Jaiseth 224 Rājsaka has been mentioned as 'Svargi Raja'. 261 Rājsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Rajendranārāyan and 224 Rājsaka within that of Maharaja Upendranārāyan. It was fit for Rajendranārāyan to mention Upendranārāyan as 'Ad svargi Raja' but in this place also, we find an exception to the usual manner of writing.

the copy of the decree of the Chaklajat case (1778 A. D.) that 'Raja' Yajnanârâyan died between 1107 and 1118 B. S. (191-202 Râjsaka). According to evidence discussed regarding the time of reign of Maharaja Rupnârâyan, it appears that Yajnanârâyan usurped the kingdom from 186 to 194 Râjsaka (1695-1703 A.D.).

TIME OF DEWAN SATYANÂRÂYAN.

Kumar Satyanârâyan was appointed Dewan by Maharaja Rupnârâyan and he was dismissed by Maharaja Upendranârâyan in about 228 Râjsaka (1737-38 A. D.). A certified copy of a deed of gift of a land dated the 2nd Jaisth 201 Râjsaka made by Satyanârâyan has been preserved but there is no indication in the same what post he held at that time. A Waqqa bearing his 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' dated 211 Râjsaka (1720 A. D.) has also been discovered

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR LALITNÂRÂYAN KUMAR.

The name of Chhatranazir Santanârâyan is greatly famous in the history of Cooch Behar. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that he was appointed as Chhatra Nazir in 182 Râjsaka by Maharaja Mahindranârâyan and he died in 199 Râjsaka (1708 A. D.) during the reign of the next king Maharaja Rupnârâyan. (Narakhanda, Adhyâyas 10 and 11). Certified copies of documents regarding Chaklajat and bearing the seal of Santanârâyan and written in 203, 215 and 225 Râjsaka have been discovered. In the copy of the decree of the Chaklajat case (1778 A.D.) there is mention of a document executed by Santanârâyan and bearing the date 228 Râjsaka and 1144 B. S. A Waqqa dated 211 Râjsaka bearing 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of Chhatra Nazir Santanârâyan has also been discovered. It is written in the account

given to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Sântanârâyan died in 1738 A.D. (21). Chhatra Nazir the great grandson of Sântanârâyan was the defendant in the case instituted by. Loknath Nandi zemindar of Baharband within Rungpur, and it is written in the objection which he filed in that case on the 19th Falgun 1186 B.S. (1780 A.D.) that Sântanârâyan was appointed Nazir when he was 18 years old and he died at the age of 96 years in 1153 B. S. (1743 A.D.). (22).

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR LALIT NARAYAN KUMAR.

It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that when Sântanârâyan died (199 Râjsaka) his adopted son Kumar Lalitnârâyan was appointed as Chhatra Nazir by Maharaja Rupnârâyan. 'Some time after' Maharaja Upendranârâyan became king, Lalitnârâyan died, and Kumar Abhoynârâyan grandson of Kumar Visvanârâyan and the eldest son of Kumar Hemnârâyan became the Chhatra Nazir. 'After some time' when Abhoynârâyan died, his youngest brother Rudranârâyan became the Chhatra Nazir (Narakhanda, Chapter 12). When he died in 259 Râjsaka, Maharaja Dhairvendranârâyan appointed Kumar Khagendranârâyan the nephew of the late Nazir as Chhatra Nazir (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 14).

(21). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 49.

(22). If this statement be accepted as true, we shall have to hold that Sântanârâyan was born in 1650 A. D. and got the post of the Nazir in 1668 A.D. But this statement of Sântanârâyan's becoming Nazir at this time cannot be true as a waqqa bearing, 'Sâkeât hukum pramâna' of the previous Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan (the uncle of Sântanârâyan) dated 185 Râjsaka (1694 A. D.) has been discovered. In 1668 A.D. Kumar Mahinârâyan the grandfather of Sântanârâyan was Chhatra Nazir. It is not known whether in the beginning Sântanârâyan was Gabur Nazir or not.

We have mentioned before this a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 1st Asvin 229 Râjsaka with 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of Gabur Nazir Baba Lalit-nârâyan and Rasik Ray. This was granted to Gauriprasad Sarma under "Sree Sree Maharajar Hukum".

In the certified copy of the letter of appointment dated the 21st Bhadra 229 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Lalitnârâyan, it is mentioned that Lalitnârâyan had got orders of the Maharaja "to perform State duties within and without the kingdom".

As it was impossible for him to be always present near the king, he engaged Gauriprasad Sarma his Naib by this letter of appointment at a monthly salary of Rs. 30.

In the copies of two Waqqas dated 238 and 239 Râjsaka "Chhatra Nazir Bhaya Lalitnârâyan" are written. 238 and 239 Râjsaka fall within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Lalitnârâyan was a brother in relationship to him.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR RUDRANÂRAYAN KUMAR.

A Perwana of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan dated 249 Râjsaka or 1167 B.S. (?) was filed in the Chaklajat case (1778 A.D.). This is mentioned in the copy of the decree of that case. Rudranârâyan worked in the Chaklajat zemindary in 250 Râjsaka. A Perwana executed by him at that time has been discovered. In a certified copy of a Waqqa granted in 252 by the king the words "Chhatra Nazir Dada Rudranârâyan" are written. Maharaja Devendranârâyan was living at this time and he was brother in relationship to Rudranârâyan and younger than him.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR KHAGENDRANÂRÂYAN KUMAR.

In Rājopākhyān it is written that in 259 Rājsaka, Rudra-nârāyan died and Khagendranârāyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir. (Narakhanda,* Adhyāya 14). In a certified copy of a Waqqa dated 254 Rājsaka, the words 'Chhatra Nazir Bhatija Khagendra-nârāyan' have been found. In 257 Rājsaka, Khagendra-nârāyan granted Debottar in the zemindary of Chaklajet. A certified copy of this, has been preserved. Under these circumstances, we should hold that in 254 Rājsaka or before this, Rudranârāyan died and Khagendranârāyan got the post of Chhatra Nazir. We have mentioned that Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârāyan was reigning in 254 Rājsaka. Khagendranârāyan was his nephew in relationship.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

(The time of some of the incidents mentioned in this summary has been written in the work as approximate).

Vedic age.—Coming of the Aryan race to Prâggyotisa or Kâmarupa.

Pauranik age.—Rule of the Dânaava dynasty, Kirâta dynasty and Narak and Bhagadatta dynasty in Prâggyotisa or Kâmarupa. Settlement of Varnas, Brahmin etc. in Kâmarupa. The Mahabharata war.

5th Century B. C.—Exchange of merchandise with China through Burma and Assam.

3rd Century B. C.—Account of Indian Brahmin given by Megasthenes. Visit of the representative of Kâmarupa to the religious Council of Asoka.

1st Century A. D.—Account of arts and trade of this country given by Greek merchants.

2nd Century A. D.—Rule of Sudra kings in Kâmarupa.

4th Century A. D.—Rule of Raja Nâgasankar in Kâmarupa. Invasion of Kâmarupa by Samudragupta. Inscription of victory on the Asoka pillar in Allahabad. Inauguration of the Gupta era. Rule of kings Pasyavarmâ, Samudravarmâ, Valavarmâ and others in Prâggyotisa or Kâmarupa.

5th Century A. D.—Rule of Kalyānvarma, Ganapatiarmā, Mahendravarmā, Nārāyanvarma and Sāngaldeva king of Cooch Behar in Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa.

6th Century A. D.—Rule of Bhūtiavarmā, Chandramukhavarmā, Sthitavarmā, Susthitavarmā, etc., in Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa and occupation of Kāmarupa by kings Visnuvardhan, Narendragupta, Gopichandra (according to another view 8th century A. D.) Vimalchandra etc.

7th Century A. D.—Inauguration of Hijri era. Rule of Bhāskarvarma in Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa. Harshavardhan Silāditya. Writing of Harshacharita. Visit of Yuan Chwang to Kāmarupa. Attack of Bengal and Magadha by the Tibetans. Rule of kings Śālastambha, Vighrahastambha, Vijaya etc., in Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa. Rise of the Cooch Behar royal dynasty.

8th Century A. D.—Rule of Pālaka, Kumāra, Bajradeva, Sri Haris, Gopal, Dharmapāla and Koch kings over Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa. Attack of Prāggyotisa by Lalitāditya.

9th Century A. D.—Jalpesvara the king of Kāmarupa. Rule of Devapala in Kāmarupa. Account of Kāmboja race. Rule of Prālammbha, Harjara, Vanamāla, Joymāla, Viravāhu and Koch kings in Prāggyotisa or Kāmarupa. Visit of the Arabian traveller Soleman to Kāmarupa. Composition of Dāker Bachan.

10th Century A. D.—Rule of Balavarmā, Tyāgsinha, Brahmapāla Jitārimuni and Koch kings in Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarupa.

11th Century A. D.—Rule of Ratnapāla, Purandarpāla, Indrapāla, Gopāla, Harshapāla and others in Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarupa. The rock inscription of Tirumalai. Invasion of Kāmarupa by Chalukya prince Vikramāditya. Death of Raja Narasinha in the hands of Saha Soltan. Rule of the Bara Pir of Bagdad, Isvara Ghosh, Prithu Raja and the Koch kings in Kāmarupa. The Kaivarta rebellion in Gauda. Composition of 'the travels of Al Beruni'. Subarnachandra, Trailokyachandra, Srichandra and Bhagadattapāla are the kings of East Bengal.

12th Century A. D.—Dharmapāla and Tingadeva are rulers of Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarupa. Re-occupation of Kāmarupa by Rāmpāla. Defeat of the king of Kāmarupa by Vijayasena. Making over of the kingdom of Prāgjyotisa to Vaidyadeva by Kumārapāla. Attack of Kāmarupa by the army of Bengal during the time of Bāyāri Deva. Rule of Ballal Sena and Laksman Sena in Kāmarupa. Inauguration of the Laksmana era. Separate rule of some minor Koch kings of Kāmarupa. Account of manufacture of gunpowder and fire-arms in Bhutan and Assam.

13th Century A. D.—Settlement of the Kachhari race in Kâmarupa. Occupation by the Koch race. Sindhurây, Sindhupati, Ruparay, Sinhadhvaja, Pratâpadhvaja and Durlabhnârâyan are rulers of Kâmatâ. - Compilation of Abhidhâna Chintâmani. Beginning of preaching Mahomedanism in Kâmarupa. Attention of the Mahomedans directed towards invading Eastern Bengal.

1205 A. D.—Attempt of Mohammad Bakhtiar to attack Tibet. Conversion of Ali Mech to Islamism and his friendship with Mohammad.

1206 „ —Rock inscription of Kânâibarsi.

1209 „ —Mohammad Siran killed.

1224 „ —Establishment of the Chhutia royal dynasty.

1226 „ —Occupation of Kâmarupa by Geyasuddin.

1229 „ —Establishment of kingdom by the Ahom race.

1257 „ —Occupation of Kâmarupa by Ekhtiaruddin Tugril and his death.

1258 „ —Composition of Tâbkât-i-Nâseri.

1278 „ —Conquest of Kâmarupa by Magisuddin Tugril.

1293 „ —War between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ and conclusion of treaty.

1303 „ —Ratnadhvajpâla, the son-in-law of the king of Kâmatâ.

1313 „ —Death of Bara Khan Gazi.

1328 „ —Nuladhvaja, the king of Kâmatâ.

1332 „ —Amity between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ.

- 1337 A.D.—Invasion of China by Malek Khasan.
- 1346 „ —Visit of Iban-i-Batutâ to Kâmarupa.
- 1358 „ —Account of striking coins of Sekendar Sâha in Kâmarupa.
- 1398 „ —Invasion of India by Taimurlang.
- 1397-1407 „ —Quarrel between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1434 „ —Compilation of the mathematical work named 'Kitabat Manjari'.
- 1442 „ —Extension of kingdom by the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1447 „ —Death of the Pir of the Chhoto Darga at Pandua.
- 1449 „ —Birth of Sri Sankara Deva.
- 1458 „ —Birth of Visvasinha.
- 1460 „ —Invasion of Kâmarupa by Ismail Gâzi and the account of ruler Kamesvar's embracing Islamism.
- 1460-74 „ —Attack of the Kâmatâ kingdom by Rahamat Khan and his defeat.
- 1479 „ —Relationship between the rulers of Kâmatâ and Gauda.
- 1483 „ —Acknowledgment of supremacy of the Ahom king by Visvasinha. Defeat of the ruler of Kâmatâ by the ruler of Gauda and the former's taking shelter in Assam.
- 1491 „ —Attack of Majlis Khan and killing Dalip Sâmantâ.
- 1493 „ —Conquest of Kâmatâpur by Hosain Sâha at the time of Nilâmvara, the ruler of Kâmatâ, and striking coins by him.

- 1498 A.D.—Defeat of the king of Mithila at the joint attack of the ruler of Gauda and the emperor of Delhi. Rise of the Bhuiyās. Declaration of independence by Visvasinha.
- 1497 „ —Friendship between Visvasinha and the Âhom king.
- 1502 „ —The inscription in mosque of Hosain Sah.
- 1505 „ —Battle between Visvasinha and Tubarak Khan.
- 1506 „ —Re-attack of Tubarak Khan and his victory.
- 1513 „ —Extinction of Mahomedan occupation of Kâmatâpur.
- 1527 „ —Fight between the Âhom soldiers and the soldiers of Gauda.
- 1533 „ —Defeat of the soldiers of Gauda by the Âhom army. Death of Visvasinha. Narasinha's taking charge of the kingdom and his escape. Account of the visit of Sri Chaitanya Deva to Kâmarupa. Account of his death.
- 1533-34 „ —Assumption of the rule of Kâmatâ by Naranârâyan.
- 1543 „ —Beginning of quarrel between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ. Account of striking coins by the Âhom king.
- 1546 „ —Princes of Kâmatâ killed in battle with the Âhom army. Fight in various places.
- 1547 „ —Invasion of Assam by the king of Kâmatâ and his defeat.
- 1548 „ —Account of a terrible earthquake.
- 1549 „ —Defeat of the king of Kâmatâ the battle in Assâm.

- 1553 A.D.—Attack of Kāmata and Kāmarupa by Kalāpāhar and his destruction of temples etc.
- 1555 „ —Expulsion of Sucharuchand, the grandson of Nilāmvaṭṭa, by the king of Kāmata. Getting the Hanumandanda and the umbrella. Sending of messenger to Assam. Revolt of chieftains. Striking of coins by Naranārāyan. Beginning of the reign of emperor Akbar.
- 1556 „ —Return of messengers from Assam. Preparations for invasion of Assam.
- 1562 „ —Invasion of Assam by the king of Kāmata and beginning of war.
- 1563 „ —Battles in many places in Assam. Defeat of the Âhom king and his promise to pay tribute. Conclusion of treaty. Conquest of many kingdoms on the east. Change of the course of the Brahmaputra river. Permission given to the Khairam king to strike coins. Prohibition of striking coins in the name of the Jayanta king. [7] Bringing Kayasthas from the eastern country.
- 1564 „ —Invasion of Gauda by the king of Kāmata and his defeat. Bringing of Pundits from Gauda. Return of hostages of the Âhoms.
- 1565 „ —Reconstruction of the devastated temple of Kāmākhyā.
- 1566 „ —Attempt of the Âhom king to gain independence. Re-attack of Assam by the king of Kāmata and his defeat.
- 1567 A.D.—Birth of prince Lakṣminārāyan.

- 1568 A.D.—Composition of the grammar 'Prayogratna-māla'. Death of Sri Sankara Deva.
- 1568-69 „ —Invasion of Kāmātā by Soleman Kararani.
- 1571 „ —Another attack of Assam by the king of Kāmātā and his defeat. Death of Sukladhvaja.
- 1575 „ —Taking shelter of the Pathans in the kingdom of Kāmātā. Occupation of Gauda by the Mughals.
- 1578 „ —Friendship established between the king of Kāmātā and the emperor of Delhi. Death of Kālāpāhār in battle.
- 1580 „ —Appointment of Todarmal as Subedar of Bengal. Joining of the king of Kāmātā with Māsum Khan and his attack on Gauda.
- 1581 „ —Bestowing the kingdom and the title of 'Chhoto Raja' to Raghudevnrāyan.
- 1582 „ —Preparation of 'Āsal jamā tumār' by Todarmal. Occupation of the fort of Yasodal by Isa Khan.
- 1583 „ —Taking shelter of the Pathans in the kingdom of Kāmātā. Construction of the temple of Hayagrivamādhava under orders of Raghudeva. Appointment of Azir Koka as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1584 „ —Attack on the kingdom of Kāmātā by Isa Khan. Appointment of Saliabax Khan as Subedar of Bengal.
- 1585 „ —Construction of the temple of Pandunātha by Raghudevnrāyan.
- 1586 „ —Visit of Ralph Fitch. Account of manufacture of silk and cotton cloth in the kingdom of Kāmātā.

- 1584-87 A.D.—Subjugation of the Pathans by Sahbaz Khan and Wazir Khan and fight with Aniruddha.
- 1587 „ —Death of Naranârâyan. Assumption of the kingdom of Kâmatâ by Laksmînârâyan, Striking of coins by Laksmînârâyan.
- 1588 „ —Striking of coins by Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1589 „ —Appointment of Raja Mânsinha as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1590 „ —Death of Raja Todarmal.
- 1591-92 „ —Sword bearing the name of emperor Akbar.
- 1592 „ —Cannon of Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1596 „ —Taking shelter under the emperor of Delhi by Raghudevnârâyan. Visit of Mânsinha to the kingdom of Kâmatâ and his marriage with Prabhâbati Devi, the sister of Laksmînârâyan. Death of Sri Mâdhava Deva. Account of a terrible earthquake. Friendship between the Raja of Dinajpur and Laksmînârâyan.
- 1597 „ —Re-attack by Raghudeva. His fight with Fate Khan and Jujha Khan. The battle of Katrâbhu. Death of Durjansinha. Manufacture of cannons by Raghudeva.
- 1598 „ —Death of Sree Dâmodardeva.
- 1599 „ —Death of Isa Khan. Marriage of the Âhom king with the daughter of Raghudeva.
- 1600 „ —Residence of Osman Khan in the fort of Âtâi.
- 1602 „ —Translation of Mârkandeya Purâna. Assassination of Abul Fazal.

- 1603 A.D.—Death of Raghudeva. Assumption of the reign of Kâmarupa by Pariksitnârâyan. Striking coins by Pariksit.
- 1604 „ —Appointment of Abdul Mazid Asaf Khan as Subedar of Bengal.
- 1605 „ —Death of emperor Akbar. Jahangir becomes emperor of Delhi.
- 1606 „ —Composition of the work 'Kirât Parva'. Appointment of Kutubuddin Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1607 „ —Appointment of Jahangir Kuli Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1608 „ —Appointment of Eslam Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1609 „ —Friendship between Eslam Khan and the king of Kâmatâ. Ghoraghat is the boundary of the Koch kingdom. Defeat of the Mughal General by Pariksit.
- 1609-11 „ —Defeat of the Bârabhuiyâs by Eslam Khan.
- 1611-12 „ —Cannon of Laksmînârâyan.
- 1612 „ —Attack of Kâmarupa by Mokram Khan and his joining with Laksmînârâyan.
- 1613 „ —Occupation of the kingdom of Kâmarupa by the emperor of Delhi. Surrender of Pariksit. Gaining of the kingdom of Kâmatâ by Pariksit. Death of Subedar Eslam Khan. Laksmînârâyan and Pariksit made prisoners. Existence of Raikat Mânikyadeva. Revolt of Madhusudan. Death of Mânsinha and the mounting of princess Prabhâvati on his funeral pyre.

- 1615 A.D. — Revolt in the kingdom of Kāmarupa and Kāmātā. Administration of the kingdom by the prince of Kāmātā.
- 1616 „ — Compilation of 'the Kaumudies' (works on Smṛiti). Occupation of the Dimrua kingdom by the Âhom king.
- 1617 „ — Appointment of Ibrahim Khan as Subedar of Bengal. Revolt of the Mughal officers.
- 1618 „ — Release of Laksmīnārāyan. His meeting with the emperor of Delhi. Discovery of Lolārka Kund. Appointment of Sheikh Kamal as the ruler of Kāmarupa. Work of Laksmīnārāyan under the emperor of Delhi.
- 1620 „ — Staying of Laksmīnārāyan in Hajo. Occupation of Bengal by the rebel Sahzada Khuram (Sahajahan). Laksmīnārāyan takes his side. Account of the independence of the kingdom of Kāmātā. Composition of Baharistan-i-Ghaibi.
- 1626 „ — Staying of Laksmīnārāyan in Hajo. His meeting with Stephen Cacella. Visit of Cacella to Kāmātāpur. Rule of 'Gābur Sāha'.
- 1627 „ — Visit of Stephen Cacella to Bhutan. Striking of coins by Laksmīnārāyan. His death. Birnārāyan becomes king.
- 1629 „ — Return of Stephen Cacella from Bhutan to the kingdom of Kāmātā.

1632 A.D.—Proposal of marriage of the Ahom king with the daughter of Laksminarayan. Death of Birnarayan. Prannarayan becomes king of Kamata (Cooch Behar). Striking of coins by Prannarayan.

1633 „ —Composition of 'Resala-tos Sohada'. Striking of coins by Prannarayan.

1634 „ —Letter of the Ahom officer addressed to Nawab Ahlayar Khan.

1637 „ —Fight of Prannarayan in Assam on behalf of the Mughals and his striking coins.

1638 „ —Attempt of Balinarayan, the king of Durrung, to recover his father's kingdom. His death. Return of Prannarayan from Assam.

1644 „ —Practice of writing ✓ before the names of living kings of Cooch Behar.

1645 „ —Gift of land to a Brahmin by Prannarayan at the time of a lunar eclipse. Use of 'Sinha chap' seal.

1646 „ —The Brahmin Nazir of Prannarayan. His execution of 'Amalnâma'.

1648 „ —A copy of Akbarnâmâ (preserved in Patna).

1649 „ —Inscription on a temple of Pratâpamalla the king of Nepal and husband of Rupamati Devi the sister of Prannarayan. The sign of a dot inscribed on the coins of Prannarayan. Appointment of Sahazada Suja as the Subedar of Bengal.

1650 „ —Map of Bae,

- 1657 A.D.—Inscription on the door of the Poā-makkā mosque in Hajo. Illness of emperor Sahājahan. Quarrels among his sons. Occupation of Kāmarupa (Koch Hajo) by the Âhom king and Prānnârāyan.
- 1658 „ —Preparation of Jamabandi by Suja. Battle with Prānnârāyan by the Mughal officers and their defeat.
- 1659 „ —Battle between the Âhom king and the king of Cooch Behar regarding occupation of Koch Hajo. Defeat of the king of Cooch Behar. Visit of men sent by the Duke of Muscovoy to Bhutan.
- 1660 „ —Map of Vonden Brooke.
- 1661 „ —Occupation of Dacca and Ghoraghat by Prānnârāyan. Invasion and occupation of Cooch Behar by Mirzumla. Escape of the king. Account of the conversion of the prince to Islamism. Manufacture of coins in 'Alamgir Nagar'.
- 1662 „ —Invasion of Assam by Mirzumla. Recovery of his kingdom by Prānnârāyan.
- 1663 „ —Account of an earthquake lasting for half an hour (?). Composition of Tarikh-i-Assam.
- 1664 „ —Attempt of Sayesta Khan to attack Cooch Behar. The king's acknowledging subjection. Promise to pay tribute to keep the kingdom safe. Sending of messengers to Assam by the king.

- 1635 A.D.—Sending of Peshah by the king to the emperor. Construction of the present temple of Gosanimari. Attempt to construct the temple of Jalpesvar. Death of Prannārāyan. Modnārāyan becomes king. Mention of Patrani Rupamati Devi as 'the daughter of the king of Bengal' in an inscription in a temple in Nepal. Famine. Appointment of Mahinārāyan as Chhatra Nazir.
- 1666 „ —Sending of messengers to Assam by the king of Cooch Behar.
- 1668 „ —Visit of Raja Ram Sinha and Guru Teg Bahadur to Assam.
- 1670 „ —Striking of coins in 'Jayanta Nagar'.
- 1674 „ —Ascertainment of the area of land in Cooch Behar by survey.
- 1676 „ —Promulgation of order of the king bearing 'Sinhachap' seal.
- 1680 „ —Death of Modnārāyan. Basudevnārāyan becomes king. Construction of a new 'Sinha chap'.
- 1682 „ —Assassination of Basudevnārāyan. Mahinda-nārāyan becomes king.
- 1685 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Naib Subedar Bhabani Das and his annihilation with his soldiers.
- 1686 „ —Rajguru Hatikanta Misra. Execution of Waqqa by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanārāyan.
- 1687 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Founder Ebadat Khan. Treachery of the officers of the king.

- 1682 A.D.—Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Nuruġa Khan.
- 1693 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by the Mughal General, Jabardast Khan. Death of Mahindranārāyan.
- 1694 „ —Granting of Waqqa by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanārāyan. Survey of land.
- 1695 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Ibrahim Khan. Composition of 'Purani Asama Buranji'.
- 1697 „ —Execution of a Waqqa granting land in Cooch Behar by Bhujadeva. Execution of document bearing the 'Seal' seal by the king. Appointment of Sahjada Azim Ossvan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1698 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Sayadat Ali and his defeat. Jabardast Khan leaves Bengal.
- 1699 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Samassuddowla Khan, Dewan Yazed Khan, Raja Devakinandan and Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khan. Occupation of the three Chaklas by Ali Kuli Khan and conclusion of treaty with the king.
- 1700-1702 „ —Death of Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva.
- 1704 „ —Rupnārāyan becomes king. The posts of the Nazir, Dewan and Suba in Cooch Behar and the share of each in the kingdom. Account of the independent kingdom of Cooch Behar.
- 1706 „ —Gift of land to the Guru by the king on the occasion of solar eclipse.

- 1707 A.D.—Revenue of Chakla Boda and Purbabagh as written in the Dufter of the Canoongo of the emperor of Delhi.
- 1708 „ —Striking of coins in Jayantanagar.
- 1710 „ —Granting of a Waqqa by Satyanârâyan. Execution of Waqqa by the king mentioning 53 Râjsaka.
- 1711 „ —Dismissal of Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khan. Appointment of Neyamatulla Khan and denial of the treaty previously agreed upon. Amount of revenue of Patgram.
- 1712 „ —Grant of a Waqqa by Santanârâyan. Death of emperor Bahadur Saha. Attempt of the temporary Naib Nazim Khan Jahan Bahadur to occupy Chakla. Fight between the prince and Mughal soldiers. Account of the occupation of Chakla written in the Dufar of the Canoongo of the emperor of Delhi. Composition of Burunjee of Rudrasinha.
- 1713 „ —Conclusion of another treaty. Taking Ijara of the three Chaklas in the name of Santanârâyan.
- 1714 „ —Death of Rupnârâyan. Upendranârâyan becomes king. The area of the kingdom.
- 1720 „ —Execution of Waqqa by Santanârâyan and Satyanârâyan.
- 1722 „ —Death of Prannath the Raja of Dinajpur. Ramnath gets the zemindary. The Jamabandi of Murshid Kuli Khan named "Jama Kamel Tumari".

- 1724 A.D.—Execution of Waqqa by Sântanârâyan.
- 1728 „ —Jamabandi of Nawab Sujauddin.
- 1732 „ —Composition of 'Manta-Khâbul-lubâb' by Khâfi Khan.
- 1734 „ —Grant of Waqqa by Sântanârâyan. Composition of the work 'Hastividyaârnavâ' by Sukumar Kayet.
- 1736 „ —Conquest of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Saiyad Ahmed. Dinnârâyan's assumption of kingdom. Execution of Waqqa by Dinnârâyan.
- 1737 „ —Mention of 'Bara Gosain' in Waqqa of Kharganârâyan. Execution of document by Sântanârâyan. Account of a great earthquake.
- 1737-38 „ —Defeat of the Fouzdar and escape of Dinnârâyan. Recovery of the kingdom by the king. Dismissal of Dewan Satyanârâyan and Suba Kântanârâyan. Appointment of Kharganârâyan as Dewan and of Harinârâyan as Suba.
- 1738 „ —Lalitnârâyan Gabur Nazir.
- 1745 „ —Occupation of Khaspur by Laksmichandra the prince of Kâchhâr.
- 1746 „ —Death of Sântanârâyan and appointment of Lalitnârâyan as Chhatra Nazir. "Dhâlâ Jarip".
- 1747-47 „ —Lalitnârâyan Chhatra Nazir.
- 1753 „ —Letter from the Devaraja of the Bhutan to the king of Cooch Behar. Friendship between the Devaraja and Chhatra Nazir. Gaurinandan Mustafi is the 'Pradhân Kârbârî'.

- 1758 A.D.—Death of the 6th Dalai Lama. Grant of a Perwana by Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan.
- 1759 „ —Grant of a Perwana by Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. Copy of the manuscript 'Sâttvata Tantra'.
- 1761 „ —Jamabandi of Nawab Kasem Ali Khan.
- 1762 „ —Existence of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. Death of Lama Gishatu. A great earthquake.
- 1763 „ —Death of king Upendranârâyan. Devendranârâyan becomes king.
- 1765 „ —The East India Company gets Dewani. Assassination of Devendranârâyan. Dhair-yendranârâyan becomes king.
- 1766 „ —'Dhâlâ Jarip'.
- 1767 „ —Revolution in Bhutan, Devayadhur, the ruler of the country. Marriage of Dhair-yendranârâyan.
- 1768 „ —Birth of Kumar Dharendranârâyan. End of the rule of the Malla dynasty in Nepal.
- 1769 „ —Dewan Ramnârâyan joins in the battle of Vijaypur. Assassination of the Dewan. Appointment of Surendranârâyan as Dewan. Both the king and the Dewan kept as prisoners in Bhutan. Ascertainment of the boundaries of the kingdom of Cooch Behar and the territories of the Company. Famine of 76. Trade of the Bhutiyas in Rungpur. Kasinath Lahiri joins his service under the king.

- 1770 A.D.—Rajendranârâyan becomes king and appoints Bijendranârâyan as Dewan. Influence of Devayadhur. The mint of Cooch Behar transferred to Bhutan. 'Devatâkâ' coined in Bhutan. Conclusion of a treaty between the Company and the Nawab of Bengal. Mr. Gross becomes the Supervisor in Rungpur.
- 1771 „ —Attempt of the Company to realise revenue directly from Bengal. Raikat Darpadeva.
- 1772 „ —Marriage of Rajendranârâyan, his illness and death. Dharendranârâyan becomes king. Rule of the kingdom by the king's mother. Influence of Rajguru Sarvânanda Gosvami. Authenticated document of his Brahmottar. Devayadhur occupies Cooch Behar. Enmity of Raikat Darpadeva. Determination of terms of the Treaty. Battle between the Company and the Bhutiyas. Grant of Waqqa by Dharendranârâyan.
- 1773 „ —Fixing the boundaries of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the letters of Mr. Purling and Mr. Hastings. Conclusion of a treaty between the king and the Company. Victory of the Company in Bhutan war. Recovery of the kingdom. Preparation of Hastbud, and ascertainment of the dues of the Company. Right of the king to strike coins. The amount of Peshkas of Raikat Darpadeva. Raids by 'Sannyasi and Fakir dacoits'. Striking of 40 to 50 thousand coins in the king's mint.

1774 A.D.—Sending messenger and proposals for treaty to the Company by Tisu Lama, Bhutan Treaty. Severance of relationship between the Raikat and the king. Release of the king and the Dewan. Increase of revenue of Raikat. Bogle Mission. Mention of the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the report of Mr. Bogle. The assent of the Company to the erection of a Buddhist monastery on the banks of the Ganges. Income and expenditure of the kingdom. Unwillingness of the authorities of the Company to accept new Narayani coins but Devaraja's eagerness to get the same. Pilgrimage of the king. Pay of the king's officers. Support of the Company to the 22 Dehas of Brahmottar belonging to Rajguru Sarvânanda Gosvami. Waqqa bearing the name of Dharendra-nârâyan.

1775 „ —Finding of Mr. Harwood regarding 'Kutghat'. Undisputed document of the Brahmottar of Gosvami. Grant of Waqqa bearing the name of Dharendra-nârâyan. His death. The reign of Dhairyendranârâyan (second time). Influence of the Maharani and Gosvami. Annual allowance to Rajguru Gosvami from the whole kingdom. Claim of the Bhutiyas over the Duars. Orders of the Company to reduce the number of Narayani coins.

- 1776 A.D.—Hamilton Mission. Dharmadand Raya gets the Sunnud of Chaklajat. Granting Sunnud for realisation of 'Dharmadand Kari' in the kingdom. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan sends letter to pacify quarrels between the king and the Nazir.
- 1777 A. D.—A proposal of the king for payment of money to the Company. Hamilton Mission. Intention of the Company to close the king's mint. Decision of the Dinajpur Council regarding 'Duars.' Ascertainment of terms of the Patta of the Rungpur zemindari.
- 1778 „ —Defeat of the Chaudhuris in the case for the possession of Chaklajat. The rule for realisation of revenue from the zemindars of Rungpur. Demand of Hastbud of the Chaklajat from the king.
- 1779 „ —Case between the Devaraja and Kanta Babu. The king is prohibited from arresting offenders in the Duars. Case of Loknath Nandi against the king. Attempt of the Naib Suba to have civil and criminal jurisdiction in Bengal. Prohibition of sending Narayani coins to Murshidabad. Printing of Rennels' map. Resolution of the Governor General to keep amity with the Bhutiyas. Debt of the king.

1780 A.D.—Birth of Kumar Harendranârâyan. Imprisonment of Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri.

1781 „ —Sarvânanda Gosvami is the 'Mokhtar' of the Maharani.

1782 „ —Raids by 'Fakir and Sannyasi dacoits.' Prohibition from the Company to displease Devaraja.

1783 „ —Turner Mission. Honour of Raikat Darpadeva by the emperor of China. Revolt of the raiyats in Rungpur. Will of Dhairyendrapârâyan and his death. His eleven Banis ascend the funeral pyre. Harendranârâyan becomes king. Birendranârâyan becomes 'Yuvaraj'.

1784 „ —Quarrel with the Nazir regarding the royal seal. The king gets Sunnud for the Chaklajat zemindari. Mr. Moore appointed as the Collector of Rungpur. Enquiry by Dewan Gangaprasad. Remark of the Company's Cancongo. The report of genealogical table written by Mr. Moore. Resolution of the Government regarding succession to the kingdom. Khagendranârâyan sits on the seat of the king. Khagendranârâyan is made a prisoner. Debt of the king. The Bhutiyas get Ambari-Falakata and Moynaguri.

1785 A.D.—Escape of Khagendranârâyan. Proclamation by the Maharani. Preparation of 'Boydâd-i-badiat' regarding Khagendranârâyan. Area of the Brahmettar of Gosvami and Lahiri. Claim of Devaraja to have coins struck in the mint of Cooch Behar. Promise on behalf of the Company to keep the Devaraja satisfied. Resignation of Mr. Hastings. Trial of Dewan Syamchandra.

1786 „ —Appointment of Mr. Macdowall as the Collector of Rungpur. Efforts of Marichmati. Attempt on behalf of the Company to suppress the dacoits.

1787 „ —The Maharani bathes in the Ganges. Reply of the Devaraja regarding shelter of Khagendranârâyan. Revolt of subjects in Assam. Hope of Khagendranârâyan's son to become king in Lower Assam. Seizing of the king by Dangar Deo. Confinement of the king and Maharani in Balarampur. Writing out a deed of share. Rescue of the king and the Maharani through the help of the Company. Complaint of the king against Khagendranârâyan. Creation of the 'district of Ghoraghat'. Account of export and import in the kingdom. Raids by the Sannyasi dacoits. Some incidents regarding Duars. False statement of the Bhutiyas regarding the quarrel with the king. Change of the course of the Tista river owing to a heavy flood.

1788 A.D.—Enquiry by the Nawabi Adalat and the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet regarding the seizure of the king. Acknowledgment of the rights of the king regarding striking coins and the genealogical table in the report of the Commissioners. Publication of the order regulating succession to kingship. Trial of the persons accused for seizure of the king. Attack of Tibet by the king of Nepal. Translation of the history by Gladwin.

1789 „ —Support of the report of the Commissioners by the Government. Raids of the dacoits. The Company take charge of the Administration of Cooch Behar.

1790 „ —Account of Jalpesvar in the report of Mr. Purling. Ascertainment of revenue of the three Chaklas. Account of the invalid Brahmottar of Gosvami and Lahiri. End of the dual administration under the management by the Company. The Company get all powers. The Company strike coins in the name of the emperor of Delhi. Support of the resolution regarding Cooch Behar of the Commissioners and the Board by the Directors.

1791 „ —Nomination of the king of Bijni by the Devaraja. Mental distress of Khagendra-nârâyan. Composition of "Samudra-nârâyaner Vansâvali"

- 1792 A.D.—Composition of "An Account of Assam" by Dr. Wade. Attack of Nepal by the Chinese soldiers. Order prohibiting the entrance of Indians to Tibet. Declaration of independence by the king of Durrung. Preparation of certified copies of the old Sunnuds of Cooch Behar at Rungpur.
- 1793 " —Determination of the permanent revenue of the three Chaklas.
- 1794 " —Prohibition of trial by the king of offences committed by European British subjects. Raids by Nepali dacoits.
- 1795 " —End of the revolt of raiyats in Assam. Joynath Ghose joins his post under the king.
- 1797 " —Preparation of genealogical table of the king by Paramananda Tarkalankar.
- 1800 " The Bhutiyas get the Taluks Majherdabri, Bholka and others. Death of Maharani Kāmatesvari. Discovery of many blank papers bearing the seal of the king. Composition of "Kharganārāyanar Vansāvali".
- 1801 " —Account of the deception practised by Sarvānanda Gosvami written by the king.
- 1802 " —Adverse criticism by the officers of the Company regarding the interpretation of the Cooch Behar treaty. Acknowledgement of the right of the king to strike coins.
- 1803 " —Composition of 'Upakathā' by Mahraj Harendranārāyan and the genealogical table given in the same.

1905 A.D.—Stopping the mint of the king by the Company.

1803 „ —Visit to Kāmatāpur of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and the compilation of the genealogical table of the royal family. Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Death of Marichmati Aye.

1809 „ —Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Opinion of Mr Digby, regarding Maraghat. Situation of Dhopguri. Escape of Raikat Sarvadev to Rungpur. Ramohan Ray becomes Dewan of Mr. Digby.

1811 „ —Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Rammohan Ray, the Dewan of Mr. Digby. Visit of Mr. Manning to Bhutan.

1813 „ —Further adverse criticism regarding interpretation of Cooch Behar treaty.

1815 „ —Krisnakanta Mission. The Bhutiyas get Taluks Parorpar, Tapsikhata etc. False statement of the Bhutiyas regarding quarrel with the king and their laying blame on Rammohan Ray and Hemayetulla.

1816 „ —Favourable criticism of the interpretation of the Cooch Behar Treaty.

1817 „ —Extinction of the occupation of the king in the Duars except in some Chālas according to the decision of Mr. Scott.

- 1819 A.D.—The Bhutiyas get Chamurchi. Adverse report of Mr. Scott regarding the rights of the king to rule.
- 1820 „ —Heavy floods. The Mansai river begin to flow through Kāmatāpur.
- 1821 „ —Further attempt of the king to strike coins.
- 1823 „ —Composition of Rajopākhyāna begins.
- 1824 „ —Composition or copying of the manuscript “Gosānimangal”.
- 1827 „ —Prohibition on behalf of the Company to the king's realising tolls from plying boats on the Tista and the Sankos rivers.
- 1828 „ —The king again attempts to strike coins.
- 1830 „ —The East India Company occupy the kingdom of Kāchhār.
- 1832 „ —Extinction of Bhutiya Mela in Rungpur. Bhutiya raids on the frontier of the kingdom.
- 1835 „ —First issue of the Company's own coins. The East India Company occupy the kingdom of Jayantia.
- 1836 „ —Revolt of Hargovind in the Duars. Orders prohibiting receipt of the Narayani coins by the Company.
- 1838 „ —Pemberton Mission. Prohibition of the currency of Sikka rupees within the dominion of the Company.

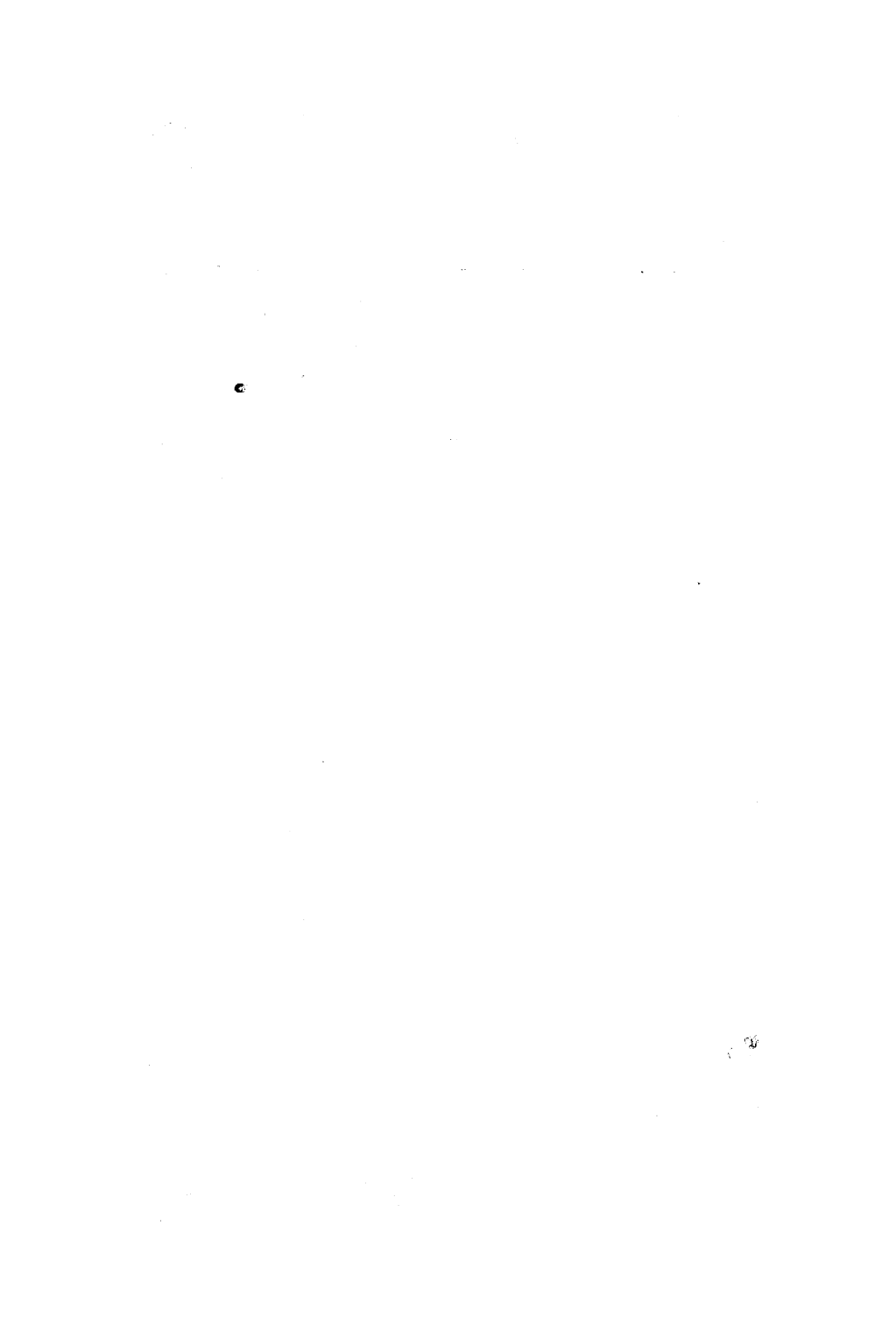
- 1839 A.D.—Incomplete copy of 'Rājopākhyān'. Preparation of three genealogical tables.
- 1840 „ —Remark of Raikat Sarvadev regarding acceptance of 'Kanyâpâtri' in the royal family of Cooch Behar. Composition of "Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali". Trial of the Panga succession case.
- 1841 „ —Marriage of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan. Occupation of the Assam Duars by Lord Auckland. Preparation of map by Mr. Tassin.
- 1842 „ —Re-occupation of Ambari-Falakata by the Governor.
- 1843 „ —Repairs to 'Lolârka Kunda' at Benares by Maharaja Shibendranârâyan and fixing an inscribed tablet there. Application to the Agent By Dayâmayi Dehya regarding Brahmottar.
- 1844 „ —Bhutiya raids on the Cooch Behar frontier.
- 1845 „ —Further orders of the Government to close the mint at Cooch Behar.
- 1848 „ —Oppression of the subjects by the Bhutiyas in the frontier of the State. Statement of Dr. Campbell regarding the religious views of the Raikat family. Death of Raikat Sarvadeva.
- 1849 „ —Report of Major Jenkins containing history of Cooch Behar.
- 1853 „ —Account of the previous currency of Narayani coins in Assam.

- 1857 A.D.—Oppression by the Bhutiyas on the northern portion of the State. Sepoy Mutiny in the territory of the Company.
- 1858 „ —Death of Munshi Joynath Ghose. Bhutiya raids in the State.
- 1859 „ —Preparation by the Magistrate of Cooch Behar of a list of atrocities perpetrated by the Bhutiyas. Proposal of the Agent of the North Eastern Frontier Province to occupy the Duars. Composition of the work “Beharodanta”.
- 1860 „ —Copy of Rājopākhyāna.
- 1861 „ —Preparation of a list of atrocities committed by the Bhutiyas.
- 1862 „ —Attack on the Bhutiyas by the soldiers of the Maharaja. Bhutiya raids in the frontier of the State. New interpretation of the Cooch Behar Treaty by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Government confers the right of adopting a son upon the Maharaja.
- 1863 „ —Imprisonment of the residents of Cooch Behar in Bhutan. Eden Mission and its result. Discovery of coins, sword and cannon in Gosānimāri. Composition of ‘Rajvansāvali’.
- 1864 „ —Proclamation of the Company's occupation of the Duars. Attack of the Duars and occupation of the same. Condition of the force of the Maharaja and its reform. Discovery of Books in the Bhutanese language in Chamurchi and Dewangiri.

- 1865 A.D.—Re-attack of the Bhutiyas and their re-occupation of the Government Duars
Map of Surgeon Rennie. Prohibition of the use of Narayani coins in Cooch Behar.
Composition of the article 'Koshbiharer Itihās'.
- 1866 „ —Currency of the Government coins in Cooch Behar.
- 1867 „ —Stoppage of cultivation of opium in the State of Cooch Behar. Account of Danial and Geyasuddin in the Calcutta Review.
- 1869 „ —Printing of the report of Mercer and Chauvet. Compilation of 'One authoritative paper on the early History of Cooch Behar'.
- 1871 „ —Stoppage of cultivation of Ganja in the State of Cooch Behar. Account of the land of Satyanârâyan in Bâdalgâchhir Chittah.
- 1872 „ —Criticism of Mr. Glazier of the map of Major Rennel.
- 1874 „ —Compilation of the history of Cooch Behar in Completion Settlement Report of Mr. Beckett. English Translation of Rājopākhyāna.
- 1875 „ —Praise of the Cooch Behar State army by the Government.

- 1876 A.D.—History of the royal family of Cooch Behar in the work of Sir William Hunter. Compilation of "An Account of the Cooch Behar State".
- 1882 " —Writing of 'Kochbiharer Itihās'. Printing of the first volume of 'The Cooch Behar Select Records'.
- 1883 " —Captain Hedayet Ali, the Commander of the State forces, gets reward for the Bhutan war. Extinction of the Maharaja's own postal department. Composition of "Kochbihar rajyer sanksipta vivaran".
- 1884 " —Printing of the second volume of "the Cooch Behar Select Records".
- 1885 " —Decision of the Privy Council regarding the adoption case of the Raikat family.
- 1893 " —Composition of 'Koch Kings of Kāmarupa' by Mr. Gait.
- 1894 " —The Bijni Succession Case.
- 1895 " —'Kochbiharer itihās' in the introduction to Damodara Charita.
- 1896 " —Determination of the English Spelling of 'Cooch Behar'.
- 1897 " —Terrible earthquake.
- 1899 " —Printing of 'Gosānimangal'.
- 1901 " —Old history of Cooch Behar published in the journal 'Āśāmbanti'.

- 1908 A.D.—Printing of 'The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement'.
1905. „ —Extinction of the post of the Dharmaraja in Bhutan. Tongsu Penlow gets the kingdom.
- 1913 „ —Composition of the work "The Resettlement of the Town of Cooch Behar".
- 1923 „ —^{Funeral Ceremony} Sradh of Maharaja Jitendranârâyan.
- 1929 „ —Introduction of the figure of a tiger in place of that of a lion in the Coat of Arms,
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APPENDIX.

I.

.See Chapter IX Page 153.—The original verses of the inscription on the door of the temple of Hayagrivamâdhava are as follow :

“ ত্রীশ্রীমদ্বিশ্বসিংহঃ কৃতিতরভবভুতঃ খ্যাতকীর্তিঃ
 ত্রীশ্রীমং শ্রীমল্লদেবে। নৃপতিরতিমতিনির্জিতারতিজ্ঞাতিঃ ।
 গান্তীৰ্য্যোদাৰ্য্যশৌৰ্য্যপ্রথিতপুথ্যশৌৰ্য্যকৰ্ম্মাবদাতঃ
 শ্রীমং শুক্লজাখ্যো ব্যজনি তদমুজো যদবশেষশেষদেশঃ ॥
 সাক্ষাত্ৰায়বপুস্বে। দিশি দিশি প্রখ্যাতকীর্তিব্রজে।
 হস্তাপুজনস্ত যো বিধিবশাদ্ যঃ কামরূপেশ্বরঃ ।
 যো যো বাখিললোকশোকদহনজ্বালাবলীবারিদঃ
 শ্রীমং শ্রীমুদেবে। ভূপতিরভূৎ শুক্লজজ্যোতসঃ ॥
 তত্তাপেষজনপ্রসাদজনকঃ শ্রীকৃষ্ণপাদার্চকে।
 ভূপঃ প্রাপ্তবরা গদাধরকৃতী প্রাসাদরত্নং ব্যাধৎ ।
 মন্যাত্মানগিরৌ হস্তাসুররিপোরদ্ধামানাম্পদং
 শাকে বাণবিয়ত্তিথৌ শুবিবরাঃ কারাঃ স্বয়ং শ্রীধরঃ ॥ ”

The original verses of the inscription on the door of the temple of Pandunath are :

“ শ্রীমন্মন্মপাসুজন্ত কৃতিনঃ শুক্লজজ্যোতসে
 বায়ে শ্রীমুদেবভূপতিকুলোত্তমঃ কলানাং নিধৌ ।
 দুর্গাদম্ভবরঞ্ শাসতি শুণাগ্রামাভিরামে মহীং
 তত্তামাত্যগদাধরন্ত বহুশঃ দেহামুহুলাদপি ॥
 শ্রীপাদুনাথন্ত হরেঃ শিলাভিঃ
 প্রাসাদমানিন্দিতবান্ মনোজ্ঞঃ ।
 পদোনিধিবিভূপদৈকতানঃ
 শাকে শরব্যোমশরেন্দ্রসংখ্যে ॥ ”

II.

See Chapter IX Page 159.—The original verses in the inscription in the temple of Kāmākhya are :

লোকানুগ্রহকারকঃ করুণয়া পার্থে ধনুর্বিদ্যায়া
দানেনাপি দধীচিকর্ণদৃশো মধ্যাদয়াভোনিধিঃ ।
নানীশাত্ত্রবিচারচাকুরিতঃ কন্দর্পরূপোজ্জ্বলঃ
কামাখ্যাচরণার্চকো বিজয়তে শ্রীমন্তদেবো নৃপঃ ॥
প্রাসাদমগ্নিহিতুশ্চরণারবিন্দ-
ভক্ত্যাকরোত্তদছজো বরনীলশৈলে ।
শ্রীশুক্রদেব ইমমুন্নসিতোপলেন
শাকে তুরঙ্গগজবেদশশাঙ্কসংখ্যে ॥”

The verse in the second inscription is :

“তসৈব প্রিয়সোদরঃ পৃথুশা বীরেন্দ্রমৌলিস্থলী
মাণিক্যং ভজমানকল্পবিটপী নীলাচলে মঞ্জুসম্ ।
প্রাসাদং যুনিগবেদশভূৎ শাকে শিলারাজিতি-
দেবীভক্তিমতাং বরো রচিতবান্ শ্রীশুক্রপৃথ্বীজঃ ॥”

III.

See Chapter X Page 201.—The original verses in the inscription in the temple of Visnu situated on the west of the courtyard of the palace at Katmandu (Nepal) are :—

“আন্তে কাপ্যমরাবতীব বিলসদহীকৃতদিব্যাক্রনা-
যুক্তা স্বর্ণময়ী বিহারনগরী সা রাজধানী পরা ।
শ্রীমৎ শ্রীকমলাধিকা মধুপতেরিক্ষেপে তুল্যস্য চ
প্রত্যধিব্রজনির্জিতস্য নরযুজ্ঞানারায়ণস্যাপি চ ॥
লক্ষ্মীনারায়ণন্তমাদ বীরনারায়ণন্ততঃ ।
পুত্রী রূপমতী তস্য প্রাণনারায়ণঃ হৃতঃ ॥
সেয়ং রূপমতী সতী গুণবতী স্বর্ণভ্যক্তিঃ সম্রতি
মাদ্যংকুঞ্জরগামিনী প্রণয়িনী সাক্ষাৎপরা কল্পিনী ।
আদীং সর্বগুণহিতৈর্নরপতেঃ শ্রীমৎপ্রতাপস্য সা
পরী প্রাণসমা যথা বলনিধেঃ পুত্রী জগৎপাণিনঃ ॥”

কাৰ্ণাটী রঙ্গবাটী কুচকনকষটী কামলীগৈকবাটী.

বৰ্ণালঙ্কারকোটী হরিসদৃশকটী চারুদেহাঙ্গুপাটী ।

নামা রাজমতী মহারসবতী ভূপপ্রতাপস্য সা

. ভূতা ভোগবধুটিকা কিল হরেভামেব জীবাধিকা ॥.....

সংবৎ ১৬৯ ফাল্গুন শুক্লচতুর্থাং তিথৌ অম্বুৰাধানকত্রে হৰ্ষৰ্যোগে বৃহস্পতিবাসরে ॥”

The original verses in the temple of Ugratârâ at Anantapur are :

“নেপালে সযতেতশরগিরিমুনিভিসংযুতে শুক্লপক্ষে

চাষাঢ়ে বৈ নবম্যাং সুললিতদিবসে যোগরাজে শিবাখ্যে ।

চিহ্নায়াং শুক্লবারে জননয়নহরেন্তনুপূরে সুরম্যে

ভায়ায়া উগ্রপূৰ্ণাঃ কৃতমবহরণং স্থাপনং রাজপত্ন্যা ॥

যা পত্নী ত্রী ২: ভাপক্ষিতিপতিতিলকসায়রূপা সুরূপা

যেবা বদ্যধিপতা প্রবলরিপুহরত্বাদিতীয়া সুকত্বা ।

সৈদানন্তপ্রিয়ার্থা ত্রিভুবনবিদিতা রূপপুণ্যাভিজাতৈঃ

প্রাসাদন্ত প্রতিষ্ঠাং সুরনয়নভগাং দিব্যলগ্নে বিধন্যাং ॥”

IV

Chapter X Page 205.—The original of the deed of gift of land to Siro-
mani Bhattacharya is given below without correction of apparent mistakes.

(Impression of the seal known as *Sinhachâp*.)

(Illegible Signature)

শ্রীবিষ্ণবে ৮

প্রাণনারায়ণো নৃপঃ ৮

ও স্বস্তি নিজভুজমন্দরাদ্রিমথিতারাতিসমুদ্রসঙ্গনিতবশশ্রেষ্ঠকমতেশ্বরশ্রীশ্রীপ্রাণনারায়ণ-
মহীমণ্ডলাখণ্ডলানাম্

শ্রীনরহরি ভাণ্ডারঠাকুর শ্রীরামকৃষ্ণ শ্রীরমানাথ মজুমদারান্ প্রতি সমাদেশঃ চক্ৰোপমাগে
শ্রীম...স(ব)হন্তেহু গ্রামমেকং প্রদত্তবান্ ।

শ্রীশিরোমণিনাম্নেহমৈ ভট্টাচার্য্যার ধীমতে ।

দদাবিমং মহীপাল উত্তরপ্রতিপত্তিঃ ॥

অপর ব্রাহ্মণের বসেহিতচানারিশালাভিঃ । যে(স্ব)য়মপি দেহো গ্রামো যুগ্ম(স্ব)ভির্দগ্ধরাণিকৃতেষু ।
 বরহুতি দোষানদোষনিশাগহ ন গ্রাহ্যঃ কদাপি কেনাপি । জলকরণকায়াদিভোগ্যোহনেনা-
 কুতোভয়তঃ ।

মংকুলপ্রভবান্চান্যে যে ভবিষ্যন্তি ভূভুজঃ ।

হুবা ব্রাহ্মণস্তরং গ্রামস্তেহ্ম্যর্গোশুকরাশিনঃ ॥

গ্রামের স্থিত রথ কার্ঘ্যের বাবদ বেহারের যুযুমারিত পায় পন্দের বিষ ৮৩/০ কঙ্গসের বাড়ীর
 আগত কলতা সকলের খালি ভিটাত পায় এক বিষ ১/০ এবং এক গ্রাম ১ পায় ইতি ১৩৫
 কানুন ১৮ ”

On the back of the document this is written :

শ্রীকবিকর্ণপুর খাসনীসদ্য

V

Chapter X Page 206.—

The inscription on the door of the temple of Kâmatesvari
 at Gosânimâri :

“ঐ নমো গণেশায়

সম্বত্যা বিষদেকজিহ্বরভূজাদণ্ড প্রতাপার্ধ্যম-

কীড়াবদ্রুববেগবজ্জিতদিশঃ শ্রী প্রাণভূমিপতেঃ ।

শাকাষে নগনাগমার্গণহিমজ্যোতির্মিতে নিম্নিতঃ

শ্রীভাজা কবিমণ্ডলেন ভজতা ভবো ভবানীমর্ষঃ ॥

১৮৫৭”

VI

Chapter XVIII Page 457.—Bengali Copy of the Cooch Behar Treaty.

নকল বমজিব নকল ১২২০/১২৫ মাঘ

৭ শ্রীশ্রীরাম

রাজা ধরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ কোচবিহারের কলিকাতাতে কঙচলি সাহেব ও বড় সাহেবকে দরখাস্ত
 করলেন তাঁহার মলুকের খারাব আকুণ্ডাল জে তাঁহার মলুকের সন্নিক্ত অত্র রাজা সকল তাঁহার
 মলুকে চড়াই করিয়া লুট ত্যজ করে এবং সকলে একজোগ হইয়া তাঁহার মলুক হাত করে বড়
 সাহেব ও কঙচলি সাহেব লোক যুতার ইনশাক নিমিত্তে আর সহকারি নিমিত্তে গরিবলোকের ঐহাৱা

টারি কুম্পানি সিপাহি আর এক ময়দানি কামান রাজার এবং তাঁহার মলুকের হেফাজতি নিমিত্তে এবং তাঁহার বিপক্ষ লোকের দমন কারণ পাঠাইবেন এই সকল দফা বমোজিব তপসীল জএল কওল করার উদ্ভয়তো রাজি পূর্বক হইল।

১ দফা—

রাজা দিবেন পঞ্চাশ হাজার টাকা রঙ্গপুরের তহসীলদারকে ফৌজের খরচ কারণ জে ফৌজ গীয়াছে তাহার হেফাজতি কারণ।

২ দফা—

বদি পঞ্চাশ হাজার টাকা হইতে জাশা খরচ হয় তবে সে টাকা রাজা দিবেন কুম্পানিতে জদি পঞ্চাশ হাজার অন্দরে ফৌজের খরচ দিয়া জে কিছু উদ্বৃত্ত হয় তাহা রাজা ফিরিয়া পাইবেন।

৩ দফা—

রাজা করার করিবেন তাবদারী অঙ্গরেজ কুম্পানির তাহার মলুক হুসমণ হইতে পরিছন্ন হইলে মলুক কোচবিহার যুবে বাজার মোতালুক হবেক।

৪ দফা—

রাজা রাজি হইলেন অর্ধেক খাজনা কোচবিহারের কুম্পানিতে দিবেন।

৫ দফা—

আর অর্ধেক থাকিবেক রাজার ও রাজার সন্তান আদির দখলে বসরতেক এইরূপ কওল করার জদি তিনি রাখেন।

৬ দফা—

তহকিক করিতে খাজনা কোচবিহারের রাজা খোলাসা হস্তবুদ দিবেন জে সাহেব ঐ কাজের নিমিত্তে বড় সাহেব ও কওচলি সাহেবেরা জে লোককে তরনাত করিবেন তাহা তহকিক হইলে রাজা যে টাকা দিবেন তাহা নিরোপণ হইবেক।

৭ দফা—

জে লোককে গবরনর সাহেব ও কওচলি সাহেবলোক পাঠাইবেন হস্তবুদ করিতে তাহাই থির হইবেক।

৮ দফা—

কুম্পানি রাজার সহকারি করিবেন ফৌজের জখন তাহার দরকার হইবেক এবং মলুকের হেফাজতি নিমিত্তে তাহা দিবেন তাহার খরচ।

৯ দ্বকা—

এই কণ্ডল করার রবেক দুই বৎসর তক কিয়া জতদিন তক খবর পছছে বিলাত হইতে ববে
কণ্ডলি লোকের। এবং বড় সাহেবের সাধা হবেক মজবুত করিতে এই কণ্ডল করার দস্তখত
করিলেন মোহর করিলেন এবং সমাধা করিলেন বড় সাহেব ও কণ্ডলি সাহেবেরা মোকাম
কলিকাতার কোঠী ৪ দিগ্রহর ১৭৭২ সন অঙ্গরেজি।

দস্তখত

ধরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ

দস্তখত

ওরিন হিষ্টীন

ওলিম অনডরসি

রিচার্ড বামণ্ডরেল

VII

Chapter XIX Page 496. The original verse in the Manuscript of
Sâttvata Tantra preserved in Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ :

“শাকৈ ষাষ্ট্যঙ্কিশেষেহলিখদহনি শনৌ ফান্তনে কুমপক্ষে

শ্রীরামানন্দদেবদ্বিজবরবচসা রামচন্দ্রদ্বিজো হি।

শ্রীশ্রীদেবেন্দ্রনারায়ণনুজপতো কামরূপৈকদেশে

দেশশ্রেষ্ঠে বিহারে গুণগণগণিতে সাত্ত্বতং তদ্ব্যমিষ্টম ॥”

VIII

Chapter VII, Page 98. Footnote 12

”و راجہ ہائی کوچ از عہد شنکل اباعن جد خداوند و خداوندان سر زمین خود بودہ اند لیکن درین مدت چہار بار میان اینشان تغیر و تبدیل واقع شدہ و این زمرہ کہ اکفون بر مسند حکومت تمکن دارند از قوم برہمناں کوهی اند و نزد مردم ہند چندان اعتباری ندارند الحاصل یکطرف ولایت اینشان بملک ثبت رسیدہ و طرف دیگر تا چین سر کشیدہ و طرف ثالث بہ بنگلہ متصل گشتہ“ *

[تاریخ فرشتہ جلد دوم صفحہ ۴۱۹-۴۲۰]

”راجہ کوچ کا عہد شنکل سے بطناً بعد بطن مالک اپنی سر زمین کا ہے لیکن اس مدت میں چار بار انکی درمیان میں تغیر اور تبدیل واقع ہوا اور یہ گروہ جو اب مسند حکومت پر تمکن رکھتا ہے قوم براہمہ کوهی سے ہے اور مردمان ہند کے نزدیک چندان اعتبار نہیں رکھتے خلاصہ یہ کہ ایکطرف ولایت انکے ساتھ ملک ثبت کے اتصال رکھتی ہے اور دوسری سمت چین تک پہنچتی ہیں اور تیسری طرف بنگلہ سے متصل ہوئی“ *

[تاریخ فرشتہ اردو صفحہ ۵۷۵]

IX

Chapter VII, Page 99. Footnote 13

”پیشتر ازین بصد سال در پرستش گاہ جلپس (کہ او را بہادیو نسبت دہند) پارسا زنی بہ نیایشگری بر نشست و خواہش فرزند فرماں - فرما

درپیش گرفت و بایزیدی نیرو آستنی شد و پسر بزد بشنا نام نهادند و راجگی
آن دیار یافت؟ *

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

”اکبر بادشاہ کے عہد سے ۱۱۵ برس پہلے آسکا پردادا بیسا مہادیو جی کے
بردان سے پیدا ہو کر اس ملک کا مالک ہوا تھا“ *

[اکبر نامہ اردو جلوس ۴۳]
X

Chapter VII, Page 99. Footnote 14

”زمینداران ہند راجہائی این ولایت را عزت بسیار کفند و از خلاف
راجہائی اسلاف معتبرکہ قبل از ظہور اسلام بودہ اند دانند“ *

[تاریخ اٹام مقدمہ صفحہ ۱۳]
XI

Chapter IX, Page 147. Footnote 36

”چون راجہ کوچ را کہ بر خود بادشاہست صد سالہ مساط می سازد“ *

[بہارستان غیبی صفحہ ۱۴۵ - ب]
XII

Chapter IX, Page 166. Footnote 61

”نبیرہ او مال گشائین فراوان اگہی داشت و ستودہ خوبیہا پدیراہ خال
و لختی معنوی حسی (حسن) بر سترگی بار خدیو شناسائی اندوخت
و در شاہشاہی ستایش کتابے بر ساخت و انرا با گرین کالا روانہ قدسی درگاہ
گردانید ہموارہ بہ نیایشگری سعادت می اندوخت“ *

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

بیسا کا پوتا مال گوشائین بڑا پندت تھا اُس نے ایک کتاب بادشاہ کی
تعریف میں تصنیف کر کے بھیجی تھی *

[اکبر نامہ اردو جلوس ۴۳]

”در پنجاه سالگی جانفشی ببرادر زاده خود پات کفور نامزد گردانید
بزرگ برادر او شکل گسائین خواهش کدخدائی نمود از فرزند دوستی پذیرفت
او را پسر شد و لچمی نرائن نام کرد چون روزگار او بسر آمد راجگی بدو باز گردید
و پات کفور سر بشویش سر داشت“ *

[اکبر نامه صفحہ ۷۱۶]

XIV

”و از سوانح فرمان پذیری لچمی نرائن او مرزبان کوچ است“ *

[اکبر نامه صفحہ ۷۱۶]

XV

”و پس از چندی همشیره خود را براجہ داد“ *

[اکبر نامه صفحہ ۷۱۶]

”لچمی نرائن نے کچھ دنوں کے بعد اپنی بہن کی شادی راجہ کے
ساتھ کر دی“ *

[اکبر نامه اردو جلوس ۴۳]

XVI

”چون راجہ رگھنات با راجہ لچمی نرائن بعد از روانہ شدن بمقام مقصود
رسید و راجہ را بشرف ملاقات خان بہرہ ور ساخت روز اول خان بملایمات تمام
گذرانید و روز دوم در مجلس حضور نوعیکے موسی خان ولد عیسی خان
زمیندار را با زمینداران دیگر بروش اسلام خان کٹر دوستاخ دستوری یعنی نظر بند
حوالہ مخصوصان معتبر نگاہ می داشت“ *

[بہارستان غیبی صفحہ ۱۵۲ - ب]

XVII

Chapter X, Page 180. Footnote 16

” ۱۲ جلوس ۱۹ صفر ۱۰۲۷ھ

لچھمی نرائن راجہ ملک کوچ کا کہ نواح ملک بنگالہ کے واقع ہے
آستانہ بوسی سے مشرف ہوا پانسو مہرین نذر کین اور عنایت خلعت اور
خنجر مرصع سے سرفراز ہوا *

” ۱۳ جلوس ۱۳ ربیع الاول

راجہ لچھمی نرائن کو بھی چار انگوٹھیاں لعل اور عین الہرہ اور زمرد اور
نیلم کنی دیں *

” اور راجہ لچھمی نرائن کو شمشیر حاصد اور تسبیح مرصع اور چار موتی
واسطے کان کے حلقہ کے عنایت کئے *

پہلے راجہ لچھمی نرائن کو عراقی گھوڑا دیا تھا اس تاریخ میں ہاتھی
و ترکی گھوڑا بھی مرحمت کر کے بنگالے کے طرف رخصت کیا *

[نورک جہانگیری اردو صفحہ ۱۶۰-۱۶۲-۱۶۶]

XVIII

Chapter X, Page 201. Footnote 44

” و پسر راجہ از پدر گریختہ بملازمت نواب مستغنی القاب مستعد گشت
و طوع و رغبت شرف اسلام دریافت راجہ این پسر را صاحب داعیہ دانستہ
ہمیشہ در قید داشت بعد از دیدن پسر یقین شد کہ آنچہ پدر گمان بردہ بود
نچنانست و مقدار بیدش راجہ نیز ازین معنی مستنبط گشت *

[تاریخ اٹام مقدمہ صفحہ ۱۳]

XIX

Chapter X, Page 202. Footnote 46

” و این پیم نرائن راجہ بود عالی منش عشرت پیشہ و صاحب نصرف
معاشرت اندیشہ لب از لب پیالہ بر نگرانی و دست از گردن صراحی

بر نداشتنی در کاخ دماغش صدای جز مغیبات دلربانه پچیدی و در آغوش
خیالش غیر از تمنا می محبت سرودان رعنا ننگجی از هوا می ملک عیش
پروای ملک نداشت و از هوس عشرت بکار حکومت نمی پرداخت :

* شعر *

بسا ملکی که مستی داد از دست گریزد دولت هشیار از مست “
[تاریخ ااثام مقدمه صفحه ۱۴]

XX

Chapter X, Page 206. Lines 15—21

”عمارت پادشاهانه دلنشین و بقریه مشتمل بر عام و خاص و غسل خانه
و درس و خلوت و حرم و خواصپوره و حمام و فوارها و ابشارها و باغیچه در
کمال حضرت و نصرت ساخته و شهر نیز بطرح آباد شده کوچها همه بقریه
و خیابان وار و طرفین خیابان درختان موزون مستوی ناگیسر و کچنار“ *

[تاریخ ااثام مقدمه صفحه ۱۴]

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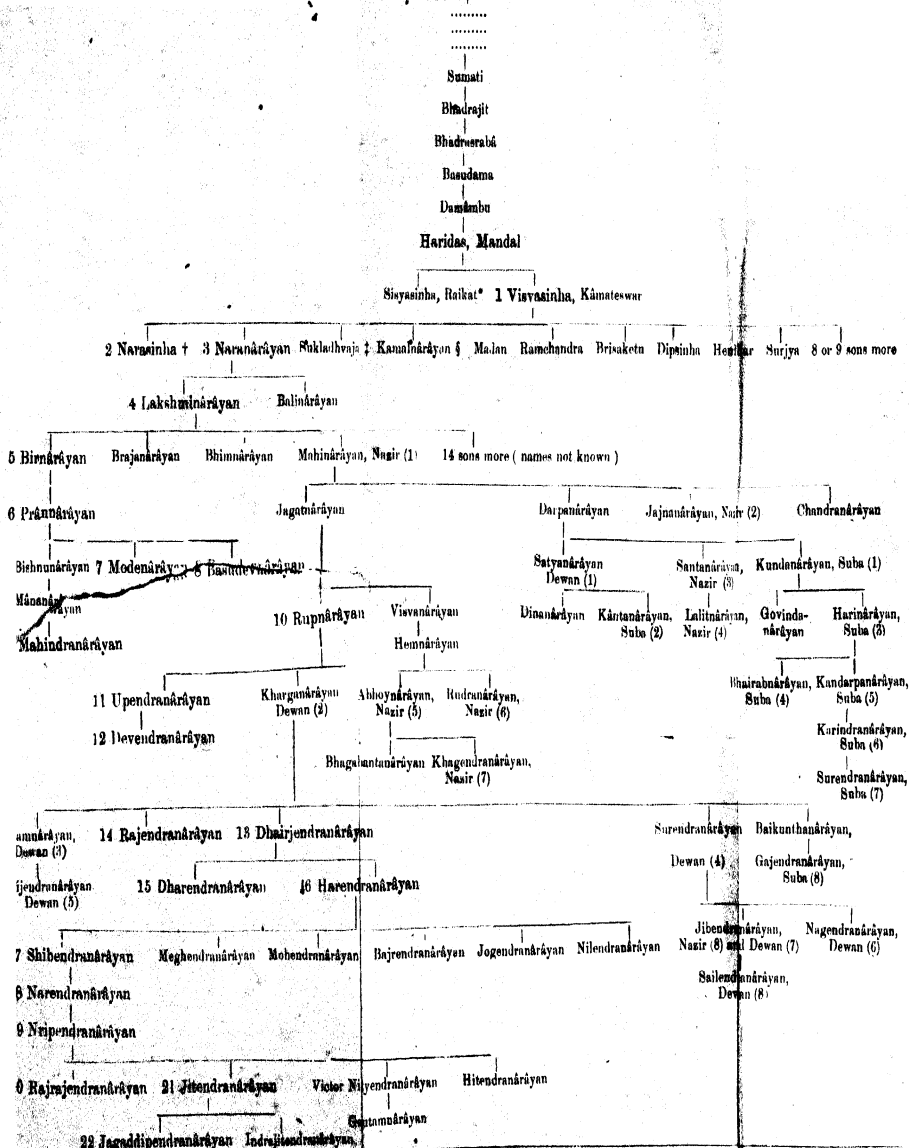
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(The names of the rulers have been printed in comparatively larger type

A certain Kshatriya of the Haihaya Dynasty.



* Originator of the Balkat family of the Jalpaiguri District

† Originator of the Raj family of Panga in the District of Rungpur.

‡ Originator of the Raj families of Bijni, Durrang and Beltala in Assam.

